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1833









THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXXXIII.

JULY—DECEMBER.

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THIRD SERIES.

VOL. X.

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Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρείου τι καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστη τῶν αἱρεσίων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἰπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ ἘΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. Strom. L. I.

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LONDON:

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1833.



**G. WOODFALL, ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET, LONDON.**

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# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1833.

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- Art. I. 1. *Lectures on Poetry and General Literature.* Delivered at the Royal Institution in 1830 and 1831. By James Montgomery, Author of "The World before the Flood," "The Pelican Island," &c., &c. 12mo. pp. x., 394. London, 1833.
2. *Readings in Poetry:* a Selection from the best English Poets, from Spenser to the present Times; and Specimens of several American Poets of deserved Reputation. To which is prefixed, a brief Survey of the History of English Poetry. 12mo. pp. 419. London, 1833.

*'WHEN I am a man!* is the poetry of childhood. *When I was a child,* is the poetry of age.' The truth and beauty of this fine observation of Mr. Montgomery's will be felt by every reader. But it is not merely true: there is a world of truth in it. It describes at once, and as only a poet could have done, what poetry is, and what are its aim and office. Poetry is the perspective of the moral scene. Those 'realities of mortal life which, 'by near contact, strongly affect the senses,' it 'removes to that 'due distance which clothes them with picturesque and ideal 'beauty.' And its moral purpose is, to make the past and the future preponderate over the present, and, by this means, to refine and elevate the sentiments, to counteract the sordid passions, and to render the man a more intellectual, if not a more virtuous being. The aspirations of youth, such as poetry enkindles, if illusive, are salutary and generous illusions; while the recollections of the man, carried back to childhood, the radiance of poetry illuminating the distant perspective, have often wakened regrets akin to virtue, and recalled the instructions and principles of life's 'better days.'

But there is the poetry of history as well as of human life. Nations have their past and their future, their treasured recol-



lections, and their anticipations of future grandeur. The traditions of every people go back to a golden age, the charm of which is wholly derived from its distance ; for the only objects discernible in the haze of remote antiquity are clouds and shadows which take their shape from the eye that gazes on them. But, as nations grow old, the principle of hope becomes feeble, and nothing is talked of but the good old times. Then comes on the fretful hatred of innovation, the dread of all change, the miserly clinging to possessions for their own sake, the sordid, imbecile *conservative* passion which succeeds to extinguished energy and defeated ambition. Alas ! for the nations, to whom the future presents no visions of glory to enkindle a generous spirit of enterprise and a longing after unattained greatness ! The paralysis of hope is the sure presage, or rather the fatal symptom of decay.

In this respect, Old Europe and Young America present a contrast strictly analogous to that of the youth and the sexagenarian. The poetry of the one looks wholly back to the past ; that of the other, so far as it is unborrowed, regards chiefly the future. The imagination of the older nations is occupied with the ruins of time and the phantoms of departed greatness, with fallen monuments and hoary antiquities. The burden of the lamentation echoed from the seats of the world's vacated empire is,

‘ *Roma, Roma, Roma, Roma,*  
*Non e piu com' era prima.*’

What Italy *was*, is the poetry of Europe. What America will be, is the poetry of the new World. Hitherto, however, the romance of the future has occupied her politicians more than her poets. To an American imagination, the true Hesperides is the Valley of the Mississippi. ‘ We have no remembrances,’ says an American Writer, ‘ like those which cluster about York minster. ‘ England has no anticipations like those awakened at the junction ‘ of the Ohio with the Mississippi.’

But there are seasons when the man is too busy to indulge in the poetical anticipations of the future, or to surrender himself to pensive reminiscences of former times. Small chance has then the poet of winning his attention from the objects that bind him to the present hour,—the things that are seen and temporal. And in like manner, there are periods of peculiar bustle and excitement, when poetry ceases to interest,—when this ‘ eldest, rarest, ‘ and most excellent of the fine arts’ seems to lose its hold and influence on the popular mind, and is regarded as but insipid trifling. Is not this the state of things among us at the present moment ? And does not the character of the times supply the explanation of the acknowledged decline of the demand for poetry ?

‘ It is a remarkable coincidence,’ says Mr. Montgomery, ‘ that,

‘ with the exception of ancient Rome, the noblest productions of  
‘ the Muses have appeared in the middle ages between gross bar-  
‘ barism and voluptuous refinement; when the human mind yet  
‘ possessed strong traits of its primeval grandeur and simplicity,  
‘ but, divested of its former ferociousness, and chastened by  
‘ courteous manners, felt itself rising in knowledge, virtue, and  
‘ intellectual superiority.’ The exception is, however, too con-  
siderable to consist with the establishment of the rule; and in  
fact, the explanation is far more poetical than philosophical. The  
‘ primeval grandeur and simplicity’ here ascribed to the human  
mind, are not traits of the social character of any stage of civiliza-  
tion, much less of what is supposed to be the first stage, bar-  
barism. But each stage of society has its poetry. The rude  
minstrelsies of barbarous times are songs of triumph, full of hope  
and boasting, and the brief records of the past are employed only  
to give dignity to the present scene, which borrows half its light  
and lustre from the imaginary future. The golden age of poetry  
is that which succeeds to such a period of rude energy, when the  
national memory has become stored with legends of older times,  
and the patriotic anticipation of his country’s future prosperity  
warms the poet’s heart. Such was the golden era of Greece, be-  
tween the age of Pisistratus and the subversion of the free repub-  
lics by Philip of Macedon. Within this period, remarks our  
Lecturer,

‘ but especially after the battles of Marathon and Salamis had raised  
the reputation of their arms to an equality with the eminence of their  
arts, the greatest number of their greatest men appeared, and flourished  
in such thick contiguity and rapid succession, that the mere relics, the  
floating fragments of the wreck of literature, which have been pre-  
served because they could not sink in the dead sea of oblivion that  
engulfed and stagnated over the buried riches of a hundred argosies,—  
the mere relics and wreck of literature preserved to us from that brief  
period, are of as much value as all that has been inherited, or recovered  
rather, from the ages before that died—may I say it? without *will*,—  
and the ages after that had comparatively little wealth either to live  
upon or to *bequeath*; though the country, under various forms of re-  
publican government, and as a province of Rome, continued to be the  
seat of arts, science, and philosophy through many succeeding ages.’  
pp. 323, 4.

The Augustan age of Rome lasted from the second triumvirate  
to the close of the reign of Trajan; but the most splendid pro-  
duction of that age was ripened under the full beams of imperial  
favour, at that interval of glorious repose when the nation had  
leisure to amuse their imagination with the romance of the past,  
and to solace their pride with the dream of perpetual empire.  
These are the feelings which inspired the *Æneid*, and which its  
perusal was adapted to foster. The reign of Elizabeth in our own

country was a period of similar repose, at once rich with the deposits of more troublous times, and replete with hope and energy. It is interesting to observe how, in his historical plays more especially, Shakspeare, in the ardour of patriotism and loyalty, avails himself of all that is most stirring and glorious in our national annals, not for the purpose of exciting pensive regrets, by suggesting invidious comparisons, but to add zest to the present, while all his references to future times are those of hopeful augury. Spenser breathes a similar spirit. Milton had, in his happy youth, conceived the idea of a national poem; but, having fallen on evil days, which rendered memory painful, and left him as a patriot almost without hope, the great Bard turned his intellectual eyes from the things that are seen and temporal to those which are unseen and eternal, employing his memory on the first events of time, and fixing his hopes on eternity.

When poets turn satirists, it is a proof, not merely that the state of morals has become deteriorated by prosperity and voluptuousness, but that the spirit of poetry itself is passing away. To Milton, Dryden succeeded, and to Dryden, Pope. Mr. Montgomery dates the second grand era of modern English Literature from the Restoration. The early part of this period, the reigns of Charles II. and James II., he remarks, was distinguished for works of wit and profligacy. 'The drama, in particular, was pre-eminent for the genius that adorned, and the 'abominations that disgraced its scenes.' Between Pope and Cowper, we have the names of Collins, Gray, Goldsmith, and Churchill\*. With these brilliant exceptions, not a poet flourished during that interval, 'who had power to command in any 'enviable degree, or even for a little while, that popular breath 'of applause which the aspirant after immortality inhales as the 'prelude to it.'

'Verse, indeed,' continues Mr. Montgomery, 'was so low in public estimation, and so little read, that few of the fugitive pieces of the hour, on their passage to oblivion, attracted sufficient notice to defray the expenses of their journey thither. Cowper's first volume, partly from the grave character of the longer pieces, and the purposely rugged, rambling, slipshod versification, was long neglected; till *The Task*, the noblest effort of his muse, composed under the inspiration of cheerfulness, hope, and love, unbosoming the whole soul of his affections, intelligence, and piety,—at once made our countrymen feel, that neither the genius of poetry had fled from our isle, nor had the heart for it died in the breasts of its inhabitants.' pp. 367, 8.

From Cowper, the Author dates the commencement of the third great era of modern English Literature; 'since it was in

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\* Thomson and Young were contemporary with Pope. Akenside might seem to have claimed notice, but he was never popular.

‘ no small measure to the inspiration of his Task, that our countrymen are indebted, if not for the existence, yet certainly for the character of the new school of poetry, established first at Bristol, and afterwards transferred to the Lakes, as scenery more congenial and undisturbed for the exercise of contemplative genius.’ The excitement of the period at which Southey, Coleridge, and Wordsworth almost contemporaneously started into fame, was favourable to poetry, because it was favourable to speculation and full of hope. The public mind had been roused from its torpor, without being as yet engrossed with the conflict that had already commenced.

‘ The minds and the feelings, the passions and prejudices of men of all ranks and attainments, from the highest to the lowest, were at that time roused and interested by the fair and promising, the terrific and stupendous events of the French Revolution; and the excitement of this stupendous phenomenon in the state of Europe, prepared this nation especially, from the freedom with which all questions might be discussed, for that peculiar cast of subjects and of style, both in verse and prose, for which the present period is distinguished from every former one.’ p. 369.

To Southey and Wordsworth succeeded, as reigning favourites, Campbell, Scott, Moore, and Byron; six names, says Mr. Montgomery, (and we are tempted to substitute his own name for the fifth,) ‘ that may be ranked with any other six, averaging the measure of genius on both sides, not only of our own country, but of any other that were contemporaries.’ We must transcribe the remarks upon the circumstances which have contributed, if not to elicit, yet, to modify the character of their genius.

‘ It must be acknowledged by all who have justly appreciated the works of these authors, (which are exceedingly dissimilar in those respects wherein each is most excellent,) that the great national events of their day have had no small influence in training their genius, leading them to the choice of subjects, and modifying their style. So far, then, these circumstances have been sources of inspiration; but there is a drawback with regard to each, that, yielding to the impatient temper of the times in their eager pursuit of fame, they have occasionally aimed at the temple on the mountain top, not by the slow, painful, and laborious paths which their immortal predecessors trod, and which all must tread who would be sure of gaining the eminence, and keeping their station when they have gained it,—but they have rather striven to scale the heights by leaping from rock to rock up the most precipitous side, forcing their passage through the impenetrable forests that engirdle it, or plunging across the headlong torrents that descend in various windings from their fountains at the peak. Thus they have endeavoured to attract attention and excite astonishment, rather by prodigious acts of spontaneous exertion, than to display gradually, and eventually to the utmost advantage, the well directed and

perfectly concentrated force of their talents. In a word, it may be doubted whether one of the living five (for Byron is now beyond the reach of warning) has ever yet done his very best in a single effort worthy of himself (I mean in their longer works), by sacrificing all his merely good, middling, and inferior thoughts, which he has in common with every body else, and appearing solely in his peculiar character,—that character of excellence, whatever it may be, wherein he is distinct from all the living and all the dead;—the personal identity of his genius shining only where he can outshine all rivals, or where he can shine alone when rivalry is excluded. Till each of the survivors has done this, it can hardly be affirmed that he has secured the immortality of one of his great intellectual offspring:—there is a vulnerable part of each, which Death with his dart, or Time with his scythe, may sooner or later strike down to oblivion.

‘The unprecedented sale of the poetical works of Scott and Byron, with the moderate success of others, proves that a great change had taken place, both in the character of authors and in the taste of readers, within forty years. About the beginning of the French Revolution, scarcely any thing in rhyme, except the ludicrous eccentricities of Peter Pindar, would take with the public: a few years afterwards, booksellers ventured to speculate in quarto volumes of verse, at from five shillings to a guinea a line, and in various instances were abundantly recompensed for their liberality.’ pp. 377—379.

‘The market, however,’ it is remarked, ‘has much fallen within these last ten years; and the richest dealer (Scott) long ago invested his capital in other funds.’ The ‘Waverley novels’ are undoubtedly, says Mr. Montgomery, ‘as the productions of one mind exuberant beyond example in this cold climate, the most extraordinary works of the age.’ But nothing about them is more extraordinary than the complete success with which the Poet transmigrated into the Novelist, at the moment when his first term of literary fame seemed to be near expiring, and his energies to be on the wane. No author was ever so completely the successor to himself, by a second lease of popularity.

‘From the time of the irruption of Southey and his irregulars into the region of Parnassus, where all had been torpor and formality before, with the exception of the little domain of Cowper, poetry rose so rapidly into fashion as to share the patronage of sentimentalists and other idle readers, till the *Lady of the Lake* and *Childe Harold* bore away the palm of popularity from the most renowned of their contemporaries,—the ladies and gentlemen that live in novels, and no where else. There was, indeed, a long and desperate resistance made on the part of the novelists against the poets.’ p. 385.

But with small success, till Scott himself, despairing of the better cause, went over to the enemy, and founded a dynasty of novelists, who have usurped the ascendancy due to Poetry. But of this revolution, the Author of *Waverley* was not the originator. He merely took advantage of it, having ceased to write poetry, only

because the public were ceasing to become readers of it, even in that shape most adapted to excite the palled appetite, and to rouse the languid imagination,—the metrical romance.

What, then, are we to regard as the real causes of this decline in the demand for poetry, extending not merely to the productions of the day, but even to the staple poetry of English literature? Is it that the article has been cheapened by over-production? Or that the taste for the stronger excitement furnished by the novel or tale has destroyed a relish for the simpler and purer enjoyment? Each of these causes may have had some influence; but we are disposed to think that the chief reason that poetry interests so little, is, that political events have imparted so vivid and engrossing an interest to the events of the day, as to make the present predominate, even in the imagination, over the past or the future. The near objects have shut out the perspective in which hope and memory love to expatiate. History is ransacked by the party writer or orator for precedents and analogies, that may be pressed into the service of his argument, or give plausibility to his sinister forebodings; but men look back to past times without fondness, and forward to the future without confidence. How then should poetry gain attention, or find scope for her gentle ministry? If she were to mingle in the hot and dusty affray, it must be disguised as a combatant, with weapons all unfit for her proper office!

The public mind is not sufficiently at leisure to attend to the cultivation of polite literature. Hurried on from object to object, it obeys only the impulses of curiosity or of interest; and the sole species of productions which obtain popularity, are those which, like the novel, tickle the curiosity, or such as bear the obvious stamp of *utility*. Mr. Montgomery describes with a caustic severity unusual with him, but quite pardonable in a poet, the character of the literature of the present day.

‘Hence, the literature of our time is commensurate with the universality of education; nor is it less various than universal, to meet capacities of all sizes, minds of all acquirements, and tastes of every degree. Books are multiplied on every subject on which any thing or nothing can be said, from the most abstruse and recondite to the most simple and puerile: and while the passion of book-jobbers is to make the former as familiar as the latter by royal ways to all the sciences, there is an equally perverse rage among genuine authors to make the latter as august and imposing as the former, by disguising commonplace topics with the colouring of imagination, and adorning the most insignificant themes with all the pomp of verse. This degradation of the high, and exaltation of the low,—this dislocation, in fact, of every thing, is one of the most striking proofs of the extraordinary diffusion of knowledge,—and of its corruption too,—if not a symptom of its declension by being so heterogeneously blended, till all shall be neutralised. Indeed, when millions of intellects, of as many different di-



mensions and as many different degrees of culture, are perpetually at work, and it is almost as easy to speak as to think, and to write as to speak, there must be a proportionate quantity of thought put into circulation.

‘Meanwhile, public taste, pampered with delicacies even to loathing, and stimulated to stupidity with excessive excitement, is at once ravenous and mawkish,—gratified with nothing but novelty, nor with novelty itself for more than an hour. To meet this diseased appetite, in prose not less than in verse, a factitious kind of the marvellous has been invented, consisting not in the exhibition of supernatural incidents or heroes, but in such distortion, high colouring, and exaggeration of natural incidents and ordinary personages, by the artifices of style, and the audacity of sentiment employed upon them, as shall produce that sensation of wonder in which half-instructed minds delight. This preposterous effort at display may be traced through every walk of polite literature, and in every channel of publication; nay, it would hardly be venturing too far to say, that every popular author is occasionally a juggler, rope-dancer, or posture-maker, in this way, to propitiate those of his readers, who will be pleased with nothing less than feats of legerdemain in the exercises of the pen.’ pp. 373—374.

After noticing the influence which the great national events of the times have had in training the genius and modifying the style of the leading poets, the Author thus adverts to ‘a small, ‘but peculiar class of versifiers,’ who have contrived to secure a transient and limited popularity.

‘The leaders of this select band of poetasters are men of some fancy, a little learning, less taste, and almost no feeling. They have invented a manner of writing and thinking frigidly artificial, while affecting to be negligently natural, though no more resembling nature, than the flowers represented in shell-work on lacquered grounds, and framed in glass cases by our grandmothers, resembled the roses and carnations which they caricatured. They think, if they think at all, like people of the nineteenth century, (for certainly nobody ever thought like them before,) but they write in the verbiage of the sixteenth, and then imagine that they rival the poets of Elizabeth’s reign, because they mimic all that is obsolete in them, which in fact is only preserved in Spenser and Shakspeare themselves, because it is inseparably united with what can never become obsolete,—“thoughts that breathe and words that burn,” not less intelligible at this day than when they were first uttered. It might be shewn, that the finest passages in our ancient writers are those in which the phraseology has never become antiquated, nor ever can be so till the English shall be a dead language. This school must pass away with the present generation, as surely as did the Della Cruscan of the last century.’ p. 381.

We wish to place in immediate juxtaposition to these remarks, the following sensible observations upon the fixed character and probable perpetuity of the English tongue.

‘ From the reign of Elizabeth to the protectorate of Cromwell, inclusively, there rose in phalanx, and continued in succession, minds of all orders, and hands for all work, in poetry, philosophy, history, and theology, which have bequeathed to posterity such treasures of what may be called genuine English Literature, that whatever may be the transmigrations of taste, the revolutions of style, and the fashions in popular reading, these will ever be the sterling standards. The translation of the Scriptures, settled by authority, and which, for reasons that need not be discussed here, can never be materially changed, consequently can never become obsolete,—has secured perpetuity to the youth of the English tongue; and whatever may befall the works of writers in it from other causes, they are not likely to be antiquated in the degree that has been foretold by one, whose own imperishable strains would for centuries have delayed the fulfilment of his disheartening prophecy, even if it were to be fulfilled:—

“ Our sons their fathers’ failing language see,  
And such as Chaucer *is* shall Dryden *be*.”

POPE.

‘ Now it is clear, that unless the language be improved or deteriorated, far beyond any thing that can be anticipated from the slight variations which have taken place within the last two hundred years, compared with the two hundred years preceding, Dryden *cannot become* what Chaucer *is*; especially since there seems to be a necessity laid upon all generations of Englishmen to understand, as the fathers of their mother-tongue, the great authors of the age of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.; from Spenser (though much of his poetry is wilfully obscured by affected phraseology) and Shakspeare, (the idolatry to whose name will surely never permit its divinity to die,) to Milton, whose style cannot fall into decay, while there is talent or sensibility among his countrymen to appreciate his writings. It may be confidently inferred, that the English language will remain subject to as little mutation as the Italian has been, since works of enduring excellence were first produced in it:—the prose of Boccaccio and the verse of Dante, so far as dialect is concerned, are as well understood by the common people of their country, at this day, as the writings of Chaucer and Gower are by the learned in ours.

‘ Had *no* works of transcendent originality been produced within the last hundred and fifty years, it may be imagined that such fluctuations might have occurred, as would have rendered our language as different from what it *was* when Milton flourished, as *it then* was from what it *had been* in the days of Chaucer; with this reverse, that, during the latter, it must have degenerated as much as it had been refined during the earlier interval. But the standard of our tongue having been fixed at an era when it was rich in native idioms, full of pristine vigour, and pliable almost as sound articulate can be to sense,—and that standard having been fixed in poetry, the most permanent and perfect of all forms of literature,—as well as in the version of the Scriptures, which are necessarily the most popular species of reading,—no very considerable changes can be effected, except Britain were again ex-

posed to invasion as it was wont to be of old ; and the modern Saxons or Norwegians were thus to subvert both our government and our language, and either utterly extinguish the latter, or assimilate it with their own.' pp. 361—363.

And even in that impossible event, the English language would still maintain its identity, its purity, and its moral ascendancy, as the vernacular dialect of the masters of the new world. The idiomatic correctness and purity with which the language is written by American poets and prose writers, is a circumstance which strikingly corroborates the Author's representation of the fixed character of the standard ; and the general diffusion of education, together with the facilities for rapid and constant intercourse between the most widely separated branches of the English family, will tend to secure even the spoken language against being corrupted and broken up into a multiplicity of dialects, such as unwritten languages always run into, when the tribes speaking them live apart, and in a low state of civilization.

The vast expansion of the English language within the last hundred years, is one of the most remarkable events in modern history. The latest formed of all the Teutonic dialects, the mother tongue of a few millions of islanders at the north-western angle of Europe, which few of the continental literati affected to understand, unknown to courts, to diplomacy, and almost to commerce, is now the mother tongue of the most powerful nation in either hemisphere ; is spoken by at least forty millions ; is the court language of India and Southern Africa, the almost sacred language of the heathen tribes who have been brought in contact with our Missionaries ; is diffusing itself over all seas and up all rivers as the language of commerce, and is being more or less carried by British travellers to the remotest regions of the earth.

We have insensibly digressed from the subject of Poetry. Its influence upon language, however, is a consideration which ought not to be overlooked in estimating its power and use. It is not only the most enduring form of literature, but it gives duration to the literature of which it is a form, and to the language which it embalms in verse. Poetry, remarks Mr. Montgomery,

' possesses a paramount degree of influence from the fact, that sentiments communicated in verse, are identified with the very words through which they have been received, and which frequently, more than the character of the sentiments themselves, give force, perspicuity, and permanence to the latter. The language and its import being remembered together, the instruction conveyed is rendered more distinct and indelible. The discourses of the orator, with all their beauty of embellishment, ardour of diction, and cogency of argument, are recollected rather by their effect than in their reality : what he has conceived and expressed with transcendent ability, we call to mind in its general bearings only, and repeat to ourselves, or to others, by imper-

fect imitation, and in very incompetent verbiage. This, of necessity, must be far inferior, in emphasis and clearness, to the original composition, whether that were spontaneous or elaborate; and if such be the case with eloquence, much more will it be so with history, philosophy, and prose literature at large, from which the narratives, speculations, and reasonings can only be recalled in the abstract, however fascinating in perusal the style of the writer may be. Of these, the epitomised matter, moral, or lesson alone, remains in the mind, which, being blended with our stock of general knowledge, general principles, general motives,—thus remotely becomes influential on our conduct and our lives. Poetry, on the other hand, takes root in the memory as well as the understanding, not in essence only, but in the very sounds and syllables that incorporate it.

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‘ Lord Bacon, remarking upon the destruction of all other works of men’s hands, says of letters,—“ The images of men’s wits remain unmaimed in books for ever, exempt from the injuries of time,—because capable of perpetual renovation. Neither can they properly be called images, because, in their way, they generate still, and cast forth seeds in the minds of men, raising and procreating infinite actions and opinions in succeeding ages; so that, if the invention of a ship was thought so noble and wonderful,—which transports riches and merchandise from place to place, and consociates the most remote regions in participation of their fruits and commodities,—how much more are letters to be magnified,—which, as ships passing through the vast sea of time, connect the remotest ages of wits and inventions in mutual traffic and correspondence!” — *Of the Advancement of Learning*, Book i.

‘ In this commerce of literature,—the Scriptures and the writings of divines excepted,—the compositions of the poets are undoubtedly the most extensively and abidingly influential, because they have had, in youth at least, the greatest power over the greatest minds; when, more even than history and uninspired ethics themselves, they have tended to form the characters, opinions, and actions of those who lead or govern the multitude, whether as princes, warriors, statesmen, philosophers, or philanthropists. The compositions of the poets have also this transcendent advantage over all others, that they are the solace and delight of the most accomplished of the finer, feebler, better sex, whose morals, manners, and deportment give the tone to society;—not only as being themselves (to speak technically) its most agreeable component parts, but because they are the mothers and nurses of the rising generation, as well as the sisters, lovers, and companions most acceptable to the existing one, at that time when the affections of both sexes are gentlest, warmest, liveliest, and most easily and ineffaceably touched, purified, tempered, and exalted.’ pp. 239—243.

The moral influence of poetry, however, is far from being proportioned to its intrinsic excellence. The rudest numbers are often found to exert the greatest power over the imagination; and it is in the earlier stages of civilization, as in the early years of life, that the imagination is not only most susceptible, but most

dominant, and that what charms and rules the imagination must have consequently the most important influence on society. Voluptuous refinement is unfavourable to genius, chiefly as it tends to deaden the imagination by pandering to the senses, and to preclude those strong emotions, the recollections of which are the materials with which fancy works. True genius, however, at least the highest kind of genius, springs up in despite of every disadvantage, forcing its way through the most arid soil, almost independently of circumstances. We cannot regard it as peculiar to any stage of civilization. The probability that nobler productions will yet appear than the great poems that have immortalized the names of Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton, resolves itself into the chances that, during the next thousand years, minds of the same order may come into existence, specially endowed with the rare gift of poetical invention.

If any particular stage of society, intermediate between gross barbarism and voluptuous refinement, were peculiarly favourable to the development of poetical genius, that which now exists in the United States of America, would seem to promise a rich accession to English literature. Hitherto, however, America has produced no poets of the highest order; and it is only of late years that any have appeared, whose productions rise above mediocrity. We have noticed, at the head of this article, a Selection of poetry, 'published under the direction of the Committee of General Literature appointed by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge', which is remarkable as being the first attempt, we believe, to incorporate specimens of the American poets with the standard literature of this country. Although we cannot say much in favour of the selection itself, which has not been entrusted to a competent judgement\*, we are pleased to notice this mark of an improved feeling of liberal cordiality in such a quarter towards our American brethren.

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\* In judging of the merits of such a selection, we are bound to take into consideration the avowed purpose, and to make large allowance for the accidents of individual taste. The Editor has laboured to choose such extracts as convey some useful lesson, and has been anxious to insert nothing beyond the level of a youthful capacity. It is difficult, even with this explanation, to account for the choice of some of the extracts, but still more for the caprice or forgetfulness which has led the Editor to omit Collins, while he has found room for Tickell and Prior, and to pass over Jane Taylor, while noticing several modern poets of inferior genius. Lord Byron and Moore are excluded, we presume on account of the exceptionable character of some of their writings; yet, it is little short of absurd to suppress their names in a selection from modern poets. There are other instances of strange partiality. Surely Isaac Watts claimed some mention.

'America', it is remarked by the Editor, 'must be regarded as the intellectual child of England, the inheritor of our language, our laws, and our national feelings. To us, such a country can never be an object of indifference; and there are few Englishmen that will read the specimens of American poetry in this volume without pride and pleasure. All the qualities that make our national literature valuable, the Americans have preserved, in substance, if not in degree. Though, beyond the Atlantic, there are not, as yet, names that can compete with our poets of the first rank, there are many of a secondary order, approaching the first class more nearly than the third. Few poets ever described the charms of external nature with more simple and affecting beauty than Bryant. In no one is the Christian philosopher and Christian poet more completely united than in Dana. Pierpont's odes are full of fire and vigour. In all will be found a spirit of unfeigned devotion to the Author of all good, and an acknowledgement that the poetic powers, like every other perfect gift, are derived from "the Father of lights, in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."'

Specimens of some of these American poets have been given in our volumes. Paulding's "Backwoodsman" was reviewed on its first appearance in 1818; and Wilcox's "Religion of Taste" in a recent Number. A few of the names are new to us; but we could have supplied, we believe, a richer selection. To represent J. G. C. Brainard as 'infinitely superior' to Kirke White, is to expose the incompetency of the critic: the specimens given of his poetry neither bear out this invidious eulogy, nor justify the comparison of his genius to that of Burns, which it in no respect resembles. On the other hand, N. P. Willis is characterized as 'a young poet of great promise.' Let our readers judge from the following specimens, whether there is not something beyond promise in such a writer. They are incomparably the most beautiful poems of all that are given as the productions of American writers, not excepting the specimens of Sprague, who may be ranked second.

'THE SOLDIER'S WIDOW.

'Wo! for my vine-clad home!  
That it should ever be so dark to me,  
With its bright threshold, and its whispering tree!  
That I should ever come,  
Fearing the lonely echo of a tread,  
Beneath the roof-tree of my glorious dead!

'Lead on! my orphan boy!  
Thy home is not so desolate to thee,  
And the low shiver in the linden-tree  
May bring to thee a joy;  
But oh! how dark is the bright home before thee!  
To her who with a joyous spirit bore thee!



‘Lead on! for thou art now  
 My sole remaining helper. God hath spoken,  
 And the strong heart I lean’d upon is broken;  
 And I have seen his brow,  
 The forehead of my upright one and just,  
 Trod by the hoof of battle to the dust.

‘He will not meet thee there,  
 Who bless’d thee at the eventide, my son!  
 And when the shadows of the night steal on,  
 He will not call to prayer.  
 The lips that melted, giving thee to God,  
 Are in the icy keeping of the sod!

‘Ay, my own boy! thy sire  
 Is with the sleepers of the valley cast,  
 And the proud glory of my life hath past,  
 With his high glance of fire.  
 Wo! that the linden and the vine should bloom,  
 And a just man be gather’d to the tomb!

‘Why, bear them proudly, boy!  
 It is the sword he girded to his thigh,  
 It is the helm he wore in victory!  
 And shall we have no joy?  
 For thy green vales, O Switzerland, he died!  
 I will forget my sorrow—in my pride!’

#### ‘THE BOY.

‘There’s something in a noble boy,  
 A brave, free-hearted, careless one,  
 With his uncheck’d, unbidden joy;  
 His dread of books and love of fun,  
 And in his clear and ready smile,  
 Unshaded by a thought of guile,  
 And unrepress’d by sadness,—  
 Which brings me to my childhood back,  
 As if I trod its very track,  
 And felt its very gladness.

‘And yet it is not in his play,  
 When every trace of thought is lost,  
 And not when you would call him gay,  
 That his bright presence thrills me most.  
 His shout may ring upon the hill,  
 His voice be echo’d in the hall,  
 His merry laugh like music trill,  
 And I in sadness hear it all,—  
 For, like the wrinkles on my brow,  
 I scarcely notice such things now.

But when, amid the earnest game,  
 He stops, as if he music heard,  
 And, heedless of his shouted name  
 As of the carol of a bird,  
 Stands gazing on the empty air,  
 As if some dream were passing there ;—  
 'Tis then that on his face I look,  
 His beautiful, but thoughtful face,  
 And, like a long-forgotten book,  
 Its sweet familiar meanings trace ;  
 Remembering a thousand things  
 Which pass'd me on those golden wings,  
 Which time has fetter'd now,—  
 Things that came o'er me with a thrill,  
 And left me silent, sad, and still,  
 And threw upon my brow  
 A holier and a gentler cast,  
 That was too innocent to last.

'Tis strange how thoughts upon a child  
 Will, like a presence, sometimes press,  
 And when his pulse is beating wild,  
 And life itself is in excess,—  
 When foot and hand, and ear and eye,  
 Are all with ardour straining high,—  
 How in his heart will spring  
 A feeling, whose mysterious thrall  
 Is stronger, sweeter far than all ;  
 And on its silent wing,  
 How, with the clouds, he 'll float away,  
 As wandering and as lost as they !'

If our readers have not before seen the following beautiful poem by Charles Sprague, they will thank us for extracting it.

‘ THE WINGED WORSHIPPERS.

‘These lines were written on the occasion of two swallows flying into a church during divine service.

‘ Gay, guiltless pair,  
 What seek ye from the fields of heaven?  
 Ye have no need of prayer ;  
 Ye have no sins to be forgiven.

‘ Why perch ye here,  
 Where mortals to their Maker bend?  
 Can your pure spirits fear  
 The God ye never could offend?

‘ Ye never knew  
 The crimes for which we come to weep :  
 Penance is not for you,  
 Bless'd wanderers of the *upper deep*.

' To you 'tis given  
To wake sweet Nature's untaught lays ;  
Beneath the arch of heaven  
To chirp away a life of praise.

' Then spread each wing,  
Far, far above, o'er lakes and lands,  
And join the choirs that sing  
In yon blue dome not rear'd with hands.

' Or, if ye stay,  
To note the consecrated hour,  
Teach me the airy way,  
And let me try your envied power.

' Above the crowd,  
On upward wings could I but fly,  
I 'd bathe in yon bright cloud,  
And seek the stars that gem the sky.

' 'Twere heaven indeed,  
Through fields of trackless light to soar,  
On Nature's charms to feed,  
And Nature's own great God adore !' pp. 398, 9.

Lydia H. Sigourney is *not* ' the Felicia Hemans of America ', for America has no Felicia Hemans, save her whose poetry is common to both countries ; nor is there any trace whatever in the extracts from the American poetess, of ' a more lively perception ' of the beauties of nature.' Such criticisms are impertinent and unmeaning. We have no wish, however, to disparage the poetical taste and thought which are exhibited in the following specimen. We regret only the fondness shewn by the author, in common with many of the American poets, for the *jolting* sort of verse, which is neither anapæstic nor dactylic, nor of any other legitimate species ; it is neither a stately march, a gentle amble, nor a vigorous gallop, but resembles a pace between a limp and a canter.

#### ' THE CORAL INSECT.

' Toil on ! toil on ! ye ephemeral train,  
Who build in the tossing and treacherous main ;  
Toil on,—for the wisdom of man ye mock,  
With your sand-based structures and domes of rock ;  
Your columns the fathomless fountains lave,  
And your arches spring up to the crested wave ;  
Ye're a puny race, thus boldly to rear  
A fabric so vast in a realm so drear.

' Ye bind the deep with your secret zone ;  
'The ocean is seal'd, and the surge a stone ;

Fresh wreaths from the coral pavement spring,  
Like the terraced pride of Assyria's king ;  
The turf looks green where the breakers roll'd ;  
O'er the whirlpool ripens the rind of gold ;  
The sea-snatch'd isle is the home of men,  
And mountains exult where the wave hath been.

' But why do ye plant, 'neath the billows dark,  
The wrecking reef for the gallant bark ?  
There are snares enough on the tented field,  
'Mid the blossom'd sweets that the valleys yield ;  
There are serpents to coil, ere the flowers are up ;  
There 's a poison-drop in man's purest cup,  
There are foes that watch for his cradle-breath,  
And why need ye sow the floods with death ?

' With mouldering bones the deeps are white,  
From the ice-clad pole to the tropics bright ;—  
The mermaid bath twisted her fingers cold  
With the mesh of the sea-boy's curls of gold,  
And the gods of ocean have frown'd to see  
The mariner's bed in their halls of glee ;  
Hath earth no graves, that ye thus must spread  
The boundless sea for the thronging dead ?

' Ye build,—ye build,—but ye enter not in,  
Like the tribes whom the desert devour'd in their sin ;  
From the land of promise ye fade and die,  
Ere its verdure gleams forth on your weary eye ;  
As the kings of the cloud-crown'd pyramid  
Their noteless bones in oblivion hid ;  
Ye slumber unmark'd 'mid the desolate main,  
While the wonder and pride of your works remain.'

We make no apology either to Mr. Montgomery or to our readers for having stepped aside to pluck these flowers of transatlantic growth. We now hasten to conclude our notice of the Lectures which have suggested the train of remarks in the present Article. We ought before, perhaps, to have given some more distinct account of their Contents; instead of which, we have extracted passages from all parts of the volume, to serve our own purpose; which we are sure the Author will forgive us for doing, when we add, that our purpose has partly been, to recommend the work to the perusal of our readers, by shewing that it is truly 'prose by a poet.' The Lectures are six in number. The first asserts, in a strain of fervid eulogy, the pre-eminence of poetry among the arts. The second defines, or rather describes 'what is 'poetical'—in sights and sounds, in place and circumstance, in the aspects of visible nature and the realities of human life. The form of poetry, the characteristics of prose and verse, Hebrew

poetry, Greek and Latin prosody, and English metres, are the subject of Lect. iii. The fourth treats of the Diction of Poetry; the next, of the various classes of poetry; and the concluding lecture is on the poetical character and the themes and influences of poetry. To these Lectures are added, a Retrospect of Literature in three sections, and a View of Modern English Literature in two, which, after having been delivered at the Royal Institution, were printed in the first volume of "The Metropolitan", edited by Mr. Campbell.

What poetry is, it is much easier to describe than to define; which holds good of many other things. Molière's *bourgeois gentilhomme* is facetiously told by his instructor, '*que tout ce qui n'est point vers est prose, et tout ce qui n'est point prose est vers.*' Now this would really seem, from Mr. Montgomery's account of the matter, to be very nearly all that can be said in the way of definition.

'Poetry,' says Mr. Montgomery, 'in the sense which I propose to have always in mind, is *verse*, in contradistinction to *prose*; and this is the sense (define and dispute as we may respecting the ethereal quality itself) in which every body uses the word. Poetry, to be complete, must be verse; and all the wit of man cannot supply a more convenient definition. Every thing else which may be insisted on as essential to good poetry is *not peculiar to it*, but may, with due discretion and happy effect, be incorporated in prose. Poetry cannot be separated from verse without becoming prose; nor can prose assume the form of verse without ceasing to be prose altogether. It is true that, according to common parlance, poetry in this sense may be prosaic, that is, it may have the ordinary qualities of prose, though it still retain its peculiar vehicle,—metre; and prose may be poetical, that is, it may be invested with all the customary attributes of verse, except that same peculiar and incommunicable one—metre. The change, however, is rarely to the advantage of either.

'Yet when a writer of fine fancy and commanding powers of diction, (like Dryden, in the instance lately quoted,) from the nature and inspiration of his subject, almost unconsciously grows poetical,—the poetry of his thoughts, images, or facts, come out as naturally as a blush or smile over a beautiful countenance; his pathos, sublimity, or picturesque descriptions, are in season and in place; they produce their instant effect, and are gone, like the smile or the blush, while we are gazing upon them, leaving the general aspect unchanged.

'Prosaic verse, every body knows, is what any body may write, and nobody will endure; nor, in a polite age, can it, under any circumstances, be rendered attractive. But poetical prose, though the dullest, heaviest, clumsiest kind of literature, has, in some notorious instances, found more favour. In French, indeed, from the absolute want of a genuine poetical diction,—neither the rhythm, the rhyme, nor the reason, it may be said, of the language, allowing "thoughts that breathe" to vent themselves in "words that burn,"—a florid prose style has been adopted with signal effect in the *Télémaque* of Fenelon;

which no mastery of his native tongue could have made tolerable in French verse, any more than the most consummate mastery of our own could make tolerable to a good ear in English prose.' pp. 76, 7.

Some works of this description, it is remarked, have been extensively read in our 'refractory language', but their day is gone by. Hervey's *Meditations*, Mrs. Collier's translation of Gesner's *Death of Abel*, and Macpherson's 'rhapsodies,' are briefly and somewhat severely criticised. The Lecturer then proceeds to shew, that, although 'there is reason, as well as custom, in that 'conventional simplicity which best becomes prose, and that conventional ornament which is allowed to verse, splendid ornament 'is no more essential to verse, than naked simplicity is to prose.' The noblest and most impassioned scenes of our great Dramatist are frequently distinguished from prose only by the cadence of the verse.

'How much the power of poetry depends upon the nice inflections of rhythm alone, may be proved, by taking the finest passages of Milton or Shakspeare, and merely putting them into prose, with the least possible variation of the words themselves. The attempt would be like gathering up dewdrops, which appear jewels and pearls on the grass, but run into water into the hand: the essence and the elements remain, but the grace, the sparkle, and the form are gone. But, independent of the metrical arrangement of syllables, there is an indescribable mannerism which distinguishes poetry from prose.' p. 88.

This remark is finely illustrated by an example taken from the Hebrew Scriptures. In a subsequent lecture, treating of the diction of poetry, Mr. Montgomery gives an amusing illustration of the difference between what is poetical and what is prosaic in phraseology; and at the same time shews, 'how evanescent is 'poetical spirit, how inconvertible poetic diction', by translating three lines from Ariel's song in the *Tempest*, into words perfectly synonymous.

' " Nothing in him that *doth fade*,  
But doth suffer a *sea-change*  
Into something *rich and strange*."

' There's nothing in him that *decays*,  
But *undergoes an alteration from the water*  
Into something *valuable and uncommon*.'

Here, every one perceives that the poetry has escaped, and that the *residuum* is flat prose.

At the head of the English prose writers whose compositions the most nearly resemble poetry, stands Jeremy Taylor; and a florid paragraph from the first section of his 'Holy Dying' is cited with a view to shew, how far short his ornate rhetoric falls of the genuine character of poetical composition. There is a rich accumulation of thoughts, an opulence of imagery, a power of



diction, but resembling 'an inventory of ideas and metaphors; rather than a select and well harmonized array of such as would best impress the mind and affect the heart, on the most solemn of all subjects—man's mortality.'

'And such,' continues Mr. Montgomery, 'is the general character of composition in the multitudinous works of this "old man eloquent." He is never carried away by the fervency of passion; he always preserves his presence of mind and self-possession; he can draw upon the treasures of his imagination to any amount, and can multiply examples and illustrations at leisure, to enforce his arguments with what may be called "cumulative evidence." His crowded sentences are like piles of magnificent furniture in the upholsterer's show-rooms; not tastefully displayed in the halls and saloons of a royal palace. They resemble instruments of war, curiously displayed in a national armoury; not glittering from afar, like those of well appointed legions marching to battle....Hence, with all his learning, genius, and industry, Jeremy Taylor never could be a poet, because he never went beyond himself—beside himself, if you will. He has put the question beyond doubt: he tried verse; but his lines are like petrifications, glittering, and hard, and cold; formed by a slow but certain process in the laboratory of abstract thought; not like flowers, springing spontaneously from a kindly soil, fresh, and fragrant, and blooming in open day. The erudite divine is always in his study....Full of poetic materials as his prose is, those materials are seldom poetically disposed.' pp. 90—91.

Nor is his composition tuned to the ear. We agree with Mr. Montgomery in deprecating 'prose run mad'; but prose has its rhythm, as well as poetry, or is at least susceptible of a harmonious collocation not less pleasing. Of this, Hooker and Milton afford some exquisite examples; and to his nice perception and careful observance of the melody and cadences of prose diction, the beauty of Robert Hall's compositions is greatly owing. King James's Translators have admirably succeeded in their modulation of the language, in many parts of their Version of the poetical books. In this respect, Lowth's Version is decidedly inferior; and here all critical translators are found to fail. We could have wished that Mr. Montgomery had devoted a lecture to prose composition.

We are pleased to find Gray's merits properly appreciated and vindicated. He is pronounced to be 'one of the few, the very few of our greatest poets, who deserve to be studied in every line, for the apprehension of that wonderful sweetness, power, and splendour of versification which has made him (scholastic and difficult as he is) one of the most popular of writers, though his rhymes are occasionally flat, and his phrases heathen Greek to ordinary readers.' The secret of his supremacy consists principally in 'the consummate art with which his diction is elaborated into the most melodious concatenation of syllables,' and the lines implicated so as to 'evolve in progression,' carrying the

mind onward to the close. These felicities of language, in both the sound and significance of the words employed, are felt even by the vulgar who have minds and ears; felt, though not understood by them. But what is stranger, they are as little understood by many who set up for poets, and others who pass for critics. It has even been mistaken for a proof of genius, to despise that art by which genius works, and to regard as a thing of no importance, that the instrument should be tuned which the poet has to make vocal. Poetry, in the present day, is written so exclusively for the eye, that the picturesque in language alone is studied; so the utter disregard of what is harmonious. There are, indeed, noble exceptions. Campbell's poetry is always melody; so is Montgomery's. Wordsworth's sonnets are generally perfect in modulation. Moore's versification is often, but not always musical. Mrs. Hemans astonishes us by the exquisite melody of some of her compositions, contrasted with the harshness and carelessness of her versification on other occasions. Of some other writers who have attained popularity, it may be questioned whether they ever read aloud their own poetry, or whether, if they have done so, they have an ear. Such poetry, wanting the most essential charm of verse, cannot be permanent, although it is not perceived why it will not be so. That which pleases the fancy through the eye, may please the many for a time; but that which delights the ear, will alone be cherished by the memory, and endure the test of perpetual repetition.

Poetry is a subject that would be better understood, did not every one suppose himself to be already fully acquainted with it, when he has read an art of poetry, and acquired the knack of rhyming. These Lectures will render a useful service to literature, if they but lessen the confidence of polite ignorance, and produce the conviction, that Poetry is indeed neither a mere pastime, nor a mechanical production, nor a superficial exercise of the faculties, but 'the short-hand of thought,' the hieroglyphic of feeling,—that to language which music is to sound, and sunshine to light,—the most excellent of the fine arts, the interpreter of nature, and the handmaid to devotion. All this, he who enters into the spirit of these Lectures will feel it to be. The genius of the Poet could alone have inspired and directed the taste of the critic; and no intelligent reader can rise from the perusal without catching in some degree the reflection of the enthusiasm which lights up its pages. We have sometimes felt occasion to differ from Mr. Montgomery in opinion, though to no one, in his own walk of criticism, should we so willingly defer as an authority; but his criticisms are always worth attending to, and the entire volume will to the genuine lovers of poetry be replete alike with instruction and delight.

We have remarked that the present times are unfavourable to the production or the success of poetry. Literature has, like the vegetable world, its seasons; and different species have their

especial times for putting forth their fullest luxuriance, or their bearing years. The present is the period of diffusion, of growth, not of elaboration. The trees of the garden are making wood, rather than bearing fruit. But let us not mistake these alternations for decline or decay. When the feverish excitement of the present times has subsided, when men have leisure to reflect and to feel, when the knowledge that is making has ripened into wisdom, when the provision for the necessities of life shall not swallow up the means of obtaining its intellectual luxuries, and other books shall find a sale than those which may be regarded as either tools or toys,—then Poetry shall resume its influence, and the revived demand will not fail to originate a fresh supply. In the mean time, new materials for the sublimest poetry are being accumulated in the records of the past and the ever widening prospects of the future. Hitherto, the former has been the chief fount of poetic inspiration; but, to a devout and ardent spirit, there is a never failing spring of elevated feeling that the world knows not of, in the aspirations of hope, in the destinies of human nature, in the glorious things of promise and prophecy, and in the world to come.

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Art. II. *Taxation, Revenue, Expenditure, Power, Statistics, and Debt of the whole British Empire; their Origin, Progress, and present State.* With an Estimate of the Capital and Resources of the Empire, and a practical Plan for applying them to the Liquidation of the National Debt. The whole founded on, and illustrated by, Official Tables and Authentic Documents. By Pablo Pebrer, Member of several Scientific and Literary Societies. 8vo., pp. xx., 548. Price 18s. London, 1833.

**T**HIS is a very extraordinary volume; extraordinary for the immense labour that must have been bestowed in collecting and arranging the multifarious details which compose the surprising mass of statistical information, and more especially as the work of a foreigner. It is no unusual thing, indeed, for Englishmen to be indebted to foreign writers for the best account of their own history and institutions. Rapin, De Lolme, Dupin, Cottu, and Cesar Moreau have, in this respect, laid them under the deepest obligations; and of the invaluable labours of the last of these, Mr. Pebrer has availed himself in the present work. Still, that our learned Spaniard should have so successfully surmounted the peculiar disadvantages and difficulties with which he has had to contend, writing, as well as prosecuting his researches, in a language not his own, is truly surprising. ‘Sensible,’ he remarks, ‘of the little weight attached to foreign authorities, in matters of national interest and internal economy, great care has been taken to select native authors, and great exertions employed in consulting national authorities.’

'A considerable number of historical works have been perused; the best writers on the National Debt, Taxation, Public Revenue and Expenditure (among whom Sir J. Sinclair ranks pre-eminent) have been examined and compared; parliamentary records and official accounts have been checked and collated; and it may be safely asserted, that few facts are stated, which do not rest upon the most approved domestic authority and the most authentic documents. Should any discrepancies be found in the Official Tables, they must be attributed to the mystified, confused, and complicated manner in which the public accounts are kept: they have been selected and compiled with considerable labour and research from hundreds of folio volumes; and the Author takes this opportunity of thanking the gentlemen of the British Museum for their great trouble, and for their kindness in occasionally allowing him the use of a private room.' p. xi.

Not without reason, Mr. Pebrer complains of the superficial and imperfect manner in which the subject of the wealth and resources of the British Empire has been treated by the few national writers who have attempted it. In the few tables which he has taken from Colquhoun, the correction of the numerous and unaccountable errors with which they abounded, has, he states, been more tedious and troublesome than the construction of new ones. The object of the present work is no other than 'to place before the British Legislature, at one view, the whole 'statistical and financial economy of the British Empire in all its 'ramifications;' and some general idea of the magnitude and difficulty of the undertaking will be obtained from a view of the table of Contents.

'Part I. ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF TAXATION, REVENUE, AND EXPENDITURE. *First Period.* From the earliest times to the end of the reign of Queen Mary. *Second Period.* From the Accession of Elizabeth to the Revolution in 1688. *Third Period.* From the beginning of the Reign of William III. to the Peace of Paris in 1815. *Fourth Period.* From the Peace of Paris to the present Time. Chronological Table of Wars and Treaties. Tables of Revenue, Expenditure, &c.

'Part II. ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE NATIONAL DEBT AND FUNDING SYSTEM. *First Period.* From the earliest times to the Accession of George III. *Second Period.* From the Accession of George III., to the Peace of Paris in 1815. Sketch of the History of the Bank. Sketch of the History of the Stock Exchange. *Third Period.* From the Peace of Paris to the present time. Tables of the Debt, Bank, and Stock Exchange.

'Part III. ESTIMATE OF THE CAPITAL, POWER, AND RESOURCES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. Sect. 1. Introduction, Data, Authorities, and Reasoning on which the Estimates are founded. 2. Capital, &c., &c. of Great Britain and Ireland. Statistical Tables to Ditto. 3. Extent and Importance of British Possessions in all quarters of the world. 4. Capital, &c., &c. of Bri-

tish Dependencies in Europe:—and Statistical Table. 5. Capital, &c., &c., of North American Colonies:—and Statistical Table. 6. Capital, &c., &c., of West Indies:—and Statistical Tables. 7. Capital, &c., &c., of British Colonies in the Indian Ocean:—and Statistical Table. 8. Capital, &c., &c., of British Settlements in Africa:—and Statistical Table. 9. Capital, &c., &c., of Settlements in Australia:—and Statistical Table. 10. Capital, &c., &c., of East Indian Empire. Tables of the Revenue, Statistics, and Debt of India. 11. General Recapitulation of the Capital, &c., of the whole British Empire:—and Statistical Table.

‘Part IV. EFFECTS OF THE TAXATION REQUIRED TO PAY THE INTEREST OF THE NATIONAL DEBT; AND A PRACTICAL PLAN FOR ITS LIQUIDATION. Sect. 1. Influence and Results of Taxation, &c. 2. Opinions of English Writers concerning the National Debt, &c. 3. Bases of a Plan for the Liquidation of the National Debt. 4. Practicability of the Plan and its advantages to all parties and all parts of the Empire. 5. Objections to the Plan answered. Tables to Part IV. Conclusion.’

Whatever may be thought of the Author's Plan for the Liquidation of the Debt, which will be explained hereafter, the substantial value of his work does not in the least depend upon the success or failure of his attempt to demonstrate the feasibility and advantages of the remedy he proposes for that enormous incubus upon the springs of industry; nor upon the entire justness of his views with regard to the disastrous operation of the Debt itself. The fourth part, which is devoted to this subject, extends to but a few pages, while the bulk of the work is occupied with developing the astonishing wealth and resources of the British Empire. That Empire presents, to a philosophic foreigner, a stupendous enigma.

‘In contemplating the mighty structure,’ says our Author, ‘while the reflecting mind is astonished at the solidity of its constituent parts, it is no less surprised at the many and striking evils which are visible at the very foundation of that wonderful fabric, and which seem to pervade its whole frame. The greatest contradictions, the most unaccountable economical paradoxes, the most perplexing anomalies, are met with at every step of the inquiry. There is found an immense excess of capital, the very source of production, causing distress instead of prosperity amongst its owners! An extraordinary excess of labour, the very cause of wealth, producing poverty, ruin, and misery amongst the labourers themselves! A great and powerful empire, where knowledge, invention, and art have multiplied in a boundless manner the means for the enjoyment of life, and for the satisfaction of all its wants, comforts, and luxuries; but where the very perfection of these springs of human and social happiness occasions misfortune, distress, and perpetual agitation amongst the members of that great empire itself! There must, therefore, be some hidden defect in that mighty structure, something wrong in the combination of that wonderful system, or some misdirection of the immense resources of that greatest of empires.’ p. v.

There are, as we believe, many things wrong; and a strong presumption lies against the soundness of reasonings which would refer to any single defect, to any one cause, the irregularities and inequalities, and consequent sufferings, which are found coexisting with all this wealth and prosperity. Apart from any such main defect or disturbing force, the very complexity and nicety of the social machinery, the multiplicity of the internal movements, the rapidity and intensity of the action, the delicacy of the operations upon which the continued prosperity of the whole and of each part depends, would almost sufficiently account for all the individual sufferings and distress which occur in such a state of society.

But, whether they can be rightly accounted for or not, they are felt—felt so as sometimes to spread alarm and despondency over the minds of many who are not alarmists by profession, or for sinister purposes. The anomalies above described in the condition of Great Britain, are scarcely more surprising and perplexing to an intelligent foreigner, than the preposterous manner in which her own politicians, ignorant of the immense resources of the empire, croak over the public burdens, and perpetually predict all sorts of ruin. Very few persons in this country have the slightest conception of the means or the capital, the extent or the resources of the empire which engirdles the world, and levies tribute on all nations.

‘There does not exist,’ remarks Mr. Pebrer, ‘the record of a nation ever ruling such a number of inhabitants, possessing such vast territories, having such immense colonies, and commanding such extensive dominions all over the world, as England does at the present time. They encircle the globe as it were. From Heligoland to Quebec, from this stronghold to the fortified Malta, from the impregnable Gibraltar to the important Cape of Good Hope, from the military rock of St. Helena to the rich Ceylon,—scarcely can there be found on the surface of the globe a place where a warehouse of British goods does not rear its head, and a squadron is not at all times ready to defend British property.’

‘Thus, English capital is spread over all her dominions, and invested in forwarding the productions of her remote and extensive possessions in all parts of the world. It is true, that a grand political and economical question is often agitated in respect to these colonies; namely, whether England receives a compensation for the large capital employed in these possessions; or whether she derives any commercial advantages from them, which she might not have without them; and, consequently, whether it would not be much more advantageous to the British interests, revenue, and capital, to emancipate them from her rule.’

‘But leaving these vital questions to the able contending parties, and entertaining an equal regard for both, the author cannot but agree with one of them, that from the very day on which the ada-



mantine chain above described shall either be broken or abandoned to other powers, the mighty England will begin to cease to be the First of Nations; her influence over the commercial world will be diminished; her proud trident will undoubtedly lose the respect it now commands from all nations. But until that day happens, (and, for the happiness of the human race, may it be retarded for ages!) it must be agreed on all hands, that these possessions not only constitute an integral part of Great Britain, but that their value forms an essential portion of the aggregate capital of the British empire.'

pp. 369—371.

We have never been disposed to depreciate the importance of even the West India Colonies, burdensome as they have been rendered to this country by the bounties and imposts which have been found necessary in order to keep up the sugar monopoly, and to keep down the slaves. But what are those Colonies in comparison with the boundless field of commercial enterprise which our Indian empire presents? The capital invested in the North American Colonies, too, is even greater in proportion than in the West Indies; especially the fixed capital in the shape of public works and buildings; and the progressive annual increase of emigration to these colonies, is raising the aggregate of British capital invested in them, by rapid strides. Besides these, the Cape Colony and Australia are fast rising in wealth and importance. Yet, our all-for-economy men talk of the expediency of getting rid of the colonies as fast as possible; that is, of throwing down the bulwarks of our commerce, as the cheapest means of preserving it, and of destroying the main securities of our maritime ascendancy as a saving to the State! The penny wise and pound foolish principle could not receive a more astounding illustration than in the speculations of some of our financial economists. The productive powers of this country are so gigantic, that, were it not for the debt, in comparison with which all the expenses of Government are inconsiderable, it would seem almost absurd to speak of the country's not affording to keep up its colonial establishments. The following is our Author's estimate of the aggregate of the wealth, capital, and power of Great Britain.

'It appears that, according to the moderate calculation adopted in all these estimates, there exists, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a capital, public and private, of 3,679,500,000*l.*!

'The greatest part of this enormous capital is beneficially employed in creating substantial property, and in promoting industry and enterprise in the multifarious pursuits and occupations by which the necessities, the comforts, and the luxuries of life are raised and provided. The most useful and important of these is Agriculture, which raises, in all its branches, annual produce to the value of 246,600,000*l.*; or fifty-two millions and a half more than the total produce of this



branch in France, considered to be the first agricultural country in Europe. The value of the produce of Mines and Minerals, in the United Kingdom, is 21,400,000*l.* The produce and profits of the numerous classes engaged in Inland Trade, amount to the large sum of 48,425,000*l.* And of those important branches to all maritime nations, the Coasting Trade and the Fisheries, the former yields 3,550,000*l.*, and the latter 3,400,000*l.* The annual gains of all those engaged in Shipping and Foreign Trade, amount to 34,398,059*l.* The profits of Bankers may be stated at 4,500,000*l.*; and the income derived from property invested in foreign securities, including the sum annually remitted from India, is estimated at 4,500,000*l.* Lastly, the capital, labour, and machinery employed in all the numerous and extensive branches of Manufactures, annually raise produce valued at the enormous sum of 148,050,000*l.*!

‘ Thus, the grand result of the combination of the prodigious capital above stated, with all animate and inanimate power, is the annual creation of produce and property to the amount of 514,823,059*l.*!!

‘ Such are the astonishing effects of the wealth, talent, industry, and intelligence concentrated in this extraordinary country: such is the immense capital, and such are the amazing productive powers of this little isle—this “precious stone set in the silver sea”, as the poet calls it. But even *his* portentous imagination was far from conceiving the power which “that little world”—“that fortress built by nature”—would one day reach: he could not even have fancied that thousands of tons of goods would be conveyed with a speed greater than that of the messenger pigeons of Aleppo and Antwerp: he could not have imagined, that, by the combined aid of steam and capital, the productive powers of each of that “happy breed of men” would be rendered equal to the simple exertions of several hundred individuals!

‘ From all this may be easily concluded how imperfect have been the statements of those who have calculated the productive powers of Great Britain, and compared them with those of France and other countries: this important inquiry and comparison is reserved for another opportunity; while sufficient facts and data are here stated to give the mind of the reader more just and correct ideas of the real productive powers and capital of this country; a country, however, only to be considered as the *mighty heart*, which diffuses strength and vigour throughout all the *limbs* of that gigantic body, the British Empire; while they, by a strong and reciprocal motion, return and increase its vitality, action, and power.

‘ In the parts more immediately connected with England, and in all her dependencies in Europe, there is supposed to exist a capital of 27,115,094*l.*; and the produce annually raised, is valued at 2,146,198*l.*

‘ The seven important North American possessions, as may be seen by the Table, have a capital of 62,100,466*l.*; and raise annually produce and property worth 17,620,629*l.*

‘ The West India Colonies, with a capital of 131,052,424*l.*, raise every year produce valued at 22,496,672*l.*

‘ The whole British capital in Africa amounts to only 6,444,398*l.*; and these settlements, unproductive like the country itself, yield an annual produce of only 1,066,065*l.*

‘ To compensate for this, there is in the two fertile islands in the Indian Ocean, a capital of 27,509,781*l.*; and the value of the produce annually raised is 4,291,332*l.*

‘ While the new, but rapidly improving settlements in Australia already possess a capital of 2,685,000*l.*; and raise produce amounting to 520,000*l.*

‘ It is almost impossible to obtain sufficient data and facts, on which to make a sound calculation of the immense and diversified productions raised in the vast territories of British India; peopled by such numerous races, all differing from ourselves in habits, religion, customs, and manner of living. However, by the help of a multitude of official documents, and such statistical information as could be collected from the numerous works relating to that region, the total capital of the British Empire in India has been estimated at 1,611,077,354*l.*; and the produce and property annually raised, at 313,200,000*l.*

‘ Thus, the total aggregate capital existing in all the extent of the British Empire in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, will amount to 5,547,484,517*l.*; and the aggregate value of all produce and property annually raised and created by the combination of that capital, with all animate and inanimate power, to 876,175,755*l.*; the total population to 116,969,978; and the total extent of territory to 4,457,598 square miles; with a superior navy of 27,000 men, and a regular standing army of 96,419 men in Europe, and 223,461 men in India.’ pp. 472—476.

A Statistical Table is annexed, from which we take the following calculations.

	Population.	Geog. Sq. Miles.	Pub. and Priv. Prop. *
Great Britain and Ireland . . . . .	24,271,758	90,948	3,679,500,000
British Dependencies in Europe . . . . .	247,701		27,115,094
North Amer. Colonies . . . . .	911,229	1,930,000	62,100,466
West Indies . . . . .	733,617		131,052,424
Indian Ocean (Mauritius and Ceylon) . . . . .	1,034,736	23,000	27,509,781
Africa . . . . .	154,046	91,000	6,444,398
Australia . . . . .	39,685	1,496,000	2,685,000
East Indies . . . . .	89,577,206	826,650	1,611,077,354
	<u>116,969,978</u>	<u>4,457,598</u>	<u>5,547,484,517</u>

In the above enumeration, neither the kingdom of Hanover nor the Ionian Republic is included. The latter is, to all intents

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\* These are distinguished in the Table.

and purposes, a dependency of Great Britain, although it is in form an independent State, under the protection of 'the King of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors.' The population is estimated at 208,100 inhabitants. That of the Kingdom of Hanover is about a million and a half. The population of the West Indies is underrated, as is that of the North American Colonies and Australia. India also, including the dependent and tributary States, contains more nearly 120 than 90 millions. We have elsewhere set down the total aggregate in round numbers at 150,000,000, which we believe to be within the truth \*. The estimate of the superficial extent of the British empire, which is the same as Balbi's, makes it considerably larger than the Chinese empire, two thirds the extent of the Russian, and almost three times as vast as that of Imperial Rome, which it very far exceeds in populousness. In point of substantial wealth and moral supremacy, the British dominion leaves the boasted empires of antiquity immeasurably behind.

One of the most striking features of the general Statistical Table, is the comparative view it exhibits of the imports and exports, and of the estimated value of the produce annually raised in Great Britain and her respective colonies. We shall merely give those of the East and West Indies.

	Value of Produce.	Imports into the United Kingdom.	Exports from the United Kingdom.
West Indies . . .	22,496,672	9,087,914	5,521,169
Mauritius and Ceylon	4,291,332	654,666	372,026
East Indies . . .	313,200,000	6,218,284	4,100,264

Thus, it would seem, that while the annual produce of the East Indies is fourteen times that of the West Indies, this country imports only two thirds as much in value from her Indian possessions, that she does from her sugar colonies in the Western hemisphere. If this circumstance may be thought, on the one hand, to prove the importance of the West India trade, it shews at the same time, how much the prosperity of India has been sacrificed to it. Upon the subject of opening the trade to India entirely, Mr. Pebrer has the following remarks.

'Would these beneficial results' (those which have followed the partial opening of the trade to British subjects in 1813) 'continue their progress, if the trade was *quite* opened to the British nation? —Ought the British to be allowed to settle, buy lands, employ their capital, and act as the subjects of other nations do, in India? Upon the decision of these questions depends the happiness or misfortune, the prosperity or distress, of millions of British European and Indian subjects. It cannot be denied, even by the party who think "that

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\* See Eclect. Rev. 3d Series, Vol. iv. p. 493.

this measure would be productive of more mischief than good," that the application of British capital, activity, and industry, to Indian agriculture, deficient as it is in every respect, but especially in *means*, would produce the most wonderful results. The cultivation of sugar, coffee, tobacco, and above all, cotton, might be increased *ad infinitum*. All men conversant with the manners and feelings of the natives of India agree as to their willing disposition, and the absence of all jealousy towards the Europeans, *on these points*: all parties allow, that the soil of India, its extent, variety of climate, and fertility, are eminently adapted to the cultivation of these productions. Now, after reflecting how often the production and supply of particular articles has, in a short period, passed from one nation to another,—after remembering how the present of a few Merino sheep, injudiciously made by the King of Spain to the King of Saxony, threw Spanish wool out of the English market,—and considering how the cultivation of cotton passed from the Spanish colonies to the North Americans, and how the Spanish American indigo was superseded by its immense production in India, and this by a very limited number of industrious British individuals, and in a very short space of time,—one is really at a loss to see why the same results should not ensue with regard to sugar and coffee, and particularly, why tobacco and cotton, which are of easier cultivation, and require less skill than indigo, could not be brought to supersede the two staple exports of North America; thereby saving five millions a year, which we now pay for the last article alone, and imposing, at the same time, a good check upon American tariffs. One cannot but think, that England would derive great advantages by opening her trade to India, and encouraging the investment of capital there; besides increasing the agriculture, industry, commerce, and above all, the shipping, of her own subjects.'

pp. 443, 444.

After exposing the mistaken and narrow policy, as well as gross mismanagement of the fiscal administration, which have prevented the greater advancement of India in wealth and prosperity, by impairing the very sources of production,—the Author concludes the Section with expressing his regret, 'that, for the 'sake of the general commerce and intercourse of nations, and 'the happiness of mankind, England does not direct a part of 'her force, a part of her immense power in India, towards 'China.'

'For the first mercantile nation to suffer one of the best parts of the world, with a territory of 1,372,410 square miles, and a population of 155,000,000, to be almost hermetically closed against the rest; to endure daily insults from an infamous despotical government, one of whose maxims is to despise foreigners and trade, and which does not possess a shade of power capable of facing the mighty combined naval and military superiority of the British, is certainly quite unpardonable and unwarrantable, and utterly unworthy of the British nation.' p. 453.

But let us now look back to the origin and progress of this immense commercial empire. In the reign of William the Conqueror, the public revenue of England was about 400,000*l*. In the reigns of his successors, it sank as low as 100,000*l*. Henry VII. raised it again to 400,000*l*.; and his son, by means sufficiently notorious, doubled it. In the reign of Charles I., it had risen to nearly 900,000*l*. In that of James II., it was upwards of two millions. At the accession of George I., it was 6,762,643*l*. In 1760, when George III., acceded to the throne, it was 15,372,971*l*. During his reign, it was raised by the extreme pressure of taxation as high as 77 millions; and the total expenditure in the same year (1816), including the sinking fund of 13,500,000*l*., reached the enormous amount of 130,305,958*l*. In 1794, the total expenditure was under 23,000,000*l*. In some recent years, the excise has produced more than all the revenue of France; the customs, in the last year, yielded more than the united revenues of Russia and Holland; the stamps, only a million less than all the public income of Prussia; and the land and assessed taxes, a sum equal to the income of Spain! From such humble beginnings has the public revenue of this country been augmented to its present oppressive magnitude. 'The first grant in money, amounting to 50,000*l*., was voted by Parliament for the expedition of Poitiers; while for those (contests) which ended at Waterloo, above 700 millions were granted!' And how granted? By drafts upon Posterity and Co., to that amount; in other words, by the creation of the National Debt.

The amount of a public revenue derived from taxation, is a criterion of national wealth, so far as that taxation indicates the extent of its foreign commerce and the consumption of articles of luxury, and provided that it does not press upon the springs of industry. But, pushed to excess, it obviously becomes a symptom of distress, instead of a sign of wealth. No other country in the world could have sustained the burdens which the lavish expenditure occasioned by impolitic and destructive wars have entailed upon Great Britain; and the amount of taxation indicates, therefore, the extraordinary resources of the nation, and the astonishing elasticity of public credit. But, although its Government's being *able* to raise so much larger a revenue than that of any other country, is a proof of the national wealth, that wealth would obviously be greater, if the taxation were reduced, and the public revenue lessened by one half.

The average revenue produced by taxation in the three years ending in 1832, was about 54 millions; of which 28 millions (nearly one half) are applied to the interest of the debt. The expenditure required by the standing military and naval force, is about 15 millions; for courts of justice, &c., less than one million; civil government and diplomacy, under 2 millions; bounties,

public works, and miscellaneous services, 3 millions and a half; expenses of collection, 3 millions. But for the sum required to meet the charges of the debt, the total civil expenditure of the State would not be much above 8 millions, including the expense of collection; and the army and navy might be safely reduced, should peace continue, and West India slavery be abolished, to, perhaps, 12 millions. A revenue of 20 millions, therefore, would be adequate to meet all the natural demands upon the public treasury.

In what mode is this income raised? The customs and excise have of late years amounted to between 35 and 40 millions; the stamp duties to 7 millions; the assessed and land taxes to rather more than 5 millions; the post office and other small revenues to 3 millions. Were there no debt, the land-tax, post-office, and miscellaneous revenues would cover half the civil expenditure; leaving only about 16 millions to be raised by customs and excise, instead of 35 or 40, if all the stamp duties and assessed taxes were repealed. The latter, with nearly two thirds of the customs and excise, are swallowed up by the interest of the national mortgage. Now of this immense sum of 40 millions, nearly the whole is levied upon the consumption of the necessaries of life; upon food, coals, malt, sugar, dress, household articles, raw produce, and the raw materials of manufactures. The injurious consequences of this excessive pressure of taxation are strongly depicted by Mr. Pebrer.

‘By such taxes the productive classes of the state are overloaded; the poorer people, with less means, contribute a greater share than the wealthy. But this is not the worst: by such measures the primary source of produce, *labour*, is injured; the elements influencing wages, as food, household expenses, &c. are raised; and consequently those elements, into which all manufactures are resolved, must be elevated in proportion. Manufactures increasing in price, sales must diminish in the same ratio; and, to increase the evil, we possess no control over foreign improvements, and our home markets are extremely limited, in proportion to our daily increasing productive powers.

‘But it is contended, that “this mode of taxation, being circuitous and indirect, does not produce the baneful effects on manufactures which are imagined.” This doctrine, as will be presently shewn, ruined a great manufacturing nation; but to exhibit its fallacy and absurdity at once, let us suppose a direct tax of five shillings a yard imposed upon cloth—undoubtedly cloth would not meet with buyers in the foreign market: but the result must be the same, if the yard of cloth become five shillings dearer in consequence of the high rate of wages and the high price of the materials constituting it. To expect any other result is a manifest absurdity.

‘But if labour is affected by these imposts acting *directly* upon it, how much more will it be crippled, when, to that pressure, is added the combination of a host of *indirect* taxes? For when *labour* is thus



greatly depressed, the other two sources of production being intimately connected with it, and possessing a reciprocal action amongst themselves, must be exceedingly injured. *Capital*, that agent of production, whose only country is "higher interest", will be affected first: not being able to obtain an adequate interest, it must flow to more beneficial channels, it must abandon this country for a more favourable region, or it must lie idle. Ricardo himself, struggling to maintain that the high prices of commodities occasioned by taxation are no disadvantage to this country, could not resist the evidence of truth; for he adds, that "the interest of the contributors is, to withdraw their shoulders from the burden, and to remove themselves and their capital from the country". A loss of population, then, as well as of capital, will be the result; while, by this twofold combination, *land*, the third source of production, will be more seriously and effectively injured. But these baneful effects will be more considerably felt in a country of limited extent like England, where, while the population is increasing, the fertility of the soil is rapidly decreasing, and for that very reason requires lower wages and an increased capital. The greatest pressure, therefore, will fall upon the land. Thus, by a chain of evils so intimately connected, the three principal springs of production will be injured, and the wealth accumulated by centuries of industry will disappear in a short period. Such has actually been the awful but uninterrupted march, even in nations which possessed a more extensive and more fertile soil, and were far from being in the artificial situation in which England is at present placed.' pp. 482—484.

The amount raised by Government taxes, it must be recollected, forms but a part of the national burdens. The poor-rates amount to upwards of 8 millions; besides which, there are other local imposts and the church-rate. It is calculated, however, that nearly one third of the poor-rates is employed to pay wages; and a very large proportion is consumed in law charges. By a proper administration of the fund and a better law of settlement, the rate might be reduced at least one half. Mr. Pebrer proceeds to remark, that the pressure of the present amount of taxation has been greatly increased by the fall of prices since the Restriction Act. This is true; but when he adds, upon the authority of 'many well-informed writers' whom he does not name, that every *l.* levied in taxation, followed through all the successive stages and chain of operations, becomes a burden upon the public of thrice or even six times that amount, pressing with that accumulated weight upon the sources of production, we must think, that he lays himself open to the charge of exaggeration. At all events, the theory does not materially affect the general argument. The pressure of taxation, the Author seems to forget, depends not simply upon the amount raised, but upon the proportion which that amount bears to the productive powers and the consumption of the country,—upon the equality with which that pressure is distributed, so as to prevent its weight from in-

juriously crippling any particular species of production,—and upon the degree in which taxation enters, as an element of price, into the cost of necessities. When Mr. Pebrer states, that it was a pressure much inferior to that of the present amount of taxation in this country, which occasioned the downfall of those once flourishing commercial and manufacturing nations, Spain and Holland, he assumes that which he has to prove. In short, we cannot but think, that he greatly overrates the prejudicial effects of taxation; while he overlooks the fact, that a corn-law, so far as it tends to raise the price of the first necessary of life, and consequently to affect every other, must have all the injurious consequences which he ascribes to excessive taxation.

But we are touching upon points which do not fairly come within our notice at present. Without denying, what it would be absurd to deny, that the country generally would be greatly relieved and benefited by a remission of taxes, or a diminution of the public burdens, we can by no means think that the public revenues of England are carried to the utmost height of which they are capable without destroying industry. There would seem to be some truth in Mirabeau's remark, 'that there is an uncertainty in every thing which concerns taxation, which is too dark for the acutest genius to clear up.'\* He goes too far in denying that any instance can be produced of a people ruined by taxes. Yet, it would be difficult to prove that taxation ever proved ruinous by its simple amount. Bad fiscal laws, partial and oppressive imposts, and, more than all, financial embarrassments, have been the true cause of the calamities that have shaken states to their foundation.

Mr. Pebrer will be thought to have made an important concession, when, in defending his plan for paying off 500,000,000*l.* of the national debt by a general assessment of 9*s.* 4*d.* per cent. upon all the private property and capital in the empire, he thus meets the objection, 'Why not pay off the whole?'

'*A very small National Debt is not injurious to a great nation: it places her in a situation to borrow, should she require it, cheaper and with better credit. A small debt can affect the primary sources of production but lightly....In a country like Great Britain, where charitable institutions, corporations, benefit societies, schools, &c., &c., are so numerous, and the amount of property litigated is so immense, a place of deposit for their funds, legacies, &c., is absolutely necessary; more especially in the present constitution of society.*' pp. 532—3.

The present funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1832, 782,667,234*l.* At the commencement of the French Revolutionary war, it was only 233,733,609*l.* So that the whole sum (and more than that) which it is now deemed necessary to get rid

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\* Ecl. Rev., Jan. 1833, p. 75.

of, to save the country from ruin, has been added to the National Debt, chiefly by Mr. Pitt, 'the heaven-born minister,' since 1790. The American war, the most iniquitous and most expensive in which this country was ever involved by the obstinacy of the monarch and the folly of his ministers, had previously added to the debt in seven years, 102,541,819*l*. The whole increase of the debt during the reign of George III., was upwards of 700,000,000*l*. ! The following is the state of the debt at different periods.

	Principal. <i>£</i>	Interest. <i>£</i>
Debt at the Revolution of 1688.....	664,263	39,855
—— accession of George II.....	52,092,235	2,217,551
—— the conclusion of the } Peace of 1762                }	.....146,682,844	4,840,821
—— the Peace of Amiens in 1802	528,839,277	20,428,488
—— Paris in 1816....	864,822,441	41,225,257

The facility with which this debt was so rapidly created, is one of the most remarkable facts in history ; and scarcely less remarkable than the fact, is the machinery which the loan system has called into play and raised to its present importance. The principal instruments in raising this enormous sum were, the Bank and the Stock Exchange. Of these two great rival corporations, Mr. Pebrer has introduced a brief historical notice. The history of the Bank is generally known ; but that of the other engine of the National Debt is shrouded in greater obscurity. It was about the year 1700, that the Stock Exchange folk, becoming too numerous, and encumbering too much the Bank offices, were compelled to choose a larger place for their meetings, and transferred 'the centre of jobbing to the kingdom of Change Alley.' Notwithstanding the attacks made upon the corporation, and the various acts passed to check its operations, the frequenters of the Stock Exchange continually increased in number : but 'this powerful engine remained in a humble state, till the immense operations of the Government and the Bank in 1802 required a proportionably greater support. Forty-nine millions were borrowed in that extraordinary year.

'It was already high time that the submissive but powerful supporters of operations of such magnitude and importance, should leave that obscure place, and get rid of such clumsy and wretched arrangements. Accordingly, in this very year, the leading men came forward, entered into a subscription, and erected the present building of the Stock Exchange ; appointed trustees and managers, and a select committee of thirty ; and formed a regular corporation and monopoly. They declared, "that the Committee for general purposes shall admit such persons (whether proprietors or not) as they shall think proper, to attend or frequent the Stock Exchange, for transacting therein the business of a stock broker or jobber, &c., at the price which, for the

time being, shall have been fixed by the trustees and managers for such admission." (Deed of settlement, sec. 37.) And, following the charter of the Bank in all its bearings, they appointed officers, &c. ; using the word chairman instead of governor ; deputy chairman instead of deputy governor ; and, instead of direction, committee for general purposes, of whom "seven are to be a quorum, and to have *the sole management, regulation, and direction* of the concerns of the undertaking, except the treasurership thereof, and the management and direction of the buildings." (Deed of settlement, sec. 9.) "The chairman shall have a casting vote" (sec. 11) : and "the secretary shall hold his office during the pleasure of the committee." It is true, the chairman and deputy chairman do not take the oath after their election, that the governor and deputy governor of the Bank do, in virtue of which they "do promise and swear, that they will do the utmost in their power, and *by all lawful ways and means* endeavour, to support and maintain the body politic and fellowship of the government and company of the Bank of England (Stock Exchange !) and the liberties and privileges thereof, and that in the execution of the said office, they will faithfully and honestly demean themselves, according to the best of their skill and understanding, so help them God" (see the original charter of the Bank) ; but this corporation is invested with the power of enacting "Rules, Orders, and Bye-Laws," more imperative, strong, and exclusive, than those of the Bank itself.

' The ceremonial performed at the installation of a chevalier of the Order of the Garter, or even of the Golden Fleece, is certainly not more impressive, nor the act of the *accolade* itself so awful, as the admission of a member to the Stock Exchange.

' But however laughable and ridiculous all this may appear to unreflecting minds, it is by this means, by "the deed of settlement," and by its "regulations and bye-laws," that the Stock Exchange has become a more politic, exclusive, and corporate body, than the Bank of England, without incurring the expense of a charter, or the odium of possessing one. Its power, consequently, received a greater impulse ; and in spite of public opinion, and the disgraceful conduct of some of its members, the Government began to treat that body with some little consideration : they even ventured to mention the Stock Exchange in the House of Commons with a certain degree of respect ; the commissioner for the reduction of the national debt was sent into the house of the Stock Exchange ; and the Bank, the moment they received an order to enter into any financial operation with the Government, sent a message to that corporation, giving the full particulars of it.

' How much this body politic, after it received its organization, aided the operations of the Bank, combined with those of the Government, is shewn by the immense debt annually created from 1802 till the peace of Paris. The facts speak for themselves. The activity, the exertions, the contrivances, the allurements, displayed by its 700 members towards all classes of society, to induce them to part with their money, can only be judged of by the magnitude of the operations, and the success which attended them. They evidently prevailed in falsifying that elegant verse of Juvenal, "*—quando major avaritiæ*

patuit sinus?" for in those epochs that passion was still more largely excited.

The power of the corporation at the peace, therefore, was very considerable: but the operations of the Government and the Bank having comparatively ceased since that period, the power of that body might naturally be expected to have decreased also. This however was not the case. An immense and boundless field was opened to the establishment, by the new system of *rentes* and borrowing adopted by the continental powers. Members of the Stock Exchange who had never before travelled further than from their lodgings to Sweeting's Alley or the new 'House,' ran, with perfect ease, the extraordinary distances from London to Paris, and from Petersburg to Madrid. The French *rentes*, and Russian, Prussian, Austrian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Poyais bonds, were as easily sold in London, as consols or omnium before the peace. Their security, stability, and the certain payment of the dividends, were most positively assured and guaranteed, by the most clever and influential members. John Bull was led to believe, that M'Gregor's faith was as good as the Bank of England, and that Great Britain was nothing compared to the unbounded and productive territory of the "kingdom of mosquitos." It is not surprising that, with such assurances, the most cautious of the John Bull tribe preferred the large annual interest of the Cacique, to the small one which the British funds yield. Thus the enormous sum of 72,694,571*l.* was borrowed by foreign powers, in the incredibly short period of seven years (1822 to 1829), through the agency and influence of this powerful body!!

By these simple and unobtrusive measures has the power of this corporation reached its present height. Its members have not only become the exclusive masters of the British market, but have acquired the immense power of directly controlling and regulating the funds and money markets of all Europe. No financial operation whatever can be safely undertaken in any of those markets, without consulting and obtaining the approbation of the "Committee of the Stock Exchange." The agents of the Bank of England have surpassed their principals: they really possess far greater power than their masters. A mere decision of a committee composed of individuals unknown beyond their own immediate circle, is more powerful, and will produce more effects in regard to any loan or financial measure, than all the laws of the sovereigns of Europe put together. Facts have, in several instances, demonstrated the truth of this assertion; and woe to the plans of Russian, Prussian, Austrian, or French ministers, unless they take proper measures to combine with the influential men of the English Stock Exchange. The unaccountable awkwardness of the Spanish ministers in neglecting this necessary precaution, has rendered the credit of Spain the lowest in the world: her funds are twenty-eight per cent. lower than those of the Pope himself! Those who are at present confidently asserting, that Don Miguel will be confirmed on the throne of Portugal by the produce of a loan raised here, or in any market in Europe, are but little acquainted with the construction, machinery, and influence of the London Stock Exchange. They ought to remember, that the loan of Don Pedro was, in the first instance, rejected; and that the emperor might be still under the re-



freshing shades of the orange-trees of the Azores, had not another party, either forming a part of the committee, or enjoying its special favour, brought forward and contracted that very loan (or a similar one) which had been so solemnly disapproved.

‘ But the power of the Stock Exchange is not limited to Europe: the New World has experienced its wonderful effects. The boundless Pampas, the colossal Cimbrazo, and the deepest caverns of Guanaxuato, have equally felt the effects of its magical power: the armies of Bolivar, San Martin, and O’Higgins, were clothed, armed, and accoutred by its exertions; and to it the Spanish Americans are indebted both for their independence and their perpetual anarchy. It is unquestionably true that, without its interference, without its unremitting toils and efforts, England never would have sent to those remote and wild regions, upwards of twenty-three millions and a half sterling, exclusive of the large sums sent on account of the mining companies.

‘ The importance of the Stock Exchange has somewhat declined since the failure of its gigantic operations on the other side of the Atlantic; and since the immense losses sustained by the public on that occasion, it has been less attended; the number of its members being reduced, at one time, as low as 400: at present, their number is about 600. It is worthy of remark, that, during all their vicissitudes, the Israelite nation has maintained its original ascendancy in this branch\*; and that very few (comparatively speaking) of that calumniated people have dishonoured their engagements. But the Stock Exchange still preserves its immense power without any essential diminution, and its engrossing monopoly without the least encroachment. The contrivers and managers of this association, infinitely superior in skill and jesuitical combination to those of the Bank itself, have secured the enjoyment of all the extensive privileges of a political corporate monopoly, without contributing in the least towards the expenses of the state for these (in reality) exclusive advantages.’ pp. 215—226.

By such means has a power been created, which governs all the commercial movements and transactions of the world. The abundance or scarcity of the precious metals is admitted to be the ultimate regulator of those operations; and the greater part of the produce of the American mines, arriving in this country, passes through the Bank of England.

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\* Many of the Jews of Amsterdam, ‘ following the customs of their ancestors towards the Moorish and Spanish kings, accompanied the army of King William when he came to this country’....‘ The great and wealthy Jew, Medina, was to be seen accompanying the great English hero, Marlborough in his campaigns; alluring his avarice and bribing his partiality with a pension of 6000*l.* a year. This great monied man of the time was to be seen getting thousands on the Stock Exchange, by sending quicker advices of the battles of Ramilies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, and Blenheim; just as has been effected in our time, by early intelligence of those of Talavera, Salamanca, Victoria, and Waterloo.’ (pp. 212—213.)



‘ Thus, an enormous deposit of precious metals is formed, and eventually becomes at the disposal of the Bank directors: they may, at their pleasure, open or shut the flood-gates of this immense reservoir. There is an extraordinary person, who, in less than five weeks, will draw from it and spread over the world 885,000*l.*! (Table XV. Part II.)—a sum equal to the fourth part of the annual produce of all the American mines. Rothschild—that wonderful man, whose individual financial operations are unprecedented, and whose power is unknown even to himself, entirely confirms this assertion, when in his straightforward evidence he says, that “not only all the gold and silver of the world will tend to come here, but that all the mercantile transactions of the globe are balanced in this emporium.”

‘ Thus it evidently appears, that the power of this establishment extends, not only over the government and over all the mercantile transactions of the globe, but even to all the foundations of society itself. Whether this colossal power should be contained in the hands of twenty-four private individuals, is the most important of all questions; a question affecting the interests of the whole world; but a question out of the pale of this inquiry. Indeed, it would be presumptuous for an individual to attempt the decision of such a point, when one of the most enlightened committees, after having put 5978 questions to, and elicited an equal number of answers from, twenty-four practical and clever men, solemnly declared, that “*it was not justified in giving a decided opinion.*”’ pp. 197—8.

Mr. Pebrer unequivocally charged upon the Bank, in a pamphlet published in 1826, the occasioning of the mercantile distress and panic of the preceding year; and he now adduces the testimony of Mr. Rothschild before the Committee on the Bank Charter, as justifying his representation. By what means the recurrence of such fatal mismanagement can be effectually guarded against, forms the most important problem that can occupy public attention. No other merely political consideration is of equal moment.

But we must hasten to conclude our somewhat desultory notice of the contents of this important volume. The Author concludes his second Part, in which he traces the origin and progress of the National Debt, and the Funding System, with the following remarks.

‘ It appears, then, that this enormous debt has been chiefly raised by means of the Bank and the Stock Exchange, aided by the delusion of the sinking fund; and that it has been principally expended in wars, most of them undertaken against the true interests of a maritime, manufacturing, and commercial nation like England,—a nation whose happy topographical situation renders her entirely independent of continental broils and quarrels. Its amount has been immensely increased in time of war; while the reductions effected in time of peace have been exceedingly limited. In the first period of peace, of twelve years’ duration, ten millions were reduced; in the second, which lasted ten years, only four millions and a half; and in the last and longest, ex-

ceeding fifteen years, the amount of the reduction has been so trifling, that it seems almost incredible. When we consider the very inconsiderable reduction effected during so protracted an interval of peace with all our immense resources and increasing revenue, the most alarming considerations naturally arise for the time to come.' pp. 242—243.

In fact, the more the debt is augmented, the less practicable it becomes to raise a surplus revenue applicable to reducing it, since a larger sum is required to meet the interest upon the debt. But those financiers who raised these immense loans, could never contemplate their being liquidated. Viewing the artificial capital thus created as so much substantial property, and identifying public credit with national wealth, they could never have deemed it desirable that that *quasi* property should be extinguished, with all its real or supposed benefits. Nor is it the interest of the lender, that it should be repaid. The matter lies then completely at the option of the borrower.

But is the National Debt a benefit to the country, or is it purely a burden? At first sight, it may seem reasonable to answer this question by putting another: Is it ever deemed an advantage to an individual to be in debt, and to have contracted a debt which he has no prospect of being able to discharge? The debt of an individual cannot, however, present a parallel case. Yet, we could imagine circumstances under which it might turn to a person's advantage to borrow money on similar terms. So long as a capitalist's credit stands high, his borrowing is but the sign of the extension of his transactions. But when it is recollected for what purpose these public loans were raised,—to be lavished in a reckless and mischievous expenditure, to be sunk and dissipated in the destruction of life, to be wasted in subsidies or exploded in gunpowder, one finds it difficult to conceive of a debt thus contracted as being other than pure loss to the country.

For whatever purpose, however, the loans had been raised, it would have come to the same thing if these 800,000,000 had been expended beyond recovery. This whole amount has in fact been sunk: What then is to be set against the loss? It is certain that, since the funding system was commenced, this country has made the most rapid and extraordinary advances in mercantile enterprise, in wealth, and in political ascendancy; and this advance has, it must be admitted, been almost coincident with the augmentation of the Debt. Yet, this fact would not of itself prove the Debt to have ministered to the wealth or prosperity of the country, which *may* have thus advanced in wealth and prosperity *in spite of it*. Shall we then ascribe the increased wealth and power of Great Britain to the wars which these loans enabled the Government to carry on? The American war was at all events, from first to last, as unprofitable as it was inglorious. The Continental wars crippled our commerce in some directions,

though they extended it in others. Upon the whole, individuals were enriched, but the nation was impoverished.

The manner in which the loans and the funding system have operated beneficially, appears to us to be this: In the first place, the extraordinary expenditure was unquestionably a stimulus of the most powerful kind to all the powers of production. The temporary demand thus created, led to the most gigantic efforts of industry, and caused an unparalleled spirit of enterprise. In the next place, the funding system by which the capital sunk in the expenditure was replaced, necessarily attracted wealthy capitalists to this country, while it presented the greatest facilities, as well as strong inducements to all classes to economize capital. In this way, again, it has acted as a stimulant to the formation of wealth. Then it has created a *monied interest* in this country, the most potential in its influence that ever existed, and which has rendered its local seat the magnetic pole of the commercial world. The money market of London governs every other, and its vibrations are felt at the utmost extremities of the social system. Judge of the magnitude of this market from the fact mentioned by the present Writer, that in London alone above eight millions daily, or more than 1550 millions a year, are balanced and paid! The monied interest created by the funding system, is, moreover, most important to the country, as the only sufficient counterbalance to an over-grown and rapacious aristocracy of landed proprietors. But for the funds, those who were unable to obtain land, would have had no way of vesting their savings, but by converting them into trinkets and precious articles of luxury. The national mortgage shared out among the proprietors of stock, who have become indefinitely multiplied by Savings' Banks, has all the beneficial effect of a subdivision of land, in increasing the number of individuals who have an actual stake in the country, without the disadvantages of such subdivision. The fundholders are, virtually, copartners with the landed proprietors, and their interests cannot be essentially opposed; but there is just so much opposition between them as serves to protect the liberties and interests of the people from being trampled upon by the lords of the soil, in the insolence of exorbitant wealth superadded to the pride of a feudal order.

One way of deciding how far the National Debt has had permanently an injurious effect upon the wealth of the country, would be, to ascertain what proportion the present debt bears to the present capital, and to bring it into comparison with the proportion which the original debt in the time of King William bore to the national capital at that period. This would also enable us to judge of its real pressure upon the resources of the country. Had not the prodigious and improvident accumulation of this Debt been attended with some compensation in its indirect effects upon

productive industry, it seems impossible that it should not long since have fulfilled the ominous predictions, reiterated with increasing vehemence at every fresh step in the accumulation, that the Debt would ruin the country. The very absurdities of those writers who have gone to the extreme of representing "debt and wealth as synonymous", and "the increase of the debt as a true increase of riches", may serve to justify the suspicion that the Debt is not chargeable with all the destructive effects which *ultras* of the opposite party have ascribed to it.

At the same time, under existing circumstances, the amount of taxation required to meet the interest of the National Debt, has become a serious evil. Something must be done to lighten the pressure of those taxes upon productive industry. There seems but a choice of evils; some plan of liquidation similar to that which is proposed by the present Writer, or the substitution of a property tax for the Assessed Taxes and those which tend to raise the wages of labour.

Art. III. *Anatomical Studies of the Bones and Muscles, from Drawings by the late John Flaxman, Esq., R.A.* Engraved by Henry Landseer; with two additional Plates, and explanatory Notes, by William Robertson. Folio. Price 24s. London, 1833.

**M**R. ROBERTSON must, it should seem, have been marvellously solicitous to figure in the same title-page with Flaxman and Henry Landseer, or he would hardly have ventured to parade himself as their coadjutor, on the strength of some half-dozen indifferently executed lithographs of the skeleton and muscular system; part of which, as we know, and the remainder, as we believe, are taken from sources very easily accessible. The insertion of these 'two additional plates' is, in our view, exceedingly ill-judged, even if they had the advantages of originality and spirited drawing to recommend them, since they interfere with the usefulness of the work in a direction where it would have been of the very highest value. We are old stagers in matters of art, and of course not very specially squeamish in what regards necessary instruction; but we have never yet met with a work on the subject of anatomy in its application to drawing, at once intelligible, scientific, and so scrupulously decorous as to justify a teacher in putting it into the hands of a female pupil. Now the present publication, so far as it is the production of the two able artists to whose skill it owes all its value, exactly answers to that exigency; and the 'additional plate' of the muscles is, to say nothing of its inferiority, so mismanaged, as altogether to destroy this peculiar and important character of Flaxman's sketches. Independently, however, of all other considerations,

it was most injudicious to mix up insipid common-places with the vigorous originalities of the great sculptor.

Always, therefore, discarding these ill-advised interpolations, we cannot say less of this volume, than that it is a most able and useful work, full of accurate knowledge, communicated in precisely that form which is most wanted and most available in practice. The three plates exhibiting the bones of the trunk and thigh, in various positions, upright and foreshortened, have, in the engraving, all the spirit of a drawing: the effect of a pen-outline shadowed with Indian-ink, is admirably expressed. The remaining plates are imitations of chalk drawing, and, as far as they go, illustrate most effectively the distribution and action of the most important muscles. That the system is not complete, is to be regretted; but the student who has once made himself familiar with the vigorous expression and masterly execution of these excellent studies, will find no further difficulty in his way: his eye and hand and mind will have been too well disciplined, not to feel that everything beyond is made comparatively easy by this unrivalled introduction.

Art. IV. *The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its Relation to Christian Theology*, in a Course of Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1832, at the Lecture founded by John Bampton, M.A. By Renn Dickson Hampden, M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College. pp. 548. Oxford, 1833.

**N**EITHER the University at large, nor even the "Heads of Colleges", are to be held responsible for all that a Bampton Lecturer may say. Nor, if it or they were so, would the warranty be of any consequence to the public. But it is of some consequence to the public, (that is to say, to the thinking and religious portion of it,) to know what direction theological opinion is taking in our universities, at any moment. In this view, we regard the volume before us as at once significant and auspicious. Of its proper merits we shall say little. The work is creditable to the Author, both on account of the free habit of thinking which it indicates, and of the evidence it affords of his actual familiarity with ancient theological literature; an accomplishment absolutely indispensable to those who would, in a just and philosophic manner, and to good purpose, form an estimate of the present state of religious belief.

Let Mr. Hampden pursue his course; and let the University—how can we doubt that Oxford will respectfully listen to Eclectic reviewers?—let the University appoint, as its next Bampton Lecturer, some member of its body who will carry on the work of calm and fearless inquiry into the soundness of existing modes

of interpreting Scripture. Every thing haply might be anticipated from such commencements. Whatever some of our readers may think or say of us for affirming it, we will affirm, that we would rather see the great and necessary work of a thorough reform of theological science and language put in progress AT OXFORD, than in any other centre of opinion that could be named. Nor do we say this with a sinister feeling, as if reform were more *needed* at Oxford than elsewhere; for we are not sure that such is the fact: nor do we so speak merely (though it is a reason) with a view to the very extensive and important effects that must result to the country at large from an Oxford theological reform; but mainly because, as we fully believe, an ingenuous, comprehensive, and *unshackled* revision of existing modes of thinking and speaking in matters of religion, *if once fairly set a-going*, would be conducted in a manner more likely to be permanent, at Oxford, than in any other place.

Without zeal and piety, nothing, it is very true, can be well done in religion:—but vastly more than zeal and piety are indispensably requisite, when the time comes for clearing the ground of absurdities or errors fifteen hundred years old. None but those who accurately and familiarly know what *has been*, are qualified soundly to amend *what is*. Besides; a work so great and difficult demands, not merely an assemblage of intellects of a superior order, but of intellects slowly and thoroughly matured by the most arduous processes of education. The Head of the Church has never yet employed (the miraculously endowed Apostles alone excepted, and not all of them,) any other sort of men for bringing about extensive renovations of religious sentiments. We ought, then, to look to such, whenever a work of this sort seems to be needed.

The now-maturing, if not matured, science of Biblical criticism, and the rising science of Biblical interpretation, on the one hand; and, on the other, a just suspicion or contempt of whatever can boast no better origin than the superstitions of the third century, the controversies of the fourth and fifth, the corruptions of the sixth and seventh, the wrangling follies of the twelfth, or the perturbations and heats of the fifteenth and sixteenth; these together promise to us, in no very ambiguous manner, the attainment of a far purer SENSE OF SCRIPTURE than the Church has possessed at any time since the death of the Apostles. Happy age when their attainment shall have been realised; and honoured shall those be whom the Lord shall employ to bring it about!

We cannot here attempt to follow our Author over his ground:—our intention is little more than to point the book out to our readers. If we did undertake a criticism, we should not fail to find points whereon to hook it. Several of the Lecturer's general



assertions are questionable, or are too vague. In fact, and we readily grant it, this fault it is very difficult to avoid, if one ventures to generalise at all, or to bring things down to the form of philosophical induction, on a field so crammed with incongruities and inconsistencies as is the field of Church history. A man must possess a grasping intellect indeed, who can do this well, safely, and *clearly*.

The comparison, for example, which the Author draws, and upon which he lays no little weight, between the Greek and the Latin fathers, though it may be granted to be in a sense, or in some degree just, is surely open to considerable exceptions. The Author himself (we must do him justice) seems to feel this. We would undertake to present a case of exactly opposite appearance, by means of honest quotations, Greek and Latin, from the very Fathers referred to by the Author in his first Lecture. It is quite true, that the Latin Church did acquire an ascendancy over the Greek; and it is true, that the scholastic phase of theology which came down to the Reformers, which the Reformers transmitted, and which we, in its essential features, retain, is to be traced to that ascendancy; and it is highly probable that, if our theology had come down to us immediately from the Greek Church, instead of the Latin, it would have been, in important respects, other than it is. All this may be granted; but it is not certain, or at least not clear to ourselves, that there exists just that sort of difference between Athanasius, the two Gregories, Basil, and Chrysostom, on the one side, and Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerom, on the other, which Mr. Hampden assumes. We could *make it seem*, and perhaps more than seem, that (to take only one pair) the writings of Basil\* possess as much or more of the character of administrative energy, and as much of the spirit of legislation, as those of Augustine. But questions of this sort are interminable; nor very important.

We see not the exact propriety of Mr. Hampden's reference to the 'Morals' of Gregory the Great, p. 274, which of course he has actually examined. Except on the ground of the unmeaning title it bears, Gregory's prolix commentary on the book of Job, however 'frequently quoted in the scholastic writings,' has no pretensions to the designation of an Ethical treatise, intended or adapted for the purpose of teaching comprehensively the principles of morality:—a book of which the author himself says, '*Illud opus non est popolare, et rudibus auditoribus impedimentum magis quam provectum generat*'; and which, his biographer

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\* Whom Nazianzen calls—*σκοπῶν ὁ τοῦ κοινῶ, κηδεμὼν καὶ προστάτης*, and this, not of the Cappadocian churches merely, but of the Christian world universally. The same we gather from Basil's own epistles.

tells us, was undertaken with the view of adapting the literal sense of the book of Job to the mysteries of the Gospel. The *De Officiis Ministrorum*, to which, on the same page, Mr. Hampden refers, was indeed in a sense 'composed after the plan' of Cicero's Offices; but it is unlike enough to that piece in substance and style. Indeed, the Bishop of Milan will not venture to adopt a title so profane in its origin, until he has excused it, by first a quibble upon Scripture (Latin Scripture), and then a pun. 'Let us first see whether it be fitting to write *de officiis*, 'or whether the word is proper only to the schools of philosophy; 'or is indeed found in the sacred records.' Yes, happily it is; for of Zacharias it is said, '*Factum est ut impleti sunt dies officii ejus!*' Was Ambrose accustomed to look to the Greek of the texts he quoted? Then he goes on: '*Nec ratio ipsa abhorret, &c. vel certe, ut ea agas, quæ nulli officiant, prosint omnibus.*'

We refrain from giving a synopsis of the Lectures before us; because we had rather the book itself should be read. We shall quote a passage or two, pregnant at this moment with special meaning; and offer no comment upon them.

'We have seen how Doctrines gradually assume their form, by the successive impressions of controversy. The facts of Scripture remain the same through all ages, under all variations of opinions among men. Not so the theories raised upon them. They have floated on the stream of speculation. One heresiarch after another has proposed his modification. The doctrine, so stated, has obtained more or less currency, according to its coincidence with received notions on other subjects,—according to the influence possessed by its patrons, or their obstinacy against persecution. Nearly the whole of Christendom was, at one time, Arian in profession. At one time, Pelagianism seemed to be the ascendant creed of the Church. In such a state of things, it was impossible for the Scriptural theologian, even if not himself susceptible of the seductive force of a Logical Philosophy, to refrain from mingling in the conflict of argument. Orthodoxy was forced to speak the divine truth in the terms of heretical speculation; if it were only to guard against the novelties which the heretic had introduced. It was the necessity of the case that compelled the orthodox, as themselves freely admit, to employ a phraseology, by which, as experience proves, the naked truth of God has been overborne and obscured.

'Such being the origin of a Dogmatic Theology, it follows, that its proper truth consists in its being a collection of negations; of negations, I mean, of all ideas imported into Religion, beyond the express sanction of Revelation. Supposing that there had been no theories proposed on the truths of Christianity; were the Bible, or rather the divine facts which it reveals, at once ushered into our notice, without our knowing that various wild notions, both concerning God and human nature, had been raised upon the sacred truths; no one, I conceive, would wish to see those facts reduced to the precision and num-

ber of articles, any more than he now thinks of reducing any other history to such a form. We should rather resist any such attempt as futile, if not as profane : or, however judiciously such a selection might be made, we should undoubtedly prefer the living records of the Divine Agency, to the dry and uninteresting abstracts of human compilers and expositors. But, when theoretic views are known to have been held and propagated ; when the world has been familiarized to the language of these speculations, and the truth of God is liable to corruption from them ; then it is, that forms of exclusion become necessary, and theory must be retorted by theory. This very occasion, however, of the introduction of Theory into Religion, suggests the limitation of it. It must be strictly confined to the exclusion and rejection of all extraneous notions from the subjects of the sacred volumes. Theory, thus regulated, constitutes a true and valuable philosophy,—not of Christianity, properly so called, — but of human Christianity,—of Christianity in the world, as it has been acted on by the force of the human intellect.’ pp. 376—378.

And again :—

‘ If this account of the origin and nature of Dogmatic Theology be correct, surely those entirely pervert its nature, who reason on the Terms of doctrines, as if they were the proper ideas belonging to Religion ; or who insist on interpretations of expressions, whether as employed by our Reformers, or the primitive believers, in a positive sense ; without taking into their view, the existing state of theology and philosophy at the different periods of Christianity. Creeds and Articles, without such previous study, are as if they were written in a strange language. The words, indeed, are signs of ideas to us, but not of those ideas which were presented to the minds of men, when the formularies were written, or when they were adopted by the Church.’

‘ The force, indeed, of History must always act on a literary age ; and an influence is exercised, by former speculators, on the opinions and conduct of their successors. We cannot therefore conclude, that, because the original occasion of Creeds and Articles has ceased, there are actually no existing prejudices of a like kind, kept alive by the tradition of former opinions, to be obviated by the like theoretic statements.

‘ At the same time, we must not suppose, that the same immutability belongs to Articles of Religion, which we ascribe properly to Scripture-facts alone. As records of Opinions, they are essentially variable. It is no impeachment of their truth, to regard them as capable of improvement,—of more perfect adaptation to the existing circumstances of the Church at different periods. As to the difficulty and hazard of any actual alteration, I have nothing to say. I do not presume to say, that alteration is actually required. I am merely addressing myself to the general question, as to the capacity of improvement in Church-Creeds and Articles, with the view of suggesting a right theory of the subject. To deny the essential variableness of such documents, is, to admit an human authority to a parity with the

authority of Inspiration. It is to incur the imputation, which members of the Roman Communion have sometimes brought against the Church of England ; that, professing to make the Scriptures the sole Rule of Faith, we have inconsistently adopted another Rule of Faith in the deference paid to our Articles.

‘ It is a temptation, indeed, to which the members of any particular communion of Christians are peculiarly exposed—to identify the defence of the formularies of the Communion with the defence of Christianity. It is like securing the fortifications of the city, instead of looking to the strength and discipline of its garrison as the main resource. As belonging to a Communion, we must be able to shew that we have good reason for our preference. And it is enough for this purpose, to prove that our Church is truly Scriptural in its basis, walking in the footsteps of the Holy Spirit, and drinking of the pure fountain of inspiration. This is the sole proper notion of the infallibility of a Church. For it is an infallibility not its own, but of God present with it. We are not called upon, to defend every particular expression which has been adopted into its formularies. This would be, to make it infallible *in itself*. It would be to suppose, that a fortress, strong in its internal resources, must fall, because some of its outworks are not impregnable. And we may find indeed at last, that, by such a proceeding, we are tenaciously clinging to means of defence, which the present state of religion and knowledge entirely supersedes : as we might suppose the inhabitant of a castle fortified in feudal times, imagining himself safe amidst his walls, against assaults from modern inventions in the art of war.’ pp. 379—383.

We cannot but *vehemently* recommend to the consideration of our clerical readers the following just and enlightened statements. Let but our universities follow up this, which we must assume as a commencement, and brighter days, days of Scriptural splendour, will yet make England glad.

‘ Nor let it be supposed that the speculative Theology into which I have been examining, is a thing of another day—a mere matter of curiosity to the literary or ecclesiastical historian. I should have failed indeed in the present attempt to bring the subject before you, if this should be the impression from it. Scholasticism, indeed, has passed away, as to its actual rude form, in which it appeared in the middle age. But its dominion has endured. In the Church of Rome, indeed, it still holds visible sway ; clothed in the purple of spiritual supremacy, and giving the law of Faith to the subject-consciences of men. Those who are at all acquainted with the public documents of that Church, as established by the Council of Trent, or with its controversial writers, will attest the general observation ; that it is the metaphysics of the Schools, which form the texture of the Roman Theology, and by which that system is maintained.

‘ But though the sorceries of the Scholastic Theology have been dispelled where the light of Reformation has been received ; yet the transformations of religious truth, which they effected, could not at once be reversed by the same effort of improvement. The minds of

men had been trained to think and speak of divine things, in the idiom of Scholasticism. So that, not only the reformer in Philosophy, but the reformer in Religion also, was compelled to use the phraseology of the system which he assailed. Thus, through its technical language, has Scholasticism survived even in Protestant Churches. Clearly, we may trace its operation in the controversies agitated among Protestants about Original Sin, Grace, Regeneration, Predestination ;—all which, when strictly considered, are found to resolve themselves into disputes concerning the just limits of certain notions,—into questions of the exactness of proposed definitions. So again, it is not uncommon to find, even among our own theologians, one doctrine insisted on, as *necessary* to be admitted *in order* to the reception of another. Original Sin, for instance, is not unfrequently inculcated, as essential to be believed to the fullest extent, in order to an acceptance of the truth of the Atonement : as if the truth of either doctrine were a matter of logical deduction, or dependent on the truth of the other : whereas, in the correct view, each is an ultimate fact in the revealed dispensations of God, resting on its own proper evidence. Once acknowledging, indeed, the reality of the Christian Revelation, we are bound to refer the whole of Human Happiness to the mediation of Christ ; though the Scriptures had been entirely silent respecting the fact of the intrinsic sinfulness of man. And conversely ; we should have been under an obligation of acting, as feeling ourselves under sin, and naturally incapable of happiness ; had the Scriptures simply stated our incapacity and misery, without revealing the mercies of the Atonement.

‘ The real state of the case then is, that the spirit of Scholasticism still lives amongst us : that, though we do not acknowledge submission to its empire, we yet feel its influence.

‘ At the time, indeed, when Luther raised his voice against the corruptions sanctioned by the Roman Church, the complaint was, that the spiritual lessons of Scripture were become a dead letter. There were however, even at that time, men of deep and familiar acquaintance with Scripture, the votaries of an ardent and sincere piety. Their religion, however, was inaccessible to the poor, and the illiterate, and the busy. It was the privilege of the theologian,—of the holy and speculative recluse. The mass of the people indolently, or superstitiously, reposed on the sanctity of their Fathers in religion ; and sought their rule of faith and conduct, in devout attendance on the vicarious ministrations of the man of God. In a word, Religion was become a *professional* thing. None could be truly and properly religious, but those who were versed in the logic and casuistry of a scientific theology. Therefore it was, that Luther so vehemently proclaimed the great doctrine of Justification by Faith alone ; setting himself against that divorce of Theology and popular Religion, by which the Gospel had in effect been unevangelized and desecrated. And are there not still traces amongst us, of a separation between the religion of the few and the religion of the many ? The delusion, indeed, has passed away in its *theoretic* form ; that true religion can consist in any thing but in holiness of active life,—in an habitual conduct conformed to the example of our Lord Jesus Christ. But the prin-

ciple of that separation, against which the Reformation was directed, is still seen in that enthusiasm, which, even in these days, loves to diffuse itself in sentimental religion;—which spends the strength of devotion in holy thoughts,—the luxury, like the Scholastic Piety, only of the pure, the cultivated, the sensitive, and the ardent mind. It is now an enthusiasm of the heart, rather than of the intellect. But the principle is still the same. Religion is converted into Theological Contemplation.

‘The examination which I have been pursuing, has led me over much entangled ground; from which I can hardly hope to have extricated myself, in a way to satisfy the views, or scruples, of all whom I address. But the peculiar difficulty of forming just estimates of controversial statements,—and of seizing the shifting lights of philosophical theories, as they have passed over the truths of Revelation, and given to them their various hue,—will obtain for me, I trust, a patient and candid construction of opinions expressed. It would ill become me, indeed, to dogmatize on a subject, in which I am directly engaged in illustrating the injurious effects of Dogmatism in Theology; and especially before an audience, from some of whom I should rather expect the judgment of a point, than endeavour to impose my own opinion. It must be admitted, I think, on the whole, that the Force of Theory has been very considerable in the modification of our Theological language. And I would submit to your reflection, whether that force has been sufficiently allowed for, either in our general profession of Christianity, or in our controversies on particular articles of Doctrine?’ pp. 384—389.

Art. V.—*Memorials of Felix Neff, the Alpine Pastor*. By T. S. Ellerby. 18mo, pp. xxiv. 334. Price 4s. London, 1833.

IN our review of Mr. Gilly's interesting memoir of ‘the Oberlin of the French Alps,’\* we referred to a short biographical account which had previously appeared in the Congregational Magazine, and which, we find, was translated by Mr. Ellerby from a French publication entitled “Le Semeur.” Before Mr. Gilly's work was published, Mr. Ellerby had formed the design of collecting materials for a more extended memoir, and had ‘made a rough sketch of the greater part of these pages.’ He has been confirmed in the intention to lay them before the public, by what he deems the defective account given in Mr. Gilly's volume, of the early religious history of Neff, and of the very extensive revival of which he was the honoured instrument. We were too well pleased with the memoir itself, and with the candour shewn by his biographer, to be disposed now to find fault

\* Eclectic Review, Jan. 1833, Art. II.



with him for any defects or omissions chargeable upon his performance. At the same time, we think that Mr. Ellerby has done well in publishing these Memorials, which, in this cheap form, will find their way to a different circle of readers, and extend still more widely the knowledge and influence of Neff's holy and heroic example.

In sketching the outline of his life, we remarked, that it would have been interesting to learn more distinctly the means and mental process by which, amid circumstances and associations unfavourable to piety, Neff first became awakened to his own spiritual condition and to the paramount importance of eternal interests. The additional information supplied in the present volume, throws further light upon 'the crisis in his moral history.' It would seem that a conviction of the unsatisfactory nature of earthly pursuits had for some time pressed upon his mind, before his reflections assumed a more decidedly religious character, leading him to institute a deep and solemn investigation into the motives by which he had hitherto been actuated. The result, as we have stated in our former notice, was such as it has never failed to be, when the inquisition has been conducted with equal sincerity; an overwhelming conviction that he had come utterly short of the primary obligations of a creature and the unchangeable requirements of the law of God; and the mental anguish produced by this discovery, was augmented by his ignorance of the evangelical doctrine of peace with God through the blood of his Son.

'He now began to attend occasionally upon the ministry of the Rev. Cæsar Malan, but more frequently upon that of the Rev. Messrs. Guers and Gonthier, the joint pastors of the church of "le bourg du Tour." The evangelical labours of M. Gonthier were eminently useful to Neff, and, under the blessing of God, this faithful pastor was made the honoured instrument in the conversion of the youthful soldier. Deep conviction of his guilt and natural alienation from God took possession of his mind. He was led to more serious self-examination; and was constrained to acknowledge that those actions which he had hitherto considered as the best and most meritorious of his life, had originated altogether in selfish motives. Indeed, the more he reflected upon his principles and past conduct, the more was he convinced that he had been pursuing a course of uninterrupted rebellion against his Creator, whose first and fundamental law is—*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart; and thy neighbour as thyself* . . . . .

'Neff began to read his Bible with attention and seriousness, and soon recognized the Sacred Writings as alone calculated to make man wise unto salvation. For a short period, he could only view God as his judge. The guilt of a misspent life hovered over him, like a dark and portentous cloud. During this interval of suspense and anguish, he was visited by M. Gonthier, who lent him a small work, entitled "Honey flowing from the Rock," the perusal of which was happily

instrumental in dispelling the gloom which had gathered around his mind, and in giving him clearer views of the attributes of God, and the method of salvation. This excellent little work is chiefly a compilation of useful and important passages of Scripture, accompanied by illustrations. When preaching, he frequently quoted from its pages; and many of its passages solaced his mind when on the bed of death.

‘Hitherto Neff had lived solely for himself. He was now made the subject of new feelings and desires; and, influenced by love and gratitude to God, he resolved to consecrate the remainder of his life to the solemn and arduous duties of the Christian ministry. A mind constituted like his could not remain inactive. He immediately commenced his career as a preacher of the Gospel; and his first efforts to do good were amongst the destitute and the dying, in the prisons and hospitals of Geneva. In 1818, whilst thus engaged, he was united in church fellowship with the Christians assembling in the new meeting-house, then almost the only religious body in Geneva who glorified the holy name of Jesus, and who unitedly laboured for the general advancement of his kingdom.

‘The following year, he procured a discharge from his military duties, a step which gave great satisfaction to his officers, who did not conceal their displeasure at the influence which his peculiar character and religious principles had already effected amongst his comrades. After quitting the army, he entirely devoted himself to the vocation to which he believed himself called, and visited the villages in the neighbourhood of Geneva, where he had many relations, in whose houses he read and explained the Word of God. His simple and affectionate manner, united with his explanations and illustrations of Scripture history and precept, almost always drawn from the incidents and dangers of his recent campaign, rendered him a welcome guest to every villager. Wherever he went, he imparted a zest for piety and holy exercises; and, at this day, his name is repeated with benedictions by numerous families, who remember, with gratitude, his visits and conversation.

‘Full of zeal, he devoted himself with unremitting ardour to the eternal interests of his fellow sinners, regardless of the opinion of the world in general, and even of the taunts of his former associates. Often was he seen climbing some of the most rugged rocks of the Jura, to visit a poor shepherd, a native of the valleys of Piedmont, in whom, beneath an exterior rude and unpolished, he had discovered some glimpses of the influence of religion. After his discharge, several months were thus passed in visiting the sick, and disseminating religious instruction. During this period, he read his Bible with the greatest care and solemnity; and even composed a small concordance, in order that he might become more familiar with its sacred contents. Indeed, so sedulously did he apply himself, that in a short time he was able to recite from memory several entire books. The very numerous notes, in his own handwriting, which cover the margins of his Bibles and Testaments, bear ample testimony to his close and diligent investigation. These, and several other books, thus marked, are still preserved by his friends, as precious memorials.’ pp. 10—15.

Of the religious communion with which Neff was brought into close connexion, some interesting particulars are given in the present volume. The church of which the Rev. Messrs. Guers and Gonthier were joint pastors, was formed in 1817; but 'some of the materials had existed from the year 1810, and derived their origin from the labours of the Moravians or United Brethren.' The different religious parties in Protestant Switzerland and Northern France are thus discriminated, upon the authority of a Continental correspondent.

' " First, those ministers and members of the Reformed Church who are neither orthodox in their creed, nor apparently concerned for religion beyond what regards outward appearance. Under this head I would rank Socinians, Arians, and others who have departed from the faith of their forefathers. Secondly, those who are evangelical in sentiment, and pious in their conduct, who still remain within what may be styled the Established Church of France and Switzerland. Of these, I am happy to say, there is a considerable number which is continually increasing. Thirdly, the Separatists or Dissidents; that is, those who have left the Established Church, and formed separate and independent societies. Of this character is the church of the Bourg du Tour, of which Neff was a member, and by which he was sent to England for ordination. There are at present three pastors belonging to this church; Messrs. Guers, Lluchlien, and Empaytaz. In the Pays de Vaud, upwards of twenty such distinct independent societies have sprung up within a very few years. The persons belonging to them are called Dissidents."

' To which of these classes did Felix Neff belong? This, although, so far as respects the second and the third, a matter of very little comparative consequence, seems to have been regarded as a point of sufficient importance for discussion. Certainly he did not belong to the first class. Respecting this question, M. Guers writes as follows. " You must remember that '*Le Notice*' was compiled by very partial persons, who eagerly sought, both amongst his papers, and even in his life, for every word or proceeding which might be construed as opposed *à la dissidence* (to dissent). The Dissidents of Geneva, but *not those who carried matters to extremes*, were, however, his bosom friends, and the confidants of his thoughts. In their arms he died."

' In a subsequent part of the same communication, M. Guers pays a tribute of affectionate respect to M. Gonthier, Neff's spiritual father. " Neff was my most dear friend. To me his memory will be eternally precious; and it will be one part of my blessedness to find him in the kingdom of glory, with my dear Gonthier; a man the most apostolic, but the least known, of all those who were concerned in the revival at Geneva."

Neff's own sentiments upon the subject of Dissent were decided, as regards the right of separation; he maintained, both in theory and in practice, the principle of religious liberty; but he did not deem the duty of coming out of even a corrupt church quite

so clear and absolute. He classed, he himself tells us, all exterior forms of discipline among "the rudiments of this world."

"I see", he says, "that the importance frequently attached to these things has almost always been a source of trouble, of division. I see that God indiscriminately pours his spiritual blessings upon true Evangelists, whatever be the form of Church polity to which they belong; and since the Supreme Master attaches no importance to it, I should consider myself very unwise not to imitate him."

"The Church on earth is in the middle of a chaos: the attempt to draw it forth into day-light would be absurd."

"Further, all that I have just said does not at all prevent my regarding as a source of blessings, a congregation, however small in numbers, of brethren, true believers, organized as nearly as possible upon the model of the primitive churches, and directed in conformity to the principles of the Gospel. But as all this may be done without a separation, strictly so called, without administration of sacraments, without ostensible titles of pastors, deacons, &c., &c., that does not affect any thing that I have said before."

"Every thing is provisional in this world; the Church like every thing else; and for the night we have to pass in it, it is not necessary to build a fortress. A slight tent, a covered waggon, as among pastoral tribes, may more than suffice. Tomorrow, if it please the Lord, we shall be in the city of God."

Sentiments similar to these, and highly characteristic of his single-mindedness and catholic spirit, are expressed in a sermon on 1 Pet. ii. 5.; an extract from which is given by Mr. Ellerby as illustrative of Neff's views, and as at the same time affording a specimen of his preaching. We fear that we shall scarcely be able to do justice to the original in our translation.

"The temple of Jerusalem was a place particularly honoured with the presence of the Almighty: nothing impure could enter therein. All there were occupied exclusively with the service of God. There, he was praised, adored, blessed; there he gave forth his oracles—diffused his benedictions . . . . . The Church, called a Holy Temple, a spiritual tabernacle, must present all these characters in perfection;—in reality, as the temple did in types and figures. But what Church, taking this word in the usual acceptation, what assemblage of sinful men will present to us this reality, and will appear to us worthy to be called the habitation of God in the spirit—the temple of the living God?"

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"Where shall we find this divine sanctuary? In the assembly of the first-born and of the thousands of angels in the Jerusalem above. There, a thousand times better than in Sion, God is served, praised, blessed. This heavenly and spiritual sanctuary is formed of the aggregate of holy beings who find their happiness in God. The glory of Jehovah fills it, enlightens it, and is reflected on each of the living stones of which it is formed. His love invites, inflames them. The

King of glory dwells in the midst of them, rejoices in their felicity, and takes pleasure in listening to the eternal utterance of their gratitude. Such is the temple which God inhabits, the only one worthy of him. What then must be the various Churches where the gospel is preached on earth?'

'When the magnificent temple of Solomon was building, all the stones, all the wood which were brought thither, were so well cut and prepared, that there was heard, says the sacred historian, neither hammer, nor axe, nor any instrument of iron. (I Kings, vi. 7.) But, most assuredly, it was not thus in the quarries of marble, nor at Lebanon, where they were cutting the cedars; any more than at the fierce furnaces between Succoth and Zeredathah, where they were founding brass for the sacred vases. Thus, in Heaven, this majestic sanctuary rises without noise, without effort; all arrive there pure and perfect. The Bride of the Lamb has "neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing." But in this impure and darksome world, the obscure quarry from which the great Architect wills to draw some stones for his edifice, what shall we find but work-yards prepared for a day, where all appears in motion and in disorder? What shapeless stones, what refuse, what useless fragments, what objects of a transient usage! How many arrangements purely provisional! How many mercenaries,—aliens, are employed in these quarries, like the workmen of Hiram, and who, like them, shall never enter the sanctuary! What dissensions among even the most faithful workmen! What discussions, what vain conjectures on the subject of the final aim and the plan of the great Architect, which is known to Him alone! Shall we seek in this chaos the true Church, the spiritual temple? Should we wish to compose it from the mass of all these unformed blocks, or solely of those which appear already prepared by the Master? Shall we attempt to unite in one common order all those whom we find prepared in each of the various quarries opened in a thousand places of the earth? Or, not being able to effect this, shall we, at least, exert ourselves to groupe them in different heaps, like those stones already hewn, which are collected to be measured before they are worked upon? Oh! how much wiser is the Master! While we are disputing the pre-eminence of this or that work-yard, and while others are spending their strength for the sake of introducing a perfect order, the Divine Solomon traverses in silence this vast scene of operation, chooses, marks, withdraws, and places in his edifice the materials prepared in the midst of all these, assigning to each piece the place suited to it, and for which he has destined it . . . . . Such is, my beloved brethren, the grand idea which we must form to ourselves of this heavenly temple, of this spiritual house of God, of this universal Church, alike militant and triumphant, in whose existence we profess our belief in the apostolic symbol. O! how pitiable will now seem the proud pretensions of this or that Church to universality; as also the endless disputes on the succession, the hierarchy, and the discipline, which at all periods, (as even now,) have divided and troubled the faithful. Let us work rather in the quarry wherein we are placed, to prepare the greatest possible number of materials; and above all, let us supplicate the Lord to make of us all, living stones for his Temple. Amen.'

Having left the neighbourhood of Geneva in 1819, Neff spent the whole of the following two years in alternate labours in the Cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel, and in the French portion of the Canton of Berne. 'Throughout this extensive district, he established numerous associations for prayer and religious conversation, many of which are still in existence'. The beneficial effect of such associations has been called in question by Mr. Gilly, who, in support of his objections, cites the language of Bishop Heber and the Rev. Thomas Scott. Mr. Ellerby's remarks on this subject claim transcription.

'It may be doubted whether the late amiable ecclesiastical overseer in India was ever placed in such a situation as would enable him to form a just and adequate estimate of social meetings for prayer and mutual improvement in religious knowledge and experience. "In general," says Mr. Scott, "I am apt to think it very difficult for a minister in the Establishment to form and conduct prayer-meetings in such a manner, as that the aggregate good shall not be counterbalanced or overbalanced by positive evil. But men of greater experience and capacity of judging have thought otherwise;" and then he ingenuously confesses, "But I am also, I fear, prejudiced, as the evils which arose from those at Olney induced such an association of ideas in my mind, as probably can never be dissolved."—*Life of the Rev. T. Scott*, pp. 518 and 519.

'There cannot be a better illustration of the importance of prayer-meetings, than the consequences of repressing associations of this kind by the clergyman to whom this most unfortunate letter was addressed, when compared with the state of religion amongst the members of the Establishment in the very next considerable town, where meetings for social prayer have been continued, and where several private houses have for many years been licensed for that purpose.

'There can be no doubt that Olney, at the time here alluded to, presented an extreme case, and such a one as could not, with any sort of justice or propriety, be taken as a fair specimen. Mr. Scott himself, speaking of *social*, in distinction from *public worship*, remarks, that it "tends greatly to maintain brotherly love."—*Essay on Prayer*.' pp. ix—xi.

Such meetings are doubtless subject to abuse, like every other good thing; but the result of our observation would be in entire harmony with the firm conviction expressed by Mr. Ellerby, that 'a numerous and frequent attendance at prayer-meetings is one of the most decisive evidences of religious prosperity' that a Christian society can exhibit; to which we will add, a very principal means of maintaining it.

We do not deem it necessary to go again over the ground travelled in company with Mr. Gilly, interesting as is the scene of Neff's self-denying labours. We shall therefore refer our readers to the volume itself, which, even to those who possess Mr. Gilly's work, will convey much additional information, and



to those who do not, will be a most valuable acquisition. The extracts from Neff's own letters and sermons are particularly interesting. While the Pastor was stretched on his bed of languishing, from which he was never to rise, his friends, who watched by turns, 'aware with what transports of holy delight he 'listened to the melody of the human voice when attuned to the 'praises of God,' would frequently retire into an adjoining chamber, where, in a subdued tone, they sang several of his favourite hymns. One of these, Neff's own composition, together with a translation kindly furnished by Mr. Montgomery, we must transcribe.

PARAPHRASE OF PART OF JER. XXXI.

- ' Ne te désoles point, Sion ! sèche tes larmes ;  
L'Eternel est ton Dieu, ne sois plus en alarmes ;  
Il te reste un repos dans la terre de paix ;  
Jehova te ramène, et te garde à jamais.
- ' Il te rétablira : même au sein des ruines,  
La vigne et l'olivier étendront leurs racines ;  
Tout sera relevé, comme dans tes beaux jours,  
Les murs de tes cités, tes ramparts et tes tours.
- ' Un jour—un jour viendra que tes gardes fidèles,  
Sur les monts d' Ephraïm, criront aux rebelles :  
Retournez en Sion, l'Eternel votre Dieu  
Vous rapelle—venez, et montons au saint lieu !
- ' Lève-toi, le Puissant ne t' a point oubliée :  
D' un amour éternel le Seigneur t' a aimée.  
Qu'au son de la trompette, assemblés en ce jour,  
Tes enfans, ô Sion ! exaltent son amour !'

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- ' Weep no more, Zion ! dry thy streaming tears ;  
The Eternal is thy God—dismiss thy fears ;  
Rest in the land of peace for thee remains ;  
Jehovah leads thee, Israel's strength sustains.
- ' He will restore thee, even as from the dead ;  
The vine and olive o'er thy wrecks shall spread ;  
He will rebuild, as in thy happiest hours,  
Thy city-walls, thy battlements, and towers.
- ' A day will come, a day when from on high  
Mount Ephraïm's watchmen to the tribes shall cry,  
" Return, ye rebels ! 'tis the Almighty still  
That calls,—return, and climb his holy hill."

‘ Rise, unforgotten of thy Lord above!  
 He loved thee with an everlasting love.  
 That love, at trumpet’s sound, in joyful throngs,  
 Thy sons, O Zion ! now extol in songs !’

In case of a reprint, we would suggest a greater attention to correct orthography in printing the foreign names, and a few other corrections. ‘*Re-union*’ should have been rendered, *association* or *congregation*.

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Art. VI. *Caspar Hauser*. An account of an Individual kept in a Dungeon, separated from all Communication with the World, from Early Childhood, to about the Age of Seventeen. Drawn up from Legal Documents. By Anselm Von Feuerbach, President of one of the Bavarian Courts of Appeal, &c. Translated from the German. 12mo, pp. xi. 191. Price 3s. in cloth. London, 1833.

**M**OST of our readers will have been made acquainted by the public journals with the name of this ‘youth without childhood,’ and with the outlines of his melancholy story. The present publication, dedicated to Earl Stanhope, who has taken poor Caspar under his paternal protection, contains an authenticated relation of the circumstances, so far as known, attending his mysterious seclusion, his coming into the world, and the gradual development of his rational faculties.

The story of his imprisonment is soon told ; and horrible as is the picture which it presents to the imagination, occurrences of similar character and parallel atrocity, which might seem to belong to the darkest ages, are by no means unheard of in Catholic Germany. The account which, after he had slowly acquired the art of intelligible speech, Caspar gave of himself is as follows.

‘ “ He neither knows who he is nor where his home is. It was only at Nuremberg that he came into the world.\* Here he first learned that, besides himself and ‘ the man with whom he had always been,’ there existed other men and other creatures. As long as he can recollect, he had always lived in a hole (a small low apartment which he sometimes calls a cage), where he had always sat upon the ground, with bare feet, and clothed only with a shirt and a pair of breeches.† In his

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\* ‘ An expression which he often uses to designate his exposure in Nuremberg, and his first awakening to the consciousness of mental life.’

† ‘ According to a more particular account given by Caspar, which is fully confirmed by marks upon his body which cannot be mistaken, by the singular formation of his knee and knee-hollow, and by his peculiar mode of sitting upon the ground with his legs extended, which is possible to himself alone,—he never, even in his sleep, lay with his whole body stretched out, but sat, waking and sleeping, *with his back*

apartment he never heard a sound, whether produced by a man, by an animal, or by anything else. He never saw the heavens, nor did there ever appear a brightening (day-light) such as at Nuremberg. He never perceived any difference between day and night, and much less did he ever get a sight of the beautiful lights in the heavens. Whenever he awoke from sleep, he found a loaf of bread and a pitcher of water by him. Sometimes this water had a bad taste; whenever this was the case, he could no longer keep his eyes open, but was compelled to fall asleep \*; and when he afterwards awoke, he found that he had a clean shirt on, and that his nails had been cut. † He never saw the face of the man who brought him his meat and drink. In his hole he had two wooden horses and several ribbons. With these horses he had always amused himself as long as he was awake; and his only occupation was, to make them run by his side, and to fix or tie the ribbons about them in different positions. Thus, one day had passed as the other; but he had never felt the want of any thing, had never been sick, and—once only excepted—had never felt the sensation of pain. Upon the whole, he had been much happier there than in the world, where he was obliged to suffer so much. How long he had continued to live in this situation he knew not; for he had had no knowledge of time. He knew not when, or how he came there. Nor had he any recollection of ever having been in a different situation, or in any other than in that place. “The man with whom he had always been,” never did him any harm. Yet one day, shortly before he was taken away,—when he had been running his horse too hard, and had made too much noise, the man came and struck him upon his arm with a stick, or with a piece of wood; this caused the wound which he brought with him to Nuremberg.

“Pretty nearly about the same time, the man once came into his prison, placed a small table over his feet, and spread something white

*supported in an erect posture.* Some peculiar property of his place of rest, and some particular contrivance must probably have made it necessary for him to remain constantly in such a position. He is himself unable to give any further information upon this subject.’

\* ‘That this water was mixed with opium, may well be supposed; and the certainty that this was really the fact, was fully proved on the following occasion. After he had for some time lived with Professor Daumer, his physician attempted to administer to him a drop of opium in a glass of water. Caspar had scarcely swallowed the first mouthful of this water, when he said: “That water is nasty; it tastes exactly like the water I was sometimes obliged to drink in my cage.”’

† ‘Hence, as well as from other circumstances, it is evident, that Caspar was, during his incarceration, always treated with a certain degree of careful attention. And this accounts for the attachment which he long retained to the man “with whom he had always been.” This attachment ceased only at a very late period; yet never to such a degree as to make him wish that this man should be punished. He wished that those should be punished by whose orders he had been confined; but he said that that man had done him no harm.’

upon it, which he now knows to have been paper; he then came behind him, so as not to be seen by him, took hold of his hand, and moved it backwards and forwards on the paper, with a thing (a lead pencil) which he had stuck between his fingers. He (Hauser) was then ignorant of what it was; but he was mightily pleased, when he saw the black figures which began to appear upon the white paper. When he felt that his hand was free, and the man had gone from him, he was so much pleased with this new discovery, that he could never grow tired of drawing these figures repeatedly upon the paper. This occupation almost made him neglect his horses, although he did not know what those characters signified. The man repeated his visits in the same manner several times. \*

‘ “ Another time the man came again, lifted him from the place where he lay, placed him on his feet, and endeavoured to teach him to stand. This he repeated at several different times. The manner in which he effected this was the following: he seized him firmly around the breast from behind; placed his feet behind Caspar’s feet, and lifted these, as in stepping forward.

‘ “ Finally, the man appeared once again, placed Caspar’s hands over his shoulders, tied them fast, and thus carried him on his back out of the prison. He was carried up (or down) a hill. † He knows

\* ‘ Of the fact that Caspar really had had instruction, and, indeed, regular elementary instruction in writing, he gave evident proofs immediately on the first morning after his arrival in Nuremberg. When the prison-keeper Hiltel came to him that morning in the prison, he gave him, in order to employ or to amuse him, a sheet of paper with a lead pencil. Caspar seized eagerly on both, placed the paper upon the bench, and began and continued to write, without intermission, and without ever looking up, or suffering himself to be disturbed by any thing that passed, until he had filled the whole folio sheet, on all four sides, with his writing. The appearance of this sheet, which has been preserved and affixed to the documents furnished by the police, is much the same as if Caspar, who nevertheless wrote from memory, had had a copy lying before him, such as are commonly set before children when they are first taught to write. For the writing upon this sheet consisted of rows of letters, or rows of syllables; so that, almost everywhere, the same letter or the same syllable is constantly repeated. At the bottom of each page, all the letters of the alphabet are also placed together, in the same order in which they actually succeed each other, as is commonly the case in copies given to children: and, in another line, the numerical ciphers are placed, from 1 to 0, in their proper order. On one page of this sheet, the name “ Kaspar Hauser ” is constantly repeated; and, on the same sheet, the word reider (Renter, rider) frequently occurs: yet this sheet also proves that Caspar had not progressed beyond the first elements of writing.’

† ‘ It is evident, and other circumstances prove it to be a fact, that Caspar could not yet, at that time, distinguish the motion of ascending from that of descending, or height from depth, even as to the impressions made upon his own feelings; and that he was consequently

not how he felt; all became night, and he was laid upon his back. This "becoming night," as appeared on many different occasions at Nuremberg, signified, in Caspar's language, "to faint away." The account given of the continuation of his journey, is principally confined to the following particulars: "that he had often lain with his face to the ground, in which cases it became night; that he had several times eaten bread and drunk water; that 'the man with whom he had always been,' had often taken pains to teach him to walk, which always gave him great pain," &c. This man never spoke to him, except that he continually repeated to him the words, "Reuta wälm," &c.\* He (Caspar) never saw the face of the man either on this journey or ever before in prison. Whenever he led him, he directed him to look down upon the ground and at his feet,—an injunction which he always strictly obeyed, partly from fear, and partly because his attention was sufficiently occupied with his own person and the position of his feet. Not long before he was observed at Nuremberg, the man had put the clothes upon him which he then wore.

'The putting on of his boots gave him great pain; for the man made him sit on the ground, seized him from behind, drew his feet up, and thus forced them into the boots. They then proceeded onwards still more miserably than before. He neither then, nor ever before, perceived any thing of the objects around him; he neither observed nor saw them; and therefore he could not tell from what part of the country, in what direction, or by which way he came. All that he was conscious of was, that the man who had been leading him put the letter which he had brought with him into his hand, and then vanished; after which, a citizen observed him and took him to the guard-room at the New-gate.' pp. 52—61.

It was on the afternoon of the 26th of May, 1828, that he was discovered by the citizen referred to, standing alone in a state of helpless stupefaction, and exhibiting the appearance of an untaught savage, rather than of an idiot or a madman. To all inquiries, he would return only a string of words which he had been taught, like a parrot, to utter as the common expression of all his wants and feelings, without attaching to them any definite meaning; but, on having a pen put into his hand, he wrote, to the astonishment of all who were present, in legible characters, the name, *Kaspar Hauser*. This, too, was a mere mechanical performance.

'The surprise occasioned by Caspar Hauser's first appearance soon settled down into the form of a dark and horrid enigma, to explain

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still less able to designate this difference correctly by means of words. What Caspar calls a hill, must, in all probability, have been a pair of stairs. Caspar also thinks he can recollect, that, in being carried, he brushed against something by his side.'

\* 'This jargon seems to imply, "I will be a rider (a trooper) as my father was."'

which various conjectures were resorted to. By no means an idiot or a madman, he was so mild, so obedient, and so good-natured, that no one could be tempted to regard this stranger as a savage, or as a child grown up among the wild beasts of the forest. And yet he was so entirely destitute of words and conceptions, he was so totally unacquainted with the most common objects and daily occurrences of nature, and he shewed so great an indifference, nay, such an abhorrence, to all the usual customs, conveniences, and necessities of life; and at the same time he evinced such extraordinary peculiarities in all the characteristics of his mental, moral, and physical existence; as seemed to leave us no other choice, than either to regard him as the inhabitant of some other planet, miraculously transferred to the earth, or as one who (like the man whom Plato supposes) had been born and bred under ground, and who, now that he had arrived at the age of maturity, had for the first time ascended to the surface of the earth, and beheld the light of the sun.

‘Caspar shewed continually the greatest aversion to all kinds of meat and drink, excepting dry bread and water. Without swallowing or even tasting them, the very smell of most kinds of our common food was sufficient to make him shudder, or to affect him still more disagreeably. The least drop of wine, of coffee, or the like, mixed clandestinely with his water, occasioned him cold sweats, or caused him to be seized with vomiting or violent headache.’ pp. 24—25.

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‘Not only his mind, but many of his senses appeared at first to be in a state of torpor, and only gradually to open to the perception of external objects. It was not before the lapse of several days that he began to notice the striking of the steeple clock, and the ringing of the bells. This threw him into the greatest astonishment, which at first was expressed only by his listening looks and by certain spasmodic motions of his countenance: but it was soon succeeded by a stare of benumbed meditation. Some weeks afterwards, the nuptial procession of a peasant passed by the tower with a band of music, close under his window. He suddenly stood listening, motionless as a statue; his countenance appeared to be transfigured, and his eyes, as it were, to radiate his ecstasy; his ears and eyes seemed continually to follow the movements of the sounds as they receded more and more; and they had long ceased to be audible, while he still continued immoveably fixed in a listening posture, as if unwilling to lose the last vibrations of these, to him, celestial notes, or as if his soul had followed them, and left its body behind it in torpid insensibility. Certainly not by way of making any very judicious trial of Caspar’s musical taste, this being, whose extraordinary nervous excitability was already sufficiently apparent, was once, at a military parade, placed very near to the great regimental drum. He was so powerfully affected by its first sounds, as to be immediately thrown into convulsions, which rendered his instantaneous removal necessary.’ pp. 30, 31.

Among the half-dozen words which formed the whole extent of Caspar’s vocabulary when first brought into communion with



mankind, was the word *Rosa!* (horse.) This he would often iterate in a plaintive, beseeching tone. At last, it occurred to the police soldiers to bring him a wooden horse; and from the extreme delight which he manifested at seeing it, it appeared that he had found in this toy an old and long-desired playmate. He was soon supplied with several horses, which became his constant amusement. He never ate his bread or drank his water, without applying them to the mouths of his horses, to which he evidently ascribed consciousness. It was subsequently ascertained that, in his infantine soul, ideas of things animate and inanimate were still strangely confounded. He distinguished animals from men only by their form. Even after he had been placed under the kind superintendence of Professor Daumer, it required no little pains and much patience to make him comprehend the difference between objects which are, and those which are not organized, between voluntary motion and motion communicated to dead matter.

Many things which bore the form of men or animals, though cut in stone, carved in wood, or painted, he would still conceive to be animated, and ascribe to them such qualities as he perceived to exist in other animated beings. It appeared strange to him, that horses, unicorns, ostriches, &c., which were hewn or painted upon the walls of houses in the city, remained always stationary, and did not run away. He expressed his indignation against the statue in the garden belonging to the house in which he lived, because, although it was so dirty, yet it did not wash itself. When, for the first time, he saw the great crucifix on the outside of the church of St. Sebaldus, its view affected him with horror and with pain: and he earnestly entreated, that the man who was so dreadfully tormented might be taken down. Nor could he, for a long time, be pacified, although it was explained to him, that it was not any real man, but only an image, which felt nothing. He conceived every motion that he observed to take place in any object, to be a spontaneous effect of life. If a sheet of paper was blown down by the wind, he thought that it had run away from the table; and, if a child's waggon was rolling down a hill, it was, in his opinion, making an excursion for its own amusement. He supposed that a tree manifested its life by moving its twigs and leaves; and its voice was heard in the rustling of its leaves, when they were moved by the wind. He expressed his indignation against a boy who struck the stem of a tree with a small stick, for giving the tree so much pain. To judge from his expressions, the balls of a ninepin alley ran voluntarily along: they hurt other balls when they struck against them, and when they stopped, it was because they were tired. Professor Daumer endeavoured for a long time, in vain, to convince him that a ball does not move voluntarily. He succeeded, at length, in doing so, by directing Caspar to make a ball himself, from the crumbs of his bread, and afterwards to roll it along. He was convinced that a humming-top, which he had long been spinning, did not move voluntarily, only by finding, that, after frequently winding up the cord, his arm began to hurt him;

being thus sensibly convinced that he had himself exerted the power which was expended in causing it to move.

‘ To animals, particularly, he for a long time ascribed the same properties as to men ; and he appeared to distinguish the one from the other only by the difference of their external form. He was angry with a cat for taking its food only with its mouth, without ever using its hands for that purpose. He wished to teach it to use its paws, and to sit upright. He spoke to it as to a being like himself, and expressed great indignation at its unwillingness to attend to what he said, and to learn from him. On the contrary, he once highly commended the obedience of a certain dog. Seeing a grey cat, he asked, why she did not wash herself, that she might become white. When he saw oxen lying down on the pavement of the street, he wondered why they did not go home and lie down there. If it was replied that such things could not be expected from animals, because they were unable to act thus, his answer was immediately ready : then they ought to learn it ; there were so many things which he also was obliged to learn.

‘ Still less had he any conception of the origin and growth of any of the organical productions of nature. He always spoke as if all trees had been stuck into the ground ; as if all leaves and flowers were the work of human hands. The first materials of an idea of the origin of plants, were furnished him by his planting, according to the directions of his instructor, a few beans, with his own hands, in a flower-pot ; and by his afterwards being made to observe, how they germinated and produced leaves, as it were, under his own eye. But, in general, he was accustomed to ask, respecting almost every production of nature, who made that thing ?

‘ Of the beauties of nature he had no perception. Nor did nature seem to interest him otherwise than by exciting his curiosity, and by suggesting the question, who made such a thing ? When, for the first time, he saw a rainbow, its view appeared for a few moments to give him pleasure. But he soon turned away from it ; and he seemed to be much more interested in the question, who made it ? than in the beauty of its apparition.

‘ Yet there was one view which made a remarkable exception from this observation, and which must be regarded as a great and never-to-be-forgotten incident in the gradual development of his mental life. It was in the month of August, 1829, when, on a fine summer evening, his instructor showed him, for the first time, the starry heavens. His astonishment and transport surpassed all description. He could not be satiated with its sight, and was ever returning to gaze upon it ; at the same time fixing accurately with his eye the different groupes that were pointed out to him, remarking the stars most distinguished for their brightness, and observing the differences of their respective colour. “ That,” he exclaimed, “ is, indeed, the most beautiful sight that I have ever yet seen in the world. But who has placed all these numerous beautiful candles there ? who lights them ? who puts them out ? ” When he was told, that, like the sun, with which he was already acquainted, they always continue to give light, he asked again ; who placed them there above, that they may always continue to give

light? At length, standing motionless, with his head bowed down, and his eyes staring, he fell into a train of deep and serious meditation. When he again recovered his recollection, his transport had been succeeded by deep sadness. He sank trembling upon a chair, and asked, why that wicked man had kept him always locked up, and had never shewn him any of these beautiful things. He (Caspar) had never done any harm. He then broke out into a fit of crying, which lasted for a long time, and which could with difficulty be soothed; and said, that "the man with whom he had always been" may now also be locked up for a few days, that he may learn to know how hard it is to be treated so. Before seeing this beautiful celestial display, Caspar had never shewn any thing like indignation against that man; and much less had he ever been willing to hear that he ought to be punished. Only weariness and slumber were able to quiet his sensations; and he did not fall asleep—a thing that had never happened to him before—until it was about 11 o'clock. Indeed, it was in Mr. Daumer's family, that he began more and more to reflect upon his unhappy fate, and to become painfully sensible of what had been withheld and taken from him. It was only there, that the ideas of family, of relationship, of friendship,—of those human ties that bind parents and children and brothers and sisters to each other, were brought home to his feelings; it was only there, that the names mother, sister, and brother, were rendered intelligible to him, when he saw how mother, sister, and brother were reciprocally united to each other by mutual affection, and by mutual endeavours to make each other happy. He would often ask for an explanation of what is meant by mother, by brother, and by sister; and endeavours were made to satisfy him by appropriate answers. Soon after, he was found sitting in his chair, apparently immersed in deep meditations. When he was asked, what was now again the matter with him? he replied with tears, "he had been thinking about what was the reason, why *he* had not a mother, a brother and a sister? for it was so very pretty a thing to have them." pp. 120—128.

It was by very slow degrees that he attained to the power of coherent speech; but his facility of learning, his dormant intelligence, and his memory were extraordinary. His curiosity and thirst for knowledge also, and the inflexible perseverance with which he fixed his attention on any thing he was determined to learn or comprehend, surpassed every thing that can be conceived of them; and the manner in which they were expressed, was truly affecting. Often would he repeat his lamentation that the people in the world knew so much, and that there were so many things which he had not yet learned. Next to writing, drawing became his favourite occupation, for which he evinced a strong capacity united to equal perseverance. A most surprising and inexplicable property of his mind was his love of order and cleanliness, which he carried to the extreme of nicety. Uncleanliness, or what he considered to be such, whether in his own person or in others, was an abomination to him. The extreme vividness of his sensations, 'the almost preternatural elevation of his

senses' was for a long time distressing to him. He was able to see in the dark, but by day, his sight was at first, for want of use, very indistinct; and the gradual manner in which he acquired the proper use of the organs, and the power of judging of magnitudes and distances, resembled that in which apparently infants learn to see, and in which a blind person restored to sight attains to distinct perception. He continued, however, to see much better by twilight. After sunset, he once pointed out a gnat that was hanging in a distant spider's web. When, at the commencement of twilight, a common eye could not distinguish more than three or four stars in the sky, Caspar could already discern different groupes, and distinguish the stars of which they were composed. It has also been proved by experiments carefully made, that, in a perfectly dark night, he could distinguish such colours as blue and green from each other. So acute was his sight that, in anatomizing plants, he noticed subtle distinctions and delicate particles which had escaped the observation of others. Scarcely less acute or finely discriminative was his sense of hearing. But, of all his senses, that which was most troublesome was his smelling. It occasioned him for a long time constant suffering. What to us is scentless, was not so to him; and the most delicate and delightful odours, for instance the rose, inflicted not 'aromatic pain,' but disgust as well as suffering. All kinds of smells were more or less disagreeable to him; but what we call unpleasant, affected him with less aversion than perfumes. The smell of fresh meat, however, he found the most horrible; and in walking near a church-yard, the effluvia, of which his companion was insensible, affected Caspar so powerfully as to produce a shivering fit, succeeded by a violent perspiration. But the most extraordinary of his perceptions was his sensibility of the presence of metals, and his capacity of distinguishing them from each other by his feelings alone. From a great number of facts, the following instances of this singular property are selected.

'In the autumn of 1828, he once accidentally went into a store filled with hardware, particularly with brass goods. He had scarcely entered, before he hurried out again, being affected with a violent shuddering, and saying that he felt a drawing in his whole body in all directions.—A stranger who visited him, once slipped a piece of gold of the size of a kreutzer into his hand, without Caspar's being able to see it; he said immediately that he felt gold in his hand.—At a time when Caspar was absent, Professor Daumer placed a gold ring, a steel and brass compass, and a silver drawing pen, under some paper, so that it was impossible for him to see what was concealed under it. Daumer directed him to move his finger over the paper, without touching it; he did so; and by the difference of the sensation and strength of the attraction which these different metals caused him to feel at the points of his fingers, he accurately distinguished them all from each other,

according to their respective matter and form.—Once, when the physician, Dr. Osterhausen, and the royal crown-fiscal, Brunner, from Munchen, happened to be present, Mr. Daumer led Caspar, in order to try him, to a table covered with an oil-cloth, upon which a sheet of paper lay, and desired him to say whether any metal was under it. He moved his finger over it, and then said, “There it draws!” “But, this time,” replied Daumer, “you are, nevertheless, mistaken; for (withdrawing the paper) nothing lies under it.” Caspar seemed, at first, to be somewhat embarrassed; but he put his finger again to the place where he thought he had felt the drawing, and assured them repeatedly, that he *there* felt a drawing. The oil-cloth was then removed, a stricter search was made, and a needle was actually found there.—He described the feeling which minerals occasioned him, as a kind of drawing sensation, which passed over him; accompanied, at the same time, with a chill which ascended, accordingly as the objects were different, more or less up the arm; and which was also attended with other distinctive sensations. At the same time, the veins of the hand which had been exposed to the metallic excitation, were visibly swollen. Towards the end of December, 1828,—when the morbid excitability of his nerves had been almost removed,—his sensibility of the influence of metallic excitatives, began gradually to disappear, and was, at length, totally lost.’ pp. 140—143.

In fact, after he had learned to eat meat, his mental activity, and the quickness of his apprehension, as well as the preternatural acuteness of his sensual perceptions, were considerably lessened, while his physical strength and growth were as rapidly increased.

Another remarkable circumstance was, the apparently instinctive facility with which he became, after a very few lessons, a most dexterous and fearless horseman.

His obedience to all those persons who had acquired paternal authority over him, was unconditional and boundless, but with this remarkable limitation; it had no connexion in his mind with believing. Before he would acknowledge any thing to be certain or true, it was necessary that he should be convinced of it, either by the evidence of his senses, or by some reasoning adapted to his imperfectly developed powers of comprehension. Though in his temper he exhibited a childish kindness and gentleness, he brought with him from his dungeon not the shadow of a religious idea; and the unskilful and injudicious attempts made to impart religious notions to his mind, before his understanding was fitted to embrace them, were entirely fruitless. Professor Daumer at length succeeded in making him infer from his own consciousness, the existence of spirit, and the nature of the Divine Being. Caspar evinced great joy, when these subjects were explained to him, and said, that what was now told him was something *real*, whereas other people had never told him any thing upon that subject, that was right. In the same way, we apprehend, it must



have been found easy, in the case of one who had undergone so remarkable and sudden a transition from a life of mere animal existence, the life of an oyster, in the solitude of his dungeon, to the previously inconceivable state of communion with external objects and human society,—to make him infer the possible existence of an upper and invisible world, and to teach him to conceive of the fact, that there are beings from whom we are separated by as thin a partition as that which shut up poor Caspar from the living world. It is gratifying to learn, that ‘faith in God, and a hope in Providence founded on that faith,’ have at length found entrance into a heart that so much needed consolation. He is now, we are told, in the true sense of the word, a pious man. He speaks with devotion of God, and is fond of reading books of rational edification. His intellectual attainments are not now distinguished by any thing very remarkable. He does not discover a spark of fancy or genius. His imagination appears to have been as it were extinguished; but he shews both accuracy and acuteness of judgement in all things which lie within the narrow sphere of his knowledge. In understanding a man, in knowledge and simplicity still a child, ‘he no longer retains any thing that is extraordinary, but his extraordinary fate, his indescribable goodness, and the exceeding amiableness of his disposition.’

Such is the description given us of this unfortunate victim of a cruelty which appears as unaccountable as atrocious. Why was such care manifested to preserve a life from extinction, which it was deemed necessary for any vile reason to bury in the darkness of the grave? What remaining feeling of compunction, what other conceivable motive could restrain poor Caspar’s gaoler from being the murderer of his animal life, as well as of his intellectual being? These and a hundred other questions naturally suggest themselves, to which no answer can be given. An attempt to assassinate Caspar in Oct. 1829, from which he narrowly escaped, warrants the supposition that some individuals are still living, upon whom his history would fix the brand of infamy. But that history is written only in a book which will not be opened till the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed.

Were not the main facts attested by such ample evidence, there are many points upon which incredulity might fix itself. That Caspar had been immured in his hole long enough to affect the formation of his bones, is certain; but could he have been kept there from absolute infancy? Was his mind always the blank which it appeared to be on his first introduction to the world? Or had it been reduced to that state by diabolical artifice? What must have been the effect of the opiates by which he appears to have been periodically laid in utter insensibility, and of those long and dreamless slumbers, upon his intellectual facul-



ties, if previously developed? Must they not have tended to reduce him to idiotcy? Is it not conceivable that all memory and knowledge might thus have become effaced? Might not this have been the object and expectation of those who consigned him living to his sepulchre? And may not the attempt at assassination have been instigated by the discovery that the design had not been fully accomplished; that he was *not* reduced to idiotcy; that his powers, though utterly dormant, were not destroyed; and by the fear that his extinguished recollections might yet come to life?

But it is useless to start these speculations. Viewed as a psychological phenomenon, poor Caspar affords some interesting illustrations of the process of education we all pass through in infancy, and of the dependence of the internal faculties, as regards their development, upon external objects, as well as some other points interesting to the physiologist. To these we cannot now advert. One valuable lesson, however, all may derive from the perusal of the narrative: it should make us *thankful for our childhood*, and teach us to adore the wisdom of God, as conspicuous in that beautiful order in which the powers of our nature are successively and harmoniously developed, each stage being preparatory to the next, and gently melting into it, and every season of life having its own proper knowledge, business, and happiness. Let 'the youth without childhood' teach us how blessed a thing it is to have been a child.

- Art. VII. 1. *Civil Establishments of Christianity, tried by their only authoritative Test, the Word of God.* By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., Glasgow. 8vo, pp. 52. Glasgow, 1833.
2. *Extracts from Statements of the Difference between the Profession of the Reformed Church of Scotland, as adopted by Seceders; and the Profession contained in the New Testimony and other Acts, as adopted by the General Associate Synod; particularly on the power of the Magistrates respecting Religion.* By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. Second Edition. pp. 52. Glasgow, 1833.
3. *Church Establishments defended, with Special Reference to the Church of Scotland.* By the Rev. C. J. Brown, Minister of Anderston Chapel. 12mo, pp. 236. Glasgow, 1833.
4. *A Critique on Dr. Ralph Wardlaw's Sermon, "Civil Establishments of Christianity"; shewing that it is unfounded in Scripture, contradicted by Ecclesiastical history, and based on what is not true, and is alike repudiated by sound Criticism and conclusive Argument.* By Alexander Fleming, A.M., Minister of Neilston. 8vo, pp. 118. Glasgow, 1833.

5. *The Nursing Fathers and Mothers of the Children of the Church.* A Sermon on Isaiah xlix. 22, 23. By Greville Ewing. 18mo, pp. 48. Price 8s. Glasgow, 1831.
6. *Thoughts on Ecclesiastical Establishments*, particularly the Established Church of Scotland. By a Layman. 8vo, pp. 80. Edinburgh, 1832.
7. *The Church of England indefensible by Holy Scripture*: being a Reply to several recent Defences of the Establishment, and especially to two Discourses by the Rev. J. Garbett, M.A., of Birmingham. By George Redford, M.A. 8vo. London, 1833.
8. *The Dissenters and Church Reform.* A Letter to the Rev. J. Arnold, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, occasioned by his Pamphlet, entitled, Principles of Church Reform. By Vindex. Reprinted from the Northampton Free Press. 18mo, pp. 31. Price 6d. London, 1833.
9. *On Ecclesiastical Establishments*: an Address. By J. J. Davies. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1832.
10. *Self Defence*, being an Answer to a Publication, entitled "War against the Church," &c., &c. By the Rev. William Chaplin. 18mo, pp. 23. Price 3d. Bishop's Stortford, 1832.

**T**HE chief seat of ecclesiastical war at the present moment is on the other side of the Tweed. Here, the controversy has seemed to languish, and the Church of England has been allowed a breathing time, during which she is being exhorted by her own prophets to repent and reform. But in Scotland, it is not Church Reform that is sought for, but just a doing away with the Ecclesiastical Establishment *in toto*. There, the dispute is not about vestments or formularies, confirmation or the burial service. No prelates lift their mitred heads in lordship over their brethren in the Scottish Establishment. The grounds of dissent are far less complicated there, than in this country; relating not so much to the polity or structure of the Church, or to any of its forms and practices, as to the corruptions which are believed to result inevitably from the unlawful connexion between the Church and the State. It is against Church Establishments as such, against any species of 'civil establishment of Christianity,' any 'compulsive' mode of supporting the teachers of religion, that Mr. Marshall, Dr. Wardlaw, Mr. Ewing, and their friends and colleagues, feel themselves conscientiously bound to raise their voice in solemn protest. The formalism, the lethargy, the secret infidelity which have deplorably overspread the Church of Scotland, may be traced, in their opinion, to its anti-Christian alliance with state patronage. The existence of the church establishment is believed to be a formidable barrier to the propagation of the

Gospel, by means of the mischievous authority with which it invests an unconverted ministry, and the obstacles it opposes to the evangelical labours of those who, without its pale, are branded with the name of sectaries. Its necessary effect is, to fasten an unjust stigma upon all who scruple conformity to its requisitions; to repel the non-established sects from all equal fellowship; to separate, by mere secular distinction and political circumstance, those whom Christianity should unite; to diffuse a sectarian spirit, and to scatter through the land, the seeds of discord. Toleration, another word for sufferance, is the utmost that an Establishment can extend to non-established communities, although agreeing with itself in every essential doctrine, and even in its mode of government and ritual: whereas, but for the invidious incorporation of the favoured section of the general Church, it is believed, the various sects, if they continued in separation, would at least recognize each other as integral parts of the same body, and maintain, if not a uniformity of service, a unity of spirit, in the bond of peace.

But the sturdy advocates of the Voluntary Church principle go further, and contend not merely for a total divorce between the Church and the State, as regards patronage, but for an entire abandonment and annihilation of any state provision, or even any endowment of any description. That Endowments have done much harm to religion, we are not disposed to deny; but their absolute unlawfulness we have yet to see proved. It is our intention, on the present occasion, to lay impartially before our readers the respective statements and arguments of the polemics on either side, rather than to attempt an adjudication of the very delicate and difficult question to which they relate, and which most of our readers will already have settled completely to their own satisfaction. We shall take the liberty, however, of premising a few general observations.

And first, we may be allowed to remark, that *if* the scheme of an Establishment of religion can be proved to have failed in Scotland, which could certainly boast, at one time, of the purest and most efficient Church in Christendom, the cause of Establishments may well be given up as hopeless. That it has failed in Ireland, and worse than failed, is obvious to all the world, except those who think that the use of a Church is to garrison a country for its absentee proprietors and foreign Government. But the Established Church in Ireland is the richest, the Established Church in Scotland is one of the poorest in Christendom. The one has been a sinecure Church; the other a working one. The one is all glorious with four arch-bishops, twenty-two bishops, and a full complement of deans and other staff officers of the church militant; wanting nothing but to have its skeleton regiments filled up, its naked architecture clothed with living congregations. The

**Sister Establishment** is as plain, and modest, and unassuming as possible, and although long deserted by the higher orders in favour of Episcopacy, the religion of gentlemen, still retains within its pale a respectable portion of the nation. If the virtue of *this* Church has yielded, or its efficiency been destroyed by its alliance to the State, then, we say, the expediency of Establishments must be given up.

A second observation which it occurs to us to make, is this; that when such individuals as Mr. Douglas, Dr. Wardlaw, and Mr. Marshall are found ranged in opposition against the Establishment of their own country, it is not likely to be on slight grounds. A presumption lies against either the purity, or the catholicity, or the Scriptural construction of any Church which is found repelling from its communion, or at least alienating from herself, any large number of the wise, and virtuous, and devout. A national Church inclusive of but a section of the nation, approaches to a practical solecism. An Established Church which does not reach the moral wants, secure the general reverence, keep pace with the growing intelligence of the people,—which suffers itself to be out-grown by the people, to be out-shone, out-run, and out-done by non-established ministers,—has ceased to merit its high distinction, and to fulfil the conditions upon which it obtained its monopoly. A Church is a popular institution, or it is nothing. The people compose the materials of a Church; and when the nation have to any great extent deserted a Church, it may still be the State Church, the Court Church, the Established Church, but it is no longer the National Church.

Further, the parties who have engaged in the present controversy in Scotland, on the side of Voluntary Church principles, are individuals whose motives at least are above suspicion. They are neither fanatics in religion nor radicals in politics. If their opinions should be deemed extreme, they are chargeable with no vehemence of temper, no violence of conduct. Their piety is as exemplary as their attainments are respectable. If mistaken, they cannot be suspected of any sinister purpose, or of any animosity against the Scottish clergy. If their theory be erroneous, they must be competent witnesses as to facts. Great practical evils could alone have produced so strong and extensively prevailing a feeling of dissatisfaction with an Establishment which, according to the language of her panegyrists, ‘stands in proud pre-eminence over all other Church Establishments.’ That the expediency of an Establishment should have even come to be questioned by those who have watched its working, proves how great must be the abuses that have so obscured its utility. No one ever complains of *running* water as a nuisance.

The actual predicament of the Church of Scotland is thus described by Mr. Douglas.

‘It is obvious to the most superficial observer, that the Church of Scotland, unless some remedy is provided, is, in this part of the country at least, in a rapid state of decay. We have the bare walls of an established Church, but the living stones are in every sense absent. The population of the country have gone elsewhere. The Church of Scotland, in several respects, is worse off than the established Church of Ireland. In the latter country, if the majority of the people are attached to Popery, the wealthier minority profess to adhere to reformed Episcopacy. In Scotland, the wealth of the country has long been Episcopalian. The Church of Scotland had its strong foundations fixed in the affections of the mass of the community, and the defection of the higher classes was therefore of less consequence. But now the solitude that prevails in many churches is a portentous sign, as far as respects the continuance of the present Establishment.’—*Douglas on Church Reform.*

As the nature of the provision made for the Scottish clergy is imperfectly understood in this country, we shall transcribe from another pamphlet before us, an explanation of the present endowments of the Established Church, which will be seen to be free from many of the more prominent objections chargeable upon the sister Establishments.

‘It is generally known that the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Scotland is supported, partly by assessments upon the landed property of the country (understanding the tithes, or *teinds*, as they are called in Scotland, to be included in this,) partly by direct grants from Government, and partly by assessments upon the inhabitants of particular towns. The principal part of its revenue is derived from the first source, as the stipends of all the ministers in rural parishes are imposed, in the first instance, on the *teinds*, which must be exhausted before the incumbent can claim on any other fund; and the expense of supporting the fabric of the different parish churches, and of building and repairing the manses, is raised by an assessment on the land itself.

‘Before the Reformation, the Established Church, then Popish, was supported partly by the church lands, or benefices, which are said to have comprehended about a half of all the landed property in the country, and partly by the *teinds*; that is, a tenth part of the produce of nearly all the other lands in the country. There were, and are still, particular cases of tithe free lands, which are understood by lawyers, but to which it is unnecessary to allude in a popular account of the matter like this, particularly as these bore only a very small proportion to the lands, the *teinds* of which were not exempted. Such was the state of the Romish Church, and it was not the fault of the reformed clergy, that their church was denied as splendid a patrimony; for we find from the First Book of Discipline, that they claimed the whole benefices and tithes which had belonged to the Popish Church, partly for their own use, and partly for pious purposes, including among these the relief of the poor, and the support of schools and universities, (these being the objects, as they alleged, which were contemplated in the original destination of the tithes, and other pro-

party, to the Church,) *but all to be under the management and control of the Church.*

“But while we state that such were the exorbitant demands of Knox, Melville, and the other reformed pastors who compiled the Books of Discipline, it would be unjust in the extreme to say any thing which might convey the impression that they were actuated by mercenary motives in the matter. We believe those eminent men, and most worthy patriots, whose names we have mentioned, and many others of the reformed clergy, were vastly superior to any thing so base as the love of money in the settlement of this great question. Beyond all doubt the glory of God and the happiness of their country were the objects dearest to their hearts, and they conscientiously believed they were best promoting these by claiming for the reformed church all that had been enjoyed by the ancient superstition; and all the historical evidence we possess is opposed to the idea, that they either wished or claimed more than a moderate provision for themselves as individuals. But admitting all this, and feeling a sincere veneration for the men, we are thoroughly convinced that they erred,—that their principles were fundamentally erroneous as to the mode in which religion was to be supported; and looking to the history of other ecclesiastics, we cannot doubt that such power and prosperity as they sought would have destroyed them, and have cursed the country with a wealthy and worldly priesthood after them, little better than those whose influence they had so happily subverted. We therefore feel very grateful to Providence that the legislature took another view of the subject, and seized upon the whole revenues of the Popish Church as public property, allowing the old beneficiaries to enjoy two-thirds of the benefices for life, and making the reformed clergy proper stipendiaries.

“The first legal provision made for the Protestant Church was by an act of the Privy Council, dated 15th February 1560. On this subject the admirable historian of the Reformation, (himself a great advocate for Establishments,) remarks:—“He (Knox) was still more indignant at their (the Court’s) management in settling the provision for the ministers of the church. Hitherto they had lived chiefly on the benevolence of their hearers, and many of them had scarcely the means of subsistence; but repeated complaints having obliged the Privy Council to take up the affair, they came at last to the determination that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts; that two of these should be given to the ejected Popish clergy, and that the third part should be divided between the Court and the Protestant ministry.” And, he adds in a note, “certain persons were appointed to fix the sums which were to be appropriated to the Court and to the Ministry, and also the particular salaries which were to be allotted to individual ministers, according to the circumstances in which they were placed.”—“The persons appointed to modify the stipends were disposed to gratify the Queen, and her demands were readily answered, while the sums allotted to the ministers were as ill paid as they were paltry and inadequate. ‘Weall,’ exclaimed Knox when he heard of this disgraceful arrangement, ‘if the end of this ordour pretendit to be takin for sustentatioun of the ministeris be



happie, my judgment failes me. I sie twa pairtis freebie gevin to the devill, and the third mon be devyded betwix God and the devill. Who wold have thocht that when Joseph reulled in Egypt, his brethren sould have travellit for victualles, and have returned with empty sackes unto thair families? O happie servands of the devill, and miserabill servands of Jesus Christ, if efter this lyf thair wer not hell and heaven.' " \*

'Knox's fears were justified by the result. The Romish Clergy knew that the benefices had been bestowed upon their Church, by the original proprietors, for very different purposes from those to which they were now to be appropriated, and under conditions with which it was impossible for the Protestants to comply. It was, therefore, quite natural, and quite in character with their Church, that nothing should be surrendered which could possibly be retained. The nobles and gentry again, who had got grants of some of the benefices, were equally desirous to secure what they had thus obtained, and used their court influence to get even the *thirds* of their benefices confirmed to them for their own private use. And lastly, the time-serving collectors were ever ready to sacrifice the interests of the poor ministers, who could be of no use in furthering their worldly views, and to secure, by prompt and liberal payment of the government's share of the thirds, the smiles of court favour. In short, the base struggle for the loaves and fishes had now commenced in the Scottish Reformed Church; and the Reformers descended from the high attitude of Ministers of the Gospel, to take a part in it,—a struggle which has not been productive of the same extent of evil here as in other parts of Europe, partly because the Presbyterian form of Church government forms a check against the exorbitant power and wealth of individual clergymen, but chiefly because the strength of the contending parties was so unequal. Our clergy had to contend with a sagacious and grasping laity, and an unfriendly court, and were never able to consolidate their power so as fully to obtain the secular advantages at which they aimed, and which they conscientiously believed to be necessary for the maintenance of religion.' *Thoughts on Eccl. Estab.* pp. 25—31.

By the Act of Parliament, 1567, c. 10, a very favourable change was effected on the revenues of the Church: it was provided that the *thirds* of the Popish benefices should be paid to collectors appointed by the clergy. Subsequent modifications took place, which were changes in details, not in principle. The most important was introduced by the Act, 1633, c. 19, by which power was given to *value* all the teinds in the country on equitable terms, the teind being declared to be equivalent to a fifth part of the rent, and reasonable deductions being allowed in calculating the rent †.

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\* 'M'Crie's Life of Knox, Vol. II. p. 43.'

† The powers of modifying stipends and valuing teinds, at first vested in commissioners, were transferred to the Court of Sessions.

‘ A valuation being once made, and regularly completed, fixes the tithe for ever: so that no increase of rental from industry and improvement, or from the altered circumstances of the country, can cause any increase in its amount. It may easily be conceived, therefore, how very slightly land-owners in Scotland now feel the burden of the Church, if they are fortunate enough to have sufficiently old valuations: and valuations a hundred or two hundred years old are exceedingly common. Besides authorising these valuations, this act allows every heritor, (with a few exceptions not worth noticing here,) to buy up his own tithes, in some cases, at six, and in others at nine years’ purchase; and as tithes are no longer drawn in kind, even by lay titulars, (a fifth part of the rent being always held as an equivalent for them,) they are paid by the land-owner or heritor without the direct intervention of the tenant, and without those numerous vexations and irritations which accompany the exaction of tithes in England and Ireland. Add to all this, that the Scottish clergy have no proper right to the tithes themselves, but only to competent, and generally very moderate stipends out of them, and the superiority of our system will be apparent.’

‘ The expense of repairing or rebuilding the fabric of the parish churches, and the ministers’ manses, is not a burden on the teinds, but on the *lands* themselves; so that although an heritor’s whole teinds may be exhausted by payments of stipend, and he consequently cannot be compelled to bear his share of any future augmentations, which the Court may award to the clergyman, yet he must pay his share of the expense of repairing or rebuilding the church and the manse, in proportion to his rental; and law-suits on this subject, either between the incumbent and heritors, or among the heritors themselves, are of frequent occurrence in the Court of Session. So much for the *rural*, or partly rural parishes.

‘ In purely *urban* parishes, again, which comprehend no lands, and, consequently, have no tithes from which the ministers’ stipends can be defrayed, the necessary funds are raised, either by the seat-rents, as in Glasgow, or by direct and indirect assessments upon the inhabitants, whether Dissenters or Churchmen, as in Edinburgh. In the first case, namely, that of paying the clergy out of the seat-rents, the principle of Establishments being virtually departed from, Dissenters have no right to complain; and though it may be doubted whether, in a religious point of view, this plan (which is generally practised by Dissenters also) may not be liable to objections, yet it is free from the compulsion that forms a necessary element in the other plan—that of assessments upon the inhabitants,—where the principle of force is in vigorous operation, from first to last, and has led to illegal resistance of late in Edinburgh, differing merely in degree, not in kind, from the distressing struggles between the Church and the people of Ireland.

‘ In urban parishes, we understand that the fabric of the churches

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the supreme civil court of the country, by Act 1707, c. 9.; and the judges of that court have now, as commissioners for the teinds, jurisdiction in every thing connected with the temporalities of the church.

is built and repaired out of the common funds of the town ; so that, of course, all the inhabitants are compelled to pay their share by the usual forms of law.

‘ Lastly, the Legislature has from time to time made direct grants for the Church of Scotland from the public money. These grants are either for the purpose of increasing the stipends of the clergy in rural parishes to the *minimum* of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, when the teinds of the parish are insufficient ; or for building churches in remote parts of the country, which are handed over as a matter of course to the Established Church, to the entire exclusion of all the various bodies of Dissenters, who must have paid their share of the expense of them along with their other taxes.’

*Thoughts on Eccl. Estab.* pp. 35—8.

Great as is the superiority of the Scottish system over the English tithe system, it neither precludes litigation, nor does it exclude the principle of compulsion, upon which, indeed, the whole is based. The Scottish Reformers invoked the power of the civil magistrate both to enforce the payment of their stipends, and to give penal efficacy to the censures of the Church !

That the Establishment rests upon a compulsory provision, is not denied by its advocates, who, on the contrary maintain the superiority of that mode of providing for the teachers of Christianity over the primitive method of voluntary contribution. Mr. Fleming has laboured this point with much ingenuity ; and we must transcribe his remarks.

‘ The history of the Voluntary system, and its operation, is this : The *first* Christians understood this command fully, “ the labourer is worthy of his hire.” In compliance with it, they sold their houses and lands, and laid the *price* of them at the Apostles’ feet. This continued for some time, when it was changed into the provision of voluntary *oblations* of bread and wine made to the Minister, at the administration of the Sacrament of the Supper and the feast of the Agapæ. By and bye additions were made to these oblations ; presents of raiment, furniture, houses, lands, and valuable possessions ; thus fulfilling the words of our Lord in Mark x. 29, 30. Feeling their state of dependence, the dignified Clergy used every mean, by the middle of the *second* century, to rise to independence, by fair and honourable means. But this was not the case with all clergymen of *inferior* note. Burning with a love of wealth and independence, they practised the most fawning arts of adulation and flattery. Nothing was left unessayed to worm themselves into the good graces of their congregations. If any of them were sick, there was given the most assiduous attention ; if any misfortune, the most apparent sincere sympathy ; if death occurred in the family, deep condolence was not wanting in that tender season. They knew human nature well ; and as the hand is readiest to be opened when the heart is soft, there was then no *lack* of appliances, by hints, insinuations, and suggestions,

and enforcing powerfully the text, "charity covereth a multitude of sins."

' And great was their success ; for though the disciples did not, after the first century, sell their houses and lands, and lay the price of them at their pastors' feet, as they did to the Apostles, yet the wealth they rapidly acquired from their flocks shewed how successful they had been in fleecing them, and gave an earnest of what in future would happen under this "*Voluntary*" scheme, namely, that the *spiritual* power would in time swallow up the *temporal*, and, possessing itself of the wealth of the world, would bring in the mystery of iniquity. Under this system, created by dependency and a desire to rise above it, the Clergy lost no opportunity that could enable them to accomplish so desirable an object. In the course of events this opportunity was afforded. After Jerusalem was destroyed a second time, and the Jews scattered abroad, the exercise of their religion was forbidden and denied them. On this, many, considering that the New Testament was founded upon the Old, became proselytes. The Christian Clergy, seizing the advantage, set up a claim to be the *successors* of the Jewish priesthood. The people came to believe them ; and the doctrine of *tithes* came to be insisted on as their right, which, in a little time, both in the Churches of the East and of the West, were paid generally to the Clergy. After this, wealth flowed in upon them from all quarters. The Bishops became great and powerful, and vied, as we have seen, with kings and princes.—The wealth of the great cities and the surrounding district came gradually, during the *third* century, into the hands of the Bishops. The same system of *oblations*, gifts, and presents, was carried on in the fourth century. In whatever way the Clergy was enriched by Constantine and his sons, &c.—whether by houses, or lands, or churches—it was by the *voluntary* system. Hence church-lands, and tithes, and churches, were originally voluntary gifts. By the time of *Pepin*, all the lands of France had, by donations, come into the hands of the Clergy. The speech of *CHILPERIC*, grandson of *CLOVIS*, is famous. Complaining of these *donations*, he says, "Our Exchequer is impoverished, and our riches are transferred to the Clergy ; none reign now but *Bishops*, who live in grandeur, while our grandeur is over."

' Through this voluntary system, there was nothing but continual quarrels between the Lords and the Bishops, the gentlemen and the Abbots. What the old lords and gentlemen gave away voluntarily on their death-beds to the Clergy, their sons seldom failed to redemand. "Hence," says Montesquieu, "if the Clergy were full of ambition, the Laity were not without theirs ;—if they gave their estates upon their death-beds to the Church, their successors wanted not means to resume them. In this way the Clergy constantly acquired—constantly refunded—and yet still acquired."

' *Charles Martel* stripped, at once, the Clergy of their whole Church-lands, and bestowed them upon his soldiers. The soldiers retained them with a firm grasp. It was in vain to persuade them to make restoration. Charlemagne found things in this state. On the one hand, as he could not compel the army to part with the Church-lands ;

so, "on the other hand," he was clearly of opinion, that "Christianity ought not to perish for want of Ministers, Churches, and instruction."

' Unable to restore the Church-lands, therefore, he resolved to establish the *tithes*, which, though paid the Clergy voluntarily from the middle of the *second* century, yet had never, by any civil enactment, been made the property of the Church in France. In a civil point of view, it was "a *new* kind of property," which had this advantage in favour of the Clergy, that as tithes were given particularly to the Church, it was easier in process of time to know when they were usurped. Charlemagne's famous division of the tithes into four parts—for the repairing of the Churches—for the Poor—for the Bishops—and for the Clergy, manifestly proves that he wanted to restore the Church to that fixed and permanent state which she had lost. This law of *Charlemagne's* was speedily copied by all the nations of Christendom,—Alfred of England, Fergus of Scotland, &c., adopted it. It is true, there were many ecclesiastical councils long before this, by which the *tithes* were ordered to be paid, but this was the *first civil* enactment, we believe, on the records of any country, making the payment of them "compulsory." They were to be in *lieu* of all fees, fines, donations, or oblations to the Clergy; but this was a vain expectation; no law could prevent the secret transactions of a death-bed. What by dreams and visions, by the doctrine of purgatory—auricular confession—indulgences—the forgiveness of sins—and securing, for the dying, a passport to heaven,—the Romish Clergy soon began again, by the voluntary system, to acquire land, to seat themselves quietly in the ecclesiastical seats, as lords paramount, and again to possess anew the wealth of Christendom. Popes, Bishops, Monks, and Friars, &c., all acting on it, soon amassed the riches of each country. Scarcely had a Monastery or Abbey existed in Scotland for more than half a century, says Chalmers, until it had drawn into itself the wealth of the surrounding district.

' Such, in all places, was the working of the voluntary system, from the days of the Apostles down to the Reformation. Then, the whole system of popery in this country was put an end to—the king and his nobles took possession of the riches of the Hierarchy, which at that time were equal to *half* of all the wealth of Scotland. The Presbyterian Clergy were limited to the *third* of the benefices of the Scottish Bishops, which was never paid them, but retained from them by the Popish Bishops under various pretences, or kept from them by trick, chicanery, and fraud. Indeed, tithes and Church-lands are the very soul and heart's blood of Popery.

' In 1633, the stipend of the Protestant Clergy here, was put upon the *rent*, and not on the *tithes*, as we shall immediately see. Fees at marriages, baptisms, burials, administration of the Sacrament, &c., visiting the sick and the dying, were taken away. The Scotch Presbyterian Clergy spurned at these as a *selling* of the Sacraments, and considering them as rank Popery, gave them up, with all pluralities, places, pensions, and non-residence, and confined themselves to the humble and *pitiful* stipends, then awarded them by the commissioners for the plantation of kirks and the valuation of teinds.

' Then commenced, in this country, what is individually called the



“*compulsory*” system, which *alone* has prevented the people from being robbed, as in the days of *yore*, and kept no small part of their property from finding its way into the treasury of the Church or the coffers of her Ministers. Indeed, the voluntary system, in its workings, was admirably adapted to impoverish the *Laity* and enrich the Clergy. The good which the “*compulsory*” system has done, is incalculable—it has erected and endowed our Parochial Schools and Universities—built and endowed several Churches—enabled every child, even the poorest, to receive a good education, in order to fit him for the world;—while it has afforded to all ranks and degrees in the land, religious ordinances—the benefit of the word and Sacraments—without money and without price.

‘Such is a short view of the operations of the “*voluntary*” and “*compulsory*” system. While the one centered in Monks and Friars, in Bishops and Popes, in Exarchs and Patriarchs, the riches of the earth enabling them to live in luxury and voluptuousness, and to vie in splendour with kings, to trample upon the rights of the poor and the privileges of the people;—the operations of the compulsory system, by *limiting* the subsistence of the Clergy—fixing it down to a certain sum—abolishing all fees for clerical duty—for births, marriages, and deaths—preventing the Clergy from taking advantage of the piety of the weaker sex, and working upon the troubled and guilty consciences of the stronger, on a death-bed, to give to the Church their wealth as an atonement for past sins—the property of many families, by the compulsory system, has been preserved to them, which, by the *arts* and *artifices* of the other system, would have been taken away. By the compulsory, the Parochial Schools and Universities;—and by the labours of a talented and zealous Ministry, a healthy and invigorating breeze has been sent throughout our native land, thereby raising the character of our countrymen, and making them known, distinguished, and respected, for their intelligence and conduct in every clime and quarter of the globe where they sojourn.

‘But take away this “*compulsory*” system, and the *National* character will soon be lost. Her Parochial Schools shut up, the children of the poor will return to ignorance and vice—her Universities, robbed of their tiends, will have either to shut their gates, or raise their *Fees* so high as to exclude all but the sons of the rich and the opulent,—her Parish Churches pulled down, her Sabbaths—heavenly emblem of rest—will no longer be spent in pious exercises by the people;—the stirring sound of the Gospel, filling the mind with moral and religious instruction, and atuning the voice to the melody of Psalms, will cease to be heard, save at dreary intervals, by some itinerant, perhaps illiterate Preacher, who has no permanent connexion with, or sympathetic interest in the parishioners. In the weary want of religious ordinances, intelligence will depart, and ignorance and vice, like moorlands once cultivated, but long out of culture, will return again to the savage state, with all the ferocity and barbarity of former times!!!’

pp. 73—78.

It is always unfortunate for the cause of the controvertist when



he succeeds in proving too much. It has usually been urged in support of the necessity of Church establishments, that, but for the compulsive operation of the law, most persons would give nothing towards the support of the ministers of religion. Paley has made use of this argument, asserting, that 'to the scheme of voluntary contribution there exists this insurmountable objection, that few would ultimately contribute any thing at all.' This was assuredly not the case in the primitive Church. That Church, as Mr. Douglas remarks, was corrupted by wealth long before it was corrupted by power. Long before even persecution had ceased, the eminent situations in the Church had become tempting objects for the disgraceful rivalry of worldly cupidity and secular ambition. What Church has not suffered from plethora?—In the preceding extract, the astonishing force of the voluntary principle is admitted. Establishments, it seems, like the statute of mortmain and other similar provisions, are intended to impose restrictions upon the ever encroaching demands of the Church, and to limit the amount of the voluntary fund! We know, indeed, that the Mendicant Orders of former days soon came to rival in wealth the secular clergy themselves. The voluntary principle shews itself to be not less active and powerful in the Romish Church to the present day, wherever it is not *swamped* by endowments. Look at Ireland, for instance, where a numerous priesthood are supported by the contributions, for the most part cheerfully yielded, of the millions of potato-fed peasantry who live in the extremest indigence. According to Mr. Fleming's argument, the best way to curb the licentiousness of the voluntary principle in Ireland, which leads the tenant, in numerous instances, to rob his landlord in order to pay his priest,—the only way to protect the people from being fleeced by the Romish clergy, would be to establish Popery,—to pay the priests by a State provision. We do not say that he is altogether wrong in his reasoning. Unhappily, however, it is the doom of the poor Irish to be robbed any way; first by the Established Church, and then by the Church which is not established; first by the tithe-owner, and then by his own priest; by the latter with his consent, by the former without it. Voluntarily or involuntarily, he is robbed by all who have to do with him. Yet, there is, after all, a wide difference between paying one's own minister and paying the priest of a foreign and abhorred communion. We do not imagine that men would voluntarily give to any Church of which they did not deem themselves members. The question is, Ought they to be compelled to do so?

Dr. Wardlaw, whose sermon has produced so strong a sensation in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, waives altogether every consideration relating to political expediency; and, appealing to the New Testament as the only authoritative test, he infers, first

from its 'entire silence' as to any thing resembling Establishments, and then from its positive declarations respecting the distinguishing characteristics of the kingdom of Christ,—that the scheme of an Establishment is unscriptural, and therefore unlawful. From the 'differential qualities' of that kingdom, he infers, 'that it is the systematic and unavoidable tendency of national Establishments to corrupt the Church of God.' This may, indeed, be affirmed to be the tendency of prosperity, of wealth, of security; but Dr. W. contends, that, in Establishments, there is a systematic tendency of this kind, the specific operation of which he afterwards illustrates. 'A system of national Christianity' necessarily, he thinks, involves corruption of the Church, 'as composed of *persons*.'

'When we speak of a Christian nation, and when a church, in any considerable degree, comes to be identified with the civil community, the idea of purity is out of the question.—But this is not the full amount of the evil. Its consequences are worse than itself. A most extensive and ruinous delusion comes thus to be practised upon the souls of men; that, namely, which arises from the spread and prevalence of nominal Christianity. Apart from the entire absence of scriptural authority in their support, and their contrariety to the fundamental principles of the "kingdom which is not of this world,"—this has ever appeared to my mind the grand practical mischief of religious establishments; a mischief such as no alleged benefit can go near to counterbalance. The idea of a nation of Christians, in the sense in which the phrase is now used, is one which has no exemplar in the New Testament; and it is one which deludes and ruins souls by thousands. My firm conviction is, (and I speak it, not in the heat and haste of controversial discussion, but with calm deliberation and intense regret,) that national Christianity, in which is necessarily involved the admission to Christian privileges, of multitudes whose Christianity consists of nothing but the name, and their accidental residence in a Christian land,—is chargeable with a more extensive destruction of souls, than any other extraneous cause whatever which it is possible to specify.—When "the disciples were called Christians first at Antioch," the designation was one which marked a definite class of persons,—who were separated from the world, and distinguished by a peculiar faith and a peculiar character. They were the same as the disciples, the believers, the saints. But with us it is far otherwise. Christianity is now a geographical term. The mass of the community, living within certain bounding lines, are Christians, merely because they are *not* Mahometans, *not* Pagans. They would resent it as an insult, were the designation refused them; while yet the application to them of some others of the primitive appellations of the followers of Jesus, would be resented as a greater insult still,—or perhaps would be stared and laughed at, as a thing utterly incongruous, and, by the very force of contrast, irresistibly ludicrous,—a thing to which there was not in their minds even the remotest pretension! What thousands and tens of thousands there are, who, from courtesy to the

religion of their country, sit down at the sacramental table, or kneel for the bread and wine at the Episcopal altar, who have not one correct conception of the Gospel, or one solitary feature of the spiritual character which the New Testament represents the faith of it as producing!—I say again, I know not any one thing that, in a country like ours, operates with a greater “latitude of ruin” than the prevalence of *nominal Christianity*;—by means of which men are led away from the spirituality, and sacredness, and definite distinctiveness of a Bible profession, and made to rest in the name without the thing, the form without the power, the outward observance without the inward grace. And the evil is inseparable from every national system. It is an evil which the power of custom may prevent many from duly considering; but which it is not possible that any spiritual mind can consider with lightness.’ pp. 44, 45.

We have extracted this paragraph, not merely as highly deserving of attention in itself, but because neither Mr. Fleming nor Mr. Brown has ventured to grapple with it: both slur it over most awkwardly. The former is rash enough to deny that the Church of Scotland claims to comprehend the entire nation. Improper persons may, he admits, occasionally, no doubt very rarely, by the greatest chance, ‘obtain sealing ordinances in the Establishment.’ But is this never found done among sectarian churches? As this question challenges the comparison between the Scottish Establishment and other communities on the point of discipline, we deem it necessary to transcribe the following remarks upon this head from the Layman’s pamphlet.

‘Supposing a pious member of the Established Church of Scotland to be a warm admirer of its constitution and ascendancy, does it not sometimes occur to him as strange, that he never hears of a rich heritor, being brought under the lash of ecclesiastical discipline, amidst all the boasted power which our Scottish Clergy pretend to enjoy, of executing the laws of Christ’s house? Is he quite sure that this arises from the fact, that discipline is less necessary in their case, than in the case of the *poor* profligate, over whom we admit a conscientious clergyman may exercise some restraint in the matter of “church privileges?” We should like to know how many years that clergyman could remain in the Established Church of Scotland, who would fearlessly exercise the authority with which his Divine Master has invested the church over all, both rich and poor, who profess to belong to it?

‘Again, are our pious brethren of the Establishment at all acquainted with the system, through means of which lay elders are elected for their highest Church Court? Are they aware of the political intrigue and debauchery which so often disgrace the election of magistrates for royal burghs, and the absolute unfitness, in most cases, of these persons to elect, in their turn, members for the General Assembly? “Oh now,” we shall, of course, be told, “you have left the general principle, and are attacking abuses.” Well, be it so; but

insist you upon the correction of these abuses, and see how long you will continue to be the *National Church*?—*Thoughts on Ecclesiastical Establishments, &c.*, p. 60.

Nevertheless, Mr. Fleming is confident that the Church of Scotland, if judged of from the manners, customs, opinions, and behaviour of the generality of its members, from the writings and discourses of its learned men, and from its public formularies, as ‘the *wise and prudent*’ would judge of it;—if fairly tried by this accommodating rule, would appear not only to have been unjustly loaded with calumny and reproach, (by whom?) ‘but, on a comparison with any other Church, would come forth fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible still to her enemies as an army with banners’!! Worthy of Habakkuk Mucklewrath himself! A little further on, however, Mr. F. says: ‘Her alleged defections, abuses, and errors, seceders have nothing to do with: be her faults great or small, they affect them not. Prudence, therefore, as well as right religious feeling and Christian charity should say to them, *Let the Church alone*. She meddles not with you: why then meddle with her?’ All this betrays a very sore feeling, and a sorry lack of argument. Do not the abuses of a national institution concern every member of the nation? Is it nothing to a seceder, that a Church, though it may not meddle with him, is deluding and fatally beguiling his neighbour, and exerting a deleterious influence upon the best interests of his countrymen? We regret to perceive the angry spirit which animates this jealous champion of Establishments. In the following passage, it flames out into most sulphurous rhetoric.

‘This Church, so full of utility—of sound doctrine, and pure morality—the glory of Protestantism, they would pull down!!!—nay; are turning earth and hell to overthrow, and leaving nothing undone to accomplish it!!! The congregated *rabble* are the “*pile*”—the “*Voluntaries*” the “*fire*”—infidels the “*wood*”—and the breath of the mighty, in the high places of the earth, like a stream of brimstone is kindling it. The spirit of *burning* is in them, and if not speedily quenched, will consume the kingdom, and with it all its *venerable* institutions.’ *Fleming*, p. 95.

Mr. Brown is a controvertist of a different stamp, and his volume is well deserving of perusal. The reader will be favourably impressed with the good sense and proper feeling which are displayed in the opening paragraph of his *Defence of Church Establishments*.

‘It requires but little penetration to see that mere controversy will not place our Church Establishment beyond the reach of danger. The Church of Scotland must advance in that reformation of abuses which she has begun, and which, thanks be to God, she has the power

of carrying on, if faithful to herself. Her ministers must steadily pursue their work of faith and labour of love; coming cheerfully forward, at the same time, to own, or rather to search out whatever evils may have crept into the administration of the Church; and having it for their honest desire and determination to remove these, not only in order to save themselves from public disapprobation, but from a sense of duty to Christ, love to the souls of men, and repentance for past misimprovement of privileges. A course like this, it might well be hoped, would conciliate the affections of all who have their country's good at heart. At all events, it would do what is more important; it would avert from us that displeasure of the great Head of the Church, which, incurred as it has been by a course of defection from his cause, has long been manifesting itself in spiritual judgements upon the land, and may be expected to issue in temporal judgements, except we unfeignedly return to Him from whom we have revolted.' pp. 1, 2.

In this volume, Mr. Brown abstains altogether from handling the question relating to Church Property; confining himself to a vindication of the Union of Church and State, first, on general principles, and secondly, as subsisting in the particular case of the Church of Scotland. He has conducted the argument with great ability and good temper, and, upon some points, seems to have the advantage over his *ultra* opponents. As we anticipate, however, a reply to the work, from the pen either of Dr. Wardlaw or of some of his friends, we shall not at present undertake the delicate office of umpire in the cause, but must frankly confess that we think each party has succeeded in proving the other to be somewhat in the wrong.

We had intended to notice the other pamphlets enumerated at the beginning of this article; but time forbids. We shall return to the subject in our next Number.

## ART. VIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press and shortly to be published, *The Sketch of a Complete System of Colonial Law*: being a Summary of of all such parts of the Law of England as are suitable also to the condition of her Colonies in general; and of those peculiar regulations required by the relation between the parent and the offspring states. By Francis Neale, Esq. M.A. Barrister at Law.

In the press, *Letters on the Divine Origin and Authority of the Holy Scriptures*. By the Rev. James Carlile, Junior Minister of the Scots' Church, in Mary's Abbey (Capel Street) Dublin.

Preparing for immediate publication, in one volume 12mo., *A Guide to an Irish Gentleman in his Search for a Religion*.

Just published, in two volumes, containing nearly two thousand one hundred pages, with the Arms admirably engraved by Mr. S. Williams, and distributed in connection with the several pedigrees throughout the work, *Sharpe's Peerage of the British Empire*, exhibiting its present State, and deducing the existing Descents from the Ancient Nobility of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The Lectures lately delivered by Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow, at the Congregational Library, Blomfield Street, Finsbury, are announced for publication in the course of the ensuing autumn.

In the press, *The Judgement of the Flood*, a Poem. By John A. Heraud, Author of "*The Descent into Hell*."

In the press, *Old Bailey Experience*. Remarks on our Criminal Jurisprudence and the Practice of our penal Courts at the Old Bailey, illustrated with numerous Cases. Also an Essay on Prison Discipline, in which the views of Archbishop Whately are considered and refuted; with many hints for the better management of Prisons, and amendment of the Laws for the more effectual suppression of crime. By the Author of a series of Papers on the same subject, published in *Fraser's Magazine* under the title of the "*Schoolmaster's Experience in Newgate*."

In the press, *Demetrius: a tale of Modern Greece*. In three Cantos. With other Poems. By Agnes Strickland.

The First Number has just appeared of *The Magazine of Botany and Gardening*, British and Foreign, edited by J. Rennie, M.A., Professor of Natural History, King's College, London; assisted by some of the most eminent Botanists in Europe. Each Number will contain Eight Plates of the most rare and valuable Specimens of Plants, executed by an eminent Artist, and coloured from Nature. Also, Sixteen Quarto Pages of Original Matter.



On the 1st of July will be published, in demy 8vo., printed entirely with type cast expressly for the Work, the First Number of a New English Version of the Great Work of Cuvier—"Le Regne Animale," or "The Animal Kingdom." This illustrious Naturalist, shortly before his decease, put forth a final Edition of his Animal Kingdom, and in so altered and improved a form as to give it a completely new character. This publication, consequently, has had the effect of superseding the old Edition, together with all the Translations made from that Edition, including the large Work published under the superintendence of Dr. Griffiths. The Work will consist of 36 Monthly Numbers; each will be sold at One Shilling. The Letterpress will be an exact translation of the original, and a series of notes will be subjoined, in which each branch of the general science will be carried up to the present state of knowledge. The Plates, which constitute the most important source of expense, will amount to no fewer than Five Hundred; they will be engraved on steel, and coloured in the most beautiful manner, in conformity with the great object of illustrating, according to nature, those characteristics of animals which depend on colour. The advantages of this new Work will at once be demonstrated, when it is stated, that, for the sum of thirty-six shillings, the Version of a celebrated standard Work, richly illustrated, will be obtained, which, in the original, with its plates, costs more than thirty-six pounds!

Early in August may be expected, Travels in the United States and Canada; containing some Account of their Scientific Institutions, and a few Notices of the Geology and Mineralogy of those Countries. By J. Finch, Esq., Corr. Memb. Nat. Hist. Soc. Montreal, &c. &c.

Nearly ready, in 2 vols. post 8vo, Traditionary Stories of Old Families, and Legendary Illustrations of Family History; with Notes, Historical and Biographical. By Andrew Picken, Author of Dominie's Legacy.

The Second Volume of the Naturalist's Library, edited by Sir William Jardine, Bart. will be published on the First of August, and contain the first volume of the Natural History of Monkeys.

In the Press, to be published by subscription, in 1 vol. 8vo., with Lithographic Plates, price One Guinea, RUSSIA: consisting of Miscellaneous Observations on the past and present State of that Country and its Inhabitants: compiled from Notes made on the Spot, during travels undertaken at different times, in the service of the Bible Society, and a Residence of many Years in that Country; with the advantages afforded by an Acquaintance with the Language, and Personal Intercourse with all Classes. By Robert Pinkerton, D.D., Author of "The Present State of the Greek Church in Russia," and (during nearly 20 years) Foreign Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society. \*.\* The principal object of Dr. Pinkerton, in this Publication, is to make some Provision for his Family, consisting of a Wife and Seven Children, after his Decease.

## ART. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

## BIOGRAPHY.

Biographical Recollections of the Rev. Robert Hall, A.M. By J. M. Morris. 8vo. cloth. 10s. 6d.

## HISTORY.

Memoirs of the Court and Character of Charles I. By Lucy Aikin. 2 Vols. 8vo. With Portrait. 17. 8s.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

A Collection of Thirty-four Literary Portraits from Frazer's Magazine. In 1 Vol. 4to. neatly bound, with gilt leaves. 2l. 2s. plain proofs; and 3l. 3s. India proofs.

The Young Enthusiast in Humble Life. A Simple Story. 18mo. 2s. 6d. cloth.

A Popular History of Priestcraft in all Ages and Nations. By William Howitt, 12mo. 5s.

Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, to Sir Horace Mann, British Envoy at the Court of Tuscany. Now first published from the Originals in the possession of the Earl of Waldegrave. Edited by Lord Dover. 3 Vols. 8vo. With fine Portrait of Horace Walpole, from an original Miniature, and copious Memoir of the Author.

## NATURAL HISTORY.

Domesticated Animals; considered with reference to Civilization and the Arts. Small 8vo. With Engravings. 3s. 6d. cloth lettered.

## NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

An Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Astronomy; with Plates, illustrating chiefly the Ancient System. By John Narrien, F.R.A.S. 8vo. 14s.

## POETRY.

Sacred Poems, for Sundays and Holidays. By Mrs. West, Author of "Letters to a Young Man." 1s. 6d. cloth lettered.

Rhymes and Rhapsodies. By Robert Folkestone Williams. 12mo. 6s.

Barbadoes, and other Poems. By M. J. Chapman, Esq. 12mo. 6s.

## POLITICAL.

History of the Middle and Working Classes, with a Popular Exposition of the

Economical and Political Principles which have influenced the Past and Present Condition of the Agricultural, Commercial, and Manufacturing Classes; together with an Appendix of Prices, Rates of Wages, Population, Poor Rates, Mortality, Marriages, Crimes, Schools, Education, Occupations, and other Statistical Information, illustrative of the Former and Present State of Society, and the Industrious Orders. Royal 18mo. 8s.

## THEOLOGY.

The Duties and Encouragements of Sunday School Teachers. By Wm. B. Sprague, D.D. Author of Lectures on Religious Revivals. 24mo. (Printed for the Sunday School Union.)

The Pulpit. Vol. XXI. 8vo. 7s. 6d. Dissent the Cause of God and Truth. By Jer. Watson. 6d.

The Clerical Duties of the Church of England opposed to Allegiance to Christ. Letters to an Evangelical Clergyman. By W. Gates, Sen. 8vo. 1s.

Dr. Chalmers' Bridgewater Treatise:—On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man. 2 Vols. 8vo. 16s.

Dr. Kidd's Bridgewater Treatise:—On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man, principally with Reference to the Supply of his Wants, and the Exercise of his Intellectual Faculties. By John Kidd, M.D., F.R.S., and Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford. The Second Edition. 9s. 6d.

## TOPOGRAPHY.

A Series of Journals of several Expeditions made in Western Australia during the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832, under the sanction of the Governor, Sir James Stirling; containing the latest Authentic Information relative to that Country; accompanied by a Map. Royal 18mo. 5s. 6d.

## TRAVELS.

Three Weeks in Palestine and Lebanon, with Views. Small 8vo. 2s. 6d. cloth lettered.

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1833.

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- Art. I. 1. *The Life of William Cowper, Esq.* Compiled from his Correspondence and other Authentic Sources of Information: containing Remarks on his Writings, and on the Peculiarities of his interesting Character, never before published. By Thomas Taylor. 8vo, pp. 368. Price 12s. London, 1833.
2. *Essays on the Lives of Cowper, Newton, and Heber; or an Examination of the Evidence of the Course of Nature being interrupted by the Divine Government.* 8vo. pp. 330. London, 1830.

THE last-named of these volumes may be adduced in proof that the first (the latest in order of publication) was not uncalled for. Not that the malignant perversion of understanding betrayed in the attempt to refer the disease of Cowper's mind to evangelical doctrine, as the exciting cause, is to be cured by the clearest demonstration of the utter fallacy of the notion, and its entire contrariety to the facts of the case. Enough had been written and published to undeceive any one who had through inadvertent mistake taken up this idea. Persons acquainted with the life of Cowper only through Hayley's memoirs, might, indeed, be led to suspect, that the Poet's religious notions had some share in tinging his mind with morbid melancholy. But the disclosures made in his own autobiographical memoir, and the publication of the most valuable part of his private correspondence, which Hayley had suppressed, by his kinsman, Dr. Johnson, preclude all *honest* mistake upon this point. The man who, after reading these, persists in ascribing Cowper's despondency and fearful sufferings in any measure to his religious opinions, discovers an infatuation scarcely less pitiable than the malady under which the Poet laboured; nay, in some respects, more so.

It is difficult to account, on any other principle than that of the blindness of heart produced by error, for the hatred of evangelical religion, the loathing of all that the Scriptures term spirituality of mind, which these Essays on the lives of Cowper, Newton, and Heber exhibit, combined with so much appearance of outward

respect for religion itself. The first and second essays originally appeared in the *Quarterly Review*; and we recollect the impression of disgust which their flippancy produced, not unmingled with surprise at the gratuitous attack upon the memory of the dead, as well as the faith of the living. The third essay, upon the character of Heber, appeared in the short-lived *London Review*, and contributed to seal its fate. The friends of Bishop Heber were shocked and pained at the attempt to hold up the weaker points of the Bishop's character as his distinguishing excellencies, and to make the force of his example consist in his vivid 'sympathy with the pursuits and enjoyments of the world,' and 'the absence of spiritual feelings and spiritual language in his journal.' The severest and most uncharitable estimate of the amiable Prelate's religious character, would be far less dishonouring to his memory, than this scandalizing panegyric, which, could he have perused it, would have filled him with unutterable grief and self-abasement\*.

We are glad to know it to be the same writer, who has endeavoured to connect the mental alienation of Cowper with his religious opinions. The volume has long been on our table, long enough, perhaps, to be forgotten by the public; but the appearance of Mr. Taylor's volume presents an occasion which we cannot let slip, for adverting to its dangerous fallacies.

One principal object which Dr. Johnson had in view in publishing the additional letters, which afford an inspection into the gloomy interior of the Poet's mind, was to 'exculpate the religious opinions of Cowper from the charge of originating his mental distress.' The Essayist does not scruple, at the outset, to treat Dr. Johnson's testimony concerning his accomplished kinsman with sovereign contempt.

'Dr. Johnson thinks the information now given decisive, and that Cowper's unhappiness must undoubtedly be referred solely to his alienation of mind. We agree with him that the evidence is decisive—the only question is, which way?' p. 8.

Now, when Dr. Johnson's personal acquaintance with Cowper, and with all the facts of the case, is considered, one cannot enough admire the cool self-sufficiency with which this Writer disposes of his evidence, because it crosses the hypothesis with which his own mind is fatally pre-occupied. But the strong determination of the Writer to make the case serve the purpose of his theory, and to overlook or suppress the facts which would have overturned all his reasonings, is still more palpably evinced in the brief account which he gives of the origin and progress of the Poet's malady. Referring to Cowper's memoir of his early life, the Essayist says:

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\* We happened to be spending a day with the venerable Wilberforce, just after the appearance of the *Review*, and only express what were his feelings on reading it.

• We will not harrow up the feelings of our readers by quoting passages, of anxious, brooding, unsatisfied care, or of the vehement ravings of frenzy, which have given so deep an interest to the brief memoir of his feelings, preceding the total alienation of his mind. That such a rapid succession of thoughts, hurrying and burning through the brain, should, as he somewhere expresses it, have been sufficient to wear out a frame of iron, we can well believe. Our readers are aware that his intellects totally sunk under this pressure, and that he was placed under the care of Dr. Cotton, in 1763, for a period of eighteen months.

• His partial recovery was followed by that conversion, using the term in the sense attached to it by those whose religious opinions he adopted, which coloured his thoughts and feelings during the remainder of his life. Mr. Greatheed, who is his religious, as Mr. Hayley is his literary biographer, gives us the following account of his state of mind. "At length his despair was effectually removed by reading in the Sacred Scriptures, that God had set forth Jesus Christ to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God. While meditating on this passage, he obtained a clear view of the gospel, which was attended with unspeakable joy. His subsequent days were chiefly occupied with praise and prayer, and his heart overflowed with love to his crucified Redeemer. The transports of his joy, which at first interrupted his necessary sleep, having subsided, were followed by a sweet serenity of spirit, which he was enabled to retain, notwithstanding reviving struggles of natural and habitual corruption." Our readers will recognize the style of those who believe these meltings of the heart and exaltations of the imagination to be the direct results of a divine influence. That they are the mere natural consequences of highly wrought feelings, we have no more doubt, than that the impressions they produce are sometimes permanent. Whether his ecstasies were natural or supernatural, Cowper had not strength of mind to support them. Though we are sufficiently acquainted with the hagiographies of spiritual experiences, to know that the paroxysms of conversion are more severe and exhausting than the subsequent communion established with the Deity, still we are convinced, that those nine years, of what his biographer elsewhere calls "the most transcendent comfort," laid the foundation, by the exhaustion they produced, of that subsequent despondency from which he never recovered.

• If the strength which was wasted in these outpourings of the Spirit had been carefully husbanded, and employed in repairing the weak parts of his character, he might, we think, have been spared much misery. Had he been warned that the flood of light which burst upon his mind was the false fire of insanity, not "light from Heaven," he might perhaps have escaped altogether that "midnight of despair" into which he was afterwards plunged; at least it would have appeared to him less dense and black, if he had not dazzled himself before with an excess of glare.

• The progress of his malady was natural. So long as the state of his bodily health produced light and happy sensations, his conversion

was followed by experiences full of comfort. But strength of mind was consumed, never to be regained, in a vain attempt to keep up this spiritual revelry. The stimulus which at first was found sufficient to produce the desired effect, required to be augmented as the novelty wore off, and the imagination became jaded. Then a strife and agony of spirit became more and more necessary to produce the feelings which he considered a communion with God. Even these resources at last failed. If the illustration be allowable, the brilliant lights, the ravishing music, and the exquisite perfume could stimulate no longer. This excessive and prolonged excitement was followed by disease of body, and exhaustion of mind; the spirits of the poor visionary sank, and his religious comforts were withdrawn. Then became apparent another, alas! an enduring evil consequence of his previous ecstasies. His mind, long habituated to consider them as pledges of God's especial favour, and of his own election and call to salvation, when they were no longer continued, or, to speak more correctly, when a state of strong excitement was succeeded by exhaustion, considered itself rejected of God, fallen from grace, and given up to a reprobate spirit. From this time, to the day of his death, the deep gloom of settled despair hung over him, and he was haunted with pining regrets after spiritual blessings which he believed to have been supernaturally granted him, accompanied with convictions that they were never to be restored, and with a soul-withering horror of eternal damnation.'

*Essays*, pp. 10—14.

We have thought it worth while to extract the whole of these paragraphs, as they will shew the extent to which Cowper's history is falsified, as it required to be for the purpose of the Essay, and the lengths to which the perverted zeal of the Writer has transported him; a zeal such as St. Paul describes\*, in some sense 'for God', but οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν, and not merely unknowing, but refusing to submit to the Divine doctrine. It will not be difficult to shew, that almost every line of the above extract, with the exception of the words cited from Mr. Greatheed, is at positive variance with fact. Mr. Taylor's Memoir supplies ample evidence of its being altogether a misrepresentation of the case; but we shall first transcribe Dr. Johnson's account of the primary *physical* origin of Cowper's indisposition. Speaking of the 'aberration of mind' which the Letters so painfully develop, he says: 'To this was indisputably owing all the gloominess of the character of Cowper; a point which I am the more anxious to establish, as it has been erroneously charged on his religious opinions. But no: the unhappiness of this amiable man is to be referred to the cause already stated; and that, again, to an excess of hypochondriacal affection, *induced in the first instance*, as I have repeatedly heard a deceased friend of his and

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\* Rom. x. 2.



‘ mine observe, *by his having, in very early life, improperly checked an erysipelatous complaint of the face; which rendered him ever after liable to depression of spirits.* Under the influence of one of these attacks, attended with evident mental obliquity, he was impressed with an idea, originating in a supposed voice from heaven, that the Author of his life had recalled the loan. This was rapidly followed by another, to this effect; that, as he had failed to restore it in the intervening moment, the punishment of his disobedience would be everlasting destruction. Now I would ask those who have inadvertently charged the unhappiness of this pitiable sufferer on his religious opinions, to the operation of what theological tenets they can warrantably ascribe the supposition, not only of so preposterous a demand, but of a denunciation, under such circumstances, more preposterous still, as referred to the Supreme Being?’ \*

Would one have thought it possible that a writer making any pretension to piety, should, with this plain statement before him of the real facts of Cowper’s malady, drawn up by his own kinsman, have ventured to substitute for it, an account, in which all reference to the originating cause of his ailment is suppressed, and the description of his mental alienation is little better than pure fiction? Every one who knows any thing of erysipelatous affections, must be perfectly aware of their frequent connexion with hypochondriasis, and of the almost certain consequence of their being checked, in producing disease of brain. We have known more than one instance in which a chronic eruptive disorder has appeared to receive its check from mental causes,—a sudden shock or excessive grief, and in which mental aberration has followed. In such cases, it is obvious, the distemper of the brain is but the effect of a metastasis of the original complaint; occasioned, indeed, by mental agitation, but which agitation would not otherwise have issued in any disturbance of the intellectual powers. And the re-appearance of the bodily disorder is, we believe, generally a forerunner or attendant of recovery from the hallucination.

In Cowper’s case, however, it may be alleged, that, although the predisposing cause was physical, the exciting cause of his mental disorder was moral, and connected with his religious opinions. Thus, our Essayist, with an appearance of candour, admits, that, ‘whatever Cowper’s religious opinions had been, he would not have escaped the depression and despondency of mind which arose from bodily constitution. But’, he adds: ‘while we are fully ready to admit this, we as firmly believe that more scriptural and rational views would have suggested the import-

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\* Cowper’s Private Correspondence, Vol. I. pp. xv., xvi.

ance, and supplied the means, of strengthening the powers by which the imagination is controlled ; that they would have proved a support to him in the hour of trial, by supplying him with written promises on which his eye might rest, and which, according to a more sane faith, he would not have considered dependent for their efficacy on the vividness or dullness of his feelings ;—above all, he would have escaped those unfounded hopes and fears which so bitterly aggravated his physical sufferings. Supposing he had gained only this last advantage, we have no doubt that the state of his mind would have been rendered infinitely less miserable than it was, surrounded by the horrors of superstition. It is no slight alleviation of despondency, to have got rid of every thing but the physical evil—to be convinced that our suffering is altogether a bodily ailment, for which patience and composure of mind are amongst the best remedies, instead of irritating the disease by considering it a proof of moral reprobation. We speak from experience and observation, to the fact of such a conviction being possible, and being a great alleviation under deep depression of mind. In Cowper's case, the heavy anxiety of nervous disease was deepened into a religious horror by his peculiar opinions ; and we consider ourselves warranted in asserting that much of his gloom may be attributed to those opinions.' pp. 19, 20.

There is a wide difference between the previous statement, that Cowper's religious opinions *produced* his malady, and the softened representation, that they simply aggravated his distress when labouring under disease. Both allegations, however, are equally unfounded. The fact is, that, so long as he retained mental sanity, his religious opinions had precisely that effect of alleviating and counteracting his tendency to depression, which this Writer believes would have been the effect of more scriptural views. We have his own testimony, preserved in his letters, hymns, and other writings, and the testimony of all who knew him, that his religious opinions were his support, his solace, a source of nothing but peace and consolation, during the whole period that his mind remained unclouded. That they should cease to have this effect, when the balance of his mind was again destroyed by a fresh paroxysm of disease, is surely no proof that they were not fitted to alleviate despondency. What would have been said, had the poor sufferer, while obviously labouring under hallucination, still continued to derive enjoyment from his previous opinions, but that his happiness was itself an hallucination, and his opinions the essence of his madness? But, as it was, the insanity shewed itself in his being rendered incapable of receiving the peace and consolation which he had for nine years derived from those opinions, if opinions they must be called. Still, they had not the slightest effect in deepening his horror ; for the only gleam of comfort that his mind would admit of, came from the same source ; and his despondency, so far as it was connected with his mental impressions, was caused by ideas,

not simply having no relation to his theological tenets, but irreconcilable with them, and such as the patient acknowledged he should impute in another person to insanity.

The characteristics of mental disease could not have been more strongly marked, than in this partial perception of the incongruity between his own opinions and the strong impression which mastered them. Cowper's hypochondriasis settled down, in fact, into complete monomania; and to attribute the one false idea, to opinions which utterly forbade his entertaining it, and which could not have co-existed with it in a sane mind, is setting common sense as well as truth at utter defiance.

We are far from being disposed to deny, that the truths of religion may administer consolation even to persons labouring under mental disorder. Upon this point, we shall be excused, perhaps, for repeating some remarks which, in reference to this very subject, we threw out, seventeen years ago, in reviewing the *Memoirs of Cowper*. 'In defiance of the sneers of the infidel, we will venture to suggest, whether even in the sunless, comfortless recesses of the asylums which conceal the outcasts of reason, there may not be subjects to whom the Divine proclamation of mercy would, in intervals of intelligence, be most appropriate. Does it follow that because the reason is dethroned, and the mind is darkened, there are no gleams of intelligence, during which objects of hope and future realities might flash comfort into the soul? Are there no pauses in which the faculties might rally for a while, and collect materials for a prayer? Though the human temple is thus devastated, may not even its ruins be at times visited by the Spirit of its Divine Architect,—its lawful inhabitant? We do not fear to be misunderstood: we trust we shall not be wilfully misrepresented. It requires the most correct judgement and the nicest discrimination, to handle the mind either under the apprehensions of death, or under the operation of physical ailment; and too much diffidence cannot be exercised in pronouncing upon the *results* of the most promising impressions. All that we would insist upon is, that the subjects of mental distemper are not, at all seasons, uniformly out of the reach of moral instruction and religious consolation; and that, therefore, among the requisites for a competent superintendence of such patients, we should consider religious character as not less indispensable than medical skill. Every requisite met in Dr. Cotton, in whom Cowper found at once a physician and a friend.\*

While we maintain, however, the power of religion in ministering even to a mind diseased, and could adduce facts in proof of its medicinal virtue under such circumstances, what should we

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\* Ecl. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. VI. p. 327.

think of its being brought as an argument against the truth of Christianity, that it was found impossible to convince a madman of its evidence, or to make him sensible of its consolations? Now the argument against any set of religious opinions, drawn from their supposed effect on the mind of a hypochondriac, or a patient labouring under any species of derangement, is not a whit more reasonable. How could their real tendency be inferred from their operation upon a diseased mind? If Cowper's opinions were adapted to impart peace, and confidence, and joy to his mind while rational, it is surely a strangely perverse ground of objection, that they failed to alleviate his distress, when he became irrational. Reasoning such as this, infers a moral hallucination in the individual who employs it. With regard to the real tendency of Cowper's religious sentiments, the Essayist and ourselves are of course at issue; but this may be regarded as matter of opinion. What we complain of, is his utter misrepresentation of fact, in almost every particular of the affecting case. This charge we shall now proceed to substantiate by a brief recapitulation of the leading circumstances; in tracing which, we shall avail ourselves of Mr. Taylor's volume.

Cowper had scarcely attained his sixth year when, by the death of his indulgent mother, he was initiated into suffering.

‘Wretch even then, life's journey just begun,’

he was sent to a country school, where he was exposed to the most savage treatment from a juvenile despot twice his age, whose tyranny had such an effect upon his sensitive imagination, that, as he himself tells us, he was afraid to lift his eyes upon him higher than his knees. The long unsuspected cruelty of this young miscreant being at length discovered, he was expelled the school, and Cowper, as yet only in his eighth year, was removed. After passing some time in the family of a female oculist, to be treated for a complaint in his eyes, he was sent, at nine years of age, to Westminster school, where he was exposed to fresh trials and sufferings from juvenile oppression, aggravated by the constitutional timidity and acuteness of feeling by which he was too fatally characterized. The morbid tendencies of his temperament were unequivocally manifested at this early period. At one time, as he himself informs us, he was ‘struck with a lowness of spirits uncommon at his age’; and this dejection was preceded by as unusual an elevation of spirits, in which his imagination so far sympathized, that it suggested the notion that ‘perhaps he might never die’. Many school-boys of less constitutional delicacy, have experienced, perhaps, similar fluctuations, which have left no permanent effect on the mind, and have therefore been forgotten. In Cowper, however, they were indications of too prophetic a character. He had also, he tells us, symptoms of

a consumptive habit. He remained at Westminster School till he was eighteen; and he left it 'with scholastic attainments of the first order', but 'as ignorant', he informs us, 'in all points of religion, as the satchel at his back.' He was then articled to an eminent solicitor of London for three years, which his antipathy to legal studies led him to trifle away in the most gentlemanly and unsatisfactory manner. At the expiration of the term, he 'became complete master of himself', and took possession of a set of chambers in the Temple at the age of twenty-one!

Almost every error or mistake which a parent or guardian could fall into, in respect to the education of a youth like Cowper, seems to have been committed by his father and the relatives upon whom the care of him devolved after the decease of his better parent. How feelingly and how forcibly does he urge, in his *Tirocinium*, the duties which parents owe to themselves and to their children, and which, in his own case, were so cruelly neglected!

'The ostrich, silliest of the feathered kind,  
And formed of God without a parent's mind,  
Commits her eggs, incautious, to the dust,  
Forgetful that the foot may crush the trust:  
And, while on public nurseries they rely,  
Not knowing, and too oft not caring, why,  
Irrational in what they thus prefer,  
No few, that would seem wise, resemble her.'

The boasted advantages which public schools are supposed to possess, were none of them realized in Cowper's history. He neither acquired confidence in himself, nor became fitted for conflict with the world. The scholastic learning which he brought away, by qualifying him to become the translator of Homer, proved of accidental benefit in supplying him with mental recreation when most he needed it; but this was all he gained by long years of unhappiness. In the mean time, his judgement remained unformed, and his mind, but slenderly furnished

'With savoury truth and wholesome common sense',

was, as to religious knowledge, almost a blank. Although the son of a royal chaplain, his education, in this most essential respect, had been almost entirely neglected.

Once or twice, at distant intervals, the tender mind of Cowper had been visited by those vague and transient religious impressions which, to whatever source they be referred, almost every one can recollect having been the subject of in early life. The first of these visitations occurred while he was suffering under

the tyranny of his schoolfellow at Dr. Pitman's school, and is thus described by himself.

“ One day, while I was sitting alone on a bench in the school, melancholy, and almost ready to weep at the recollection of what I had already suffered, and expecting at the same time my tormentor every moment, these words of the Psalmist came into my mind—“ I will not be afraid of what man can do unto me.” I applied this to my own case, with a degree of trust and confidence in God, that would have been no disgrace to a much more experienced Christian. Instantly, I perceived in myself a briskness and a cheerfulness of spirit, which I had never before experienced, and took several paces up and down the room with joyful alacrity. Happy had it been for me, if this early effort towards a dependence on the blessed God, had been frequently repeated. But alas ! it was the first and the last between infancy and manhood.”

And to what was it owing, that this effort was not repeated till it became a habit of cheerful dependence, but to the absence of all competent religious instruction and guidance ?

A second incident which at the moment ‘alarmed his conscience,’ is too trifling to have deserved record, since the circumstance produced no permanent impression. In crossing a churchyard late one evening, he saw a glimmering light, and on his approaching it, the grave-digger, who was at work, threw up a scull-bone, which hit him on the leg. Not long after this, the young school-boy had to undergo the ceremony of confirmation ; on which occasion, Dr. Nicholls, then master of Westminster school, addressed some serious exhortations to his pupils. Poor Cowper was struck with his solemn manner, and on this occasion, *‘for the first time in his life, attempted prayer in secret,* which, *‘with his very childish notions of religion,’* he found a difficult and irksome task. These serious impressions, however, not being connected with any clear ideas, or cherished by any proper instruction, soon wore off ; and he ‘relapsed into a total forgetfulness of God, with the usual disadvantage of being more hardened for having been softened to no purpose.’ The next recurrence of religious impressions did not take place till after his settlement in the Temple, and was still unconnected with any peculiar *opinions*. His own account of it is as follows.

“ Not long after my settlement in the Temple, I was struck with such a dejection of spirits as none but those who have felt the same can have the least conception of. Day and night I was upon the rack, lying down in horror, and rising up in despair. I presently lost all relish for those studies to which I had before been closely attached ; the classics had no longer any charms for me. *I had need of something more salutary than amusement, but I had no one to direct me where to find it.*



“At length, I met with Herbert's poems; and gothic and uncouth as they are, I yet found in them a strain of piety which I could not but admire. This was the only author I had any delight in reading. I pored over him all day long; and though I found not in his work what I might have found—a cure for my malady, yet my mind never seemed so much alleviated as while I was reading it. At length I was advised, by a very near and dear relative, to lay it aside, for he thought such an author more likely to nourish my disorder, than to remove it.

“In this state of mind I continued near a twelvemonth; when, having experienced the inefficacy of all human means, I at length betook myself to God in prayer. Such is the rank our Redeemer holds in our esteem, that we never resort to Him but in the last instance, when all creatures have failed to succour us! My hard heart was at length softened, and my stubborn knees made to bow. I composed a set of prayers, and made frequent use of them. Weak as my faith was, the Almighty, who will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, was graciously pleased to listen to my cry, instead of frowning me away in anger.

“A change of scene was recommended to me, and I embraced an opportunity of going with some friends to Southampton, where I spent several months. Soon after our arrival, we walked to a place called Freemantle, about a mile from the town. The morning was clear and calm; the sun shone brightly upon the sea, and the country on the border of it was the most beautiful I had ever seen. We sat down upon an eminence, at the end of that arm of the sea which runs between Southampton and the New Forest. Here it was, that on a sudden, as if another sun had been created that instant in the heavens, on purpose to dispel sorrow and vexation of spirit, I felt the weight of all my misery taken off; my heart became light and joyful in a moment; I could have wept with transport, had I been alone. I must needs believe that nothing less than the Almighty fiat could have filled me with such inexpressible delight; not by a gradual dawning of peace, but, as it were, with a flash of His life-giving countenance.

“I felt a glow of gratitude to the Father of mercies for this unexpected blessing; and ascribed it at first to his gracious acceptance of my prayers; but Satan and my own wicked heart quickly persuaded me that I was indebted for my deliverance, to nothing but a change of scene, and the amusing varieties of the place. By this means he turned the blessing into a poison; teaching me to conclude, that nothing but a continued circle of diversion, and indulgence of appetite, could secure me from a relapse. Acting upon this false and pernicious principle, as soon as I returned to London, I burnt my prayers, and away went all my thoughts of devotion and of dependence upon God, my Saviour. Surely it was of His mercy that I was not consumed. Glory be to His grace!

“I obtained, at length, so complete a victory over my conscience, that all remonstrances from that quarter were in vain, and in a manner silenced; though sometimes, indeed, a question would arise in my mind, whether it were safe to proceed any further in a course so plainly and

utterly condemned in the Scriptures. I saw clearly, that if the gospel were true, such a conduct must inevitably end in my destruction; but I saw not by what means I could change my Ethiopian complexion, or overcome such an inveterate habit of rebelling against God.

“The next thing that occurred to me, at such a time, was, a doubt whether the gospel were true or false. To this succeeded many an anxious wish for the decision of this important question; for I foolishly thought that obedience would follow, were I but convinced that it was worth while to attend to it. Having no reason to expect a miracle, and not hoping to be satisfied with any thing less, I acquiesced, at length, in favour of that impious conclusion, that the only course I could take to secure my present peace, was to wink hard against the prospects of future misery, and to resolve to banish all thoughts of a subject upon which I thought to so little purpose. Nevertheless, when I was in the company of deists, and heard the Gospel blasphemed, I never failed to assert the truth of it with much vehemence of disputation; for which I was the better qualified, having been always an industrious and diligent inquirer into the evidences by which it is externally supported. I think I once went so far into a controversy of this kind as to assert, that I would gladly submit to have my right hand cut off, so that I might but be enabled to live according to the Gospel. Thus have I been employed in vindicating the truth of Scripture, while in the very act of rebelling against its dictates. Lamentable inconsistency of a convinced judgement with an unsanctified heart!—an inconsistency, indeed, evident to others as well as to myself; inasmuch as a deistical companion of mine, with whom I was disputing upon the subject, cut short the matter by alleging, that if what I said were true, I was certainly condemned by my own shewing.”

In this affecting and ingenuous narrative, the indications are very unequivocal, of a morbid temperament; nor is there any room to doubt that the depression of disease gave to the rebukes of conscience much of their power and poignancy. That the relief which Cowper experienced during his visit to Southampton, was really owing to the physical effect of the change of scene, is also obvious; and it is strange that he should either have deemed it wrong to refer it to that as the *immediate* cause, or have felt that its being effected by such means, rendered it less really an answer to his prayers or an occasion for gratitude. It is evident, however, that he laboured under the double infirmity of a disturbed judgement and gross religious ignorance. He neither understood himself nor knew the Gospel. Labouring under a species of mild delirium, he was unable to discriminate the spectral from the real, or to distinguish between his sensations and his convictions. It was natural, then, that when the former subsided, the latter should vanish also. But does it follow, as many would be ready to infer in similar circumstances, that his convictions were mere illusions, and that conscience itself is but a morbid

sensation? Upon this point, we will again venture to repeat some remarks in a former article.

“Although we cannot always ascertain the *sources* of emotion, any more than we can tell how our thoughts originate, it does not follow that those emotions are to be viewed as mere physical phenomena, or that our responsibility is lessened by the circumstance of our being so much under the influence of what may be termed physical accidents. Convictions may be forced upon the conscience by dreams, or under the influence of indisposition, which are not the less just, because attributable in part to the state of the bodily system. It is surely not unworthy of the Maker of our frame and the Father of our spirit, to cause even the disorders of our animal nature to be subservient to a moral purpose. Before we regard all emotions and trains of thought that originate in physical accidents or in the imagination as wholly delusive, we ought to be satisfied that there is no *ground* for entertaining them,—that they have no foundation in reality. The character of moral feelings and moral actions is the same, under whatsoever degree of physical excitement they may be produced, as long as the reason is capable of discerning good from evil. And who shall say, at what precise point in the progress of mental disorder, the responsibility of the moral agent becomes annihilated? With regard, however, to cases in which the imagination only is excited, while the reason is clear, is it not obvious, that the frame of the mind may be regulated by physical circumstances, and yet the character as really display itself, the decisions of the judgment be as just, and the determination of the will be as independent, as if all excitement were withdrawn? For instance, a person may suffer a peculiar degree of depression, from the influence of bodily indisposition; yet, there may exist a real cause for despondency, and that depression, therefore, though partly accidental, will not be unreasonable, and the character which it may assume will not be that of illusion. The conscience may be set in action by physical causes, but the conscience itself is not physical. On the other hand, a person under similar bodily indisposition, whose mind is free from real cause of disquietude, experiences the efficacy of moral considerations to alleviate the pressure of morbid anxiety. “The spirit of a man may sustain his infirmity, but a wounded spirit who can bear?” Again, the elevation of the spirits under the excitement of fever, is unnatural; but yet, the action of the mind under this transport may be wholly rational and just. The emotion is physical, but the tide of feeling may be directed into a right channel; and the exercise of the dispositions of the heart, which takes place in consequence, may be of the most real and salutary kind. A man of fixed principles, whose mind steadily retains a grasp of its object, is, up to the highest pitch of delirium, to be distinguished from

the victim of those delusions which rest on the mere vicissitudes of feeling.

‘The mind seldom acts with energy, but under some degree of excitement from the imagination; and the most ordinary suggestions of the imagination which give birth to desire, and hope, and apprehension, partake so far of the character of illusion, that there is always occasion for an exercise of the reason in rectifying the impression, and in regulating the feeling it has excited. The Enthusiast is merely an individual in whom the passions are more habitually in a state of excitation, and the imagination operates with the force of a stimulus. The man’s sanity must be determined by the course his reason takes, by the nature of the object which engages all this enthusiasm, by the steadiness and consistency with which he presses forward in its attainment. And if the object chosen be infinite, surely it is the enthusiast alone, that is altogether sane.’

Whatever may be thought, however, of the nature of the emotions and mental operations which Cowper has so affectingly described, it must be recollected, that he had, up to this time, formed no theological opinions, nor come in contact with any individuals holding evangelical doctrine. Long afterwards, we find him thus describing his melancholy destitution of religious knowledge, at the period when the agitation produced by the prospect of undergoing an examination at the bar of the House of Lords, had completely overwhelmed his reason, and reversed the strongest of instincts,—that which makes man cling to life, even when it has become a burden. While despair was drinking up his vitals, and self-destruction seemed to present the only escape from the insupportable idea of facing the examination which he had invested with such ideal horrors, ‘to that moment,’ he declares, that he had ‘felt no concern of a spiritual kind.’

“Ignorant of original sin, insensible of the guilt of actual transgression, I understood neither the law nor the gospel,—the condemning nature of the one, nor the restoring mercies of the other. I was as much unacquainted with Christ in all his saving offices, as if his name had never reached me.”

Now, indeed, he proceeds to tell us, in that heart-rending disclosure of his sufferings from which these expressions are taken, his ‘sins were set in array against him,’ and every chapter of the Bible, every volume he opened, seemed to pronounce his condemnation. He saw—rather he *felt* himself ‘a sinner altogether’; but he ‘saw not a glimpse of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus.’ Such were the spontaneous workings of his own mind; dis-tempered, we admit,—so much so, that he stood in need of the art of the physician not less than of the counsel of a religious friend; but still, on these points, not insane on the one hand,

nor, on the other, *indoctrinated* or warped by creed or system. Those who attribute religious gloom and despondency to evangelical opinions, betray not only their ignorance of the nature and tendency of those opinions, but their slender acquaintance with the human heart. What can there be in the most repulsive form of Methodism, in the most rigid Calvinism, so terrific as the self-made religion of sinful man, the creed of remorse, the dire theology of a burdened conscience?

To the views of Christianity which he subsequently adopted, Cowper was at this time an utter stranger. He had now (1763) just attained his thirty-second year; and it does not appear that he had associated with any persons of Calvinistic views, unless it was his friend and relative, the Rev. Martin Madan, whom he had hitherto considered as an enthusiast. But, in the depth of his distress, after the turbulence of his despair had somewhat subsided, his thoughts reverted to this contemned evangelical teacher as the only person likely to afford him relief. Mr. Madan lost no time in obeying the summons to visit him; and perceiving the state of his mind, began immediately to declare to him the doctrines of the Gospel. So decidedly beneficial was the effect of the interview, that Cowper's brother, 'wisely overlooking the difference of sentiments which then existed between himself and Mr. Madan,' discovered the greatest anxiety that it should be renewed, and urged Cowper to visit Mr. Madan at his own house. That the benefit was only temporary, arose from the hold which disease had taken upon his shattered system. The conversation at the second interview calmed his spirits for the time; but, as is frequently the case in nervous disorders, he woke the next morning under the unmitigated pressure of the physical disturbance, which speedily rose to the height of frenzy. In Dec. 1763, it was found necessary to place the patient under the care of Dr. Cotton.

Such were the circumstances that produced Cowper's first decided fit of insanity. For some time before his removal to St. Albans, he was evidently suffering under a degree of nervous excitement bordering upon delirium; and he expresses his own conviction, that, at the time of his attempting suicide, his mind probably 'began to be disordered.' His own record is the unconscious detail of the symptoms and incipient workings of mental disease. We must give the same character to the description of his own state of mind during the first five months that he passed under the roof of Dr. Cotton; and on this account, we should have deemed it not fit for the public eye. The remorse and despair which he describes to have been his tormentors, were so blended with the operations of disease, that we cannot rely upon the sufferer's own account of sensations and impressions which he was not in a condition to bring to the test of judgement. That



he should attribute his own recovery to the circumstance which indicated, rather than produced it, is perfectly natural; but his reason must have recovered its seat,—in fact, an alteration for the better had been for some time observed by his physician, who estimated the symptoms more correctly than his patient of course could do,—before the Bible that he met with could have been rendered the means of imparting comfort and instruction to his mind. He describes the change that took place in his views and feelings as sudden and instantaneous. A new view of truth, a new train of thought of a pleasing character, although it may be, and ordinarily is, the result of a previous process of thought and feeling, followed by a strong tide of emotion, must seem like a sudden transition. If the heathen Geometrician could exclaim in such transport, on lighting upon the solution of a physical problem, *Eureka*, is there any thing irrational or to be wondered at, in the joy with which the convalescent sufferer perceived in the declarations of Scripture ‘the sufficiency of the Atonement’? ‘*In a moment,*’ he says, ‘I believed, and received the peace of the Gospel. Whatever my friend Madan had said to me long before, revived in all its clearness with the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power.’

What, then, were those doctrines which Mr. Madan had exhibited to him with temporary benefit, and which, so soon as he was restored to mental health, he recurred to with such delightful conviction of their truth and consolatory efficacy? Precisely those doctrines which the Author of the Essays represents as adapted only to deepen the anxiety of nervous disease into religious horror. Among those gloomy doctrines, so extremely baneful to the hypochondriac, he places foremost, the opinion held by Calvinists and other misguided persons on the subject of ‘human corruption’. Now what was the actual impression made upon Cowper’s mind, when his cousin, the Rev. Mr. Madan, adverted to this doctrine? The doctrine of original sin, says Cowper of himself, ‘*set me more on a level with the rest of mankind, and made my condition appear less desperate*’. And surely this inference was as rational as it was consolatory. The doctrine of human corruption is not merely ‘gloomy’, but ineffably repulsive to the intellectual pride of the pharisee, the language of whose religion is, ‘God, I thank thee that I am not as other men’. But such is not its aspect upon the penitent who is seeking mercy as a sinner. To which class of religionists the Author of these Essays must be referred, we need not say. He is at great pains to shew, that ‘gloomy estimates of human nature’, such as are recognised in the Articles of the Church of which we presume he is a member, involve eleven distinct errors. We shall exhibit them in an abridged form, the whole series of paragraphs being too long for extract.



‘ 1. Such a person is disposed to extend to the nature of all men and all times, passages descriptive of the extreme moral degradation of individuals or of particular periods of history ; and to infer respecting human nature in general, a character which was historically descriptive of the actions and habits of the worst men and of the worst times ; as Rom. i., Psal. li.’ ‘ 2. Such interpreters are wont to accumulate on the nature of each, the collective corruptions of all men and of all times ; as the sick man is disposed to find in himself all the diseases of which he reads in a treatise on pathology.’ ‘ 3. He is in danger of erring, by interpreting passages which relate to the general prevalence of evil, to indicate the measure of the evil itself ; inferring the entire corruption of each individual from passages which describe, indeed, the corruption, but the more mitigated corruption of the whole race.’ ‘ 4. Such an interpretation of Scripture is sure to make no allowances for the warmth of eastern feelings and expressions, in estimating the meaning of Scripture.’ ‘ 5. A person under such impressions forgets to bear in mind the great and leading object of the writer of whose expressions he is estimating the force. In the Epistle to the Romans, the writer’s object is neither to deny the existence of degrees of virtue and righteousness, *nor proportionate degrees of acceptableness with God*, but to prove that these, be they more or less, can by no means be set up as a claim to the rewards promised to perfect obedience.’ ‘ 6. The person who forms his estimate under depressed feelings, overlooks, when settling the Scripture doctrine of human nature, all the innumerable passages which either directly assert, or indisputably imply, moral capabilities in man inconsistent with the doctrine of his utter depravity. For example, he overlooks all passages which speak of his *natural* affections, (to be void of which, let it be remembered, was one of the worst corruptions of the Romans,) and those still more striking declarations of there being principles in the human heart, according to which the heathen were a law unto themselves.’ ‘ 7. The desponding mind is in danger of mistaking the very nature of duty, by making it to consist in a constant endeavour to alienate ourselves from human ties, and to mortify human nature, rather than in a judicious attempt to restrain those natural principles which, though not wrong in themselves, are capable of great abuse ; and to cultivate those better principles of our nature, which, if rightly disciplined, tend to obedience and virtue.’ ‘ 8. In estimating the evil of the sensual appetites and irritable passions, the person who inclines to a debased estimate of human nature, fails to observe, that both Scripture and reason teach us that it is not the appetite or passion, but the improper indulgence of it which is sinful.’ ‘ 9. Such interpreters of Scripture overlook a most striking and instructive analogy between the physical and the moral fall of man. The earth was placed under a curse, when the moral curse was denounced on the human race, yet was allowed to retain good seed, and to be capable of bringing it to perfection.’ ‘ 10. As a voluntary humility in the worshipping of angels is reproved in Scripture, not only as erroneous, but as mischievous ; so, a voluntary humility in degrading human nature may be found to be mischievous in debasing the nature, rather than in humbling the pride of man ; and as tending to obliterate the sound moral distinctions, and to

weaken the right natural motives which urge us to the path of happiness and duty.' '11. In reasoning upon the general tenor of Scripture, many are led to assume, that man must be convinced of the entire and unmitigated depravity of the creature, before he will be disposed to receive with befitting gratitude the mercy of the Creator; because men are too often arrogant in their virtues, and humbled only by a sense of their vices.' *Essays*, pp. 187—199.

These Eleven Errors will be found to resolve themselves, on examination, into the one grand mistake of thinking worse of human nature than it deserves; the necessary consequence of which is, as this Writer tells us, 'an exaggeration of the doctrine of 'Divine Grace'. We admit the consequence, for Our Lord distinctly refers to such a connexion between the two doctrines, when he says, "They that are whole need not the Physician, but they that are sick". The species of consolation which this Writer would administer to a penitent, is such as we hear too often conveyed in terms like these: 'Do not be cast down, my friend; you are not worse than others; you have been a good liver; you can thank God you have not been a great sinner; you have a good heart; keep up your spirits; God is merciful.' Such are the pleas by which infatuated man would excuse himself from being pardoned as a culprit, saved as helpless, rescued as lost, renewed as depraved. That truth which above all others is hateful to the mind of an unrenewed man, is, that he personally needs to undergo a change, a mighty moral change, such as God alone can produce in him, in order to the enjoyment of future blessedness. The objection of the present Writer against the evangelical system of doctrine is, that it exaggerates this necessity. Can it be exaggerated?

Our present concern is with the tendency, rather than with the truth of the doctrine in question. Nevertheless, we cannot refrain from setting down against the eleven alleged errors above enumerated, (which are, in fact, only so many ways in which it is supposed the same error may originate,) the mistakes and fallacies involved in the Writer's own exposition. First, he falls into the very error with which he charges the holders of the doctrine of human corruption; that of confounding the depravity of human nature with individual criminality,—the nature common to all with personal character. Secondly, he confounds 'moral capabilities' with depraved affections, and the law of conscience with the law of inclination. Thirdly, he argues as if the proper way of describing the nature of a disease was, not to select such cases of malignant disorder as exhibit it in unchecked operation, and under its final stages; (as St. Paul has done in the first chapter of Romans, but then the Apostle is deemed by many persons a bad reasoner;) but to take a more *charitable* view of the distemper as it may appear in its incipient symptoms or under

sanative treatment. Fourthly, he denies that human nature is the same nature in all men, some individuals having received a 'better nature', others a 'worse nature' (p. 200) from God; thus making every man's nature, whether more or less corrupt, originate with the Divine appointment, in admirable accordance with Art. ix. of the Church of England! Fifthly, he explains away the Scripture doctrine of mortifying the flesh with its affections and lusts, by representing St. Paul as merely teaching us not to indulge those 'blameless' propensities *too far*, and by confounding spirituality of mind with the spurious mortification of the cloister and the desert. Sixthly, he mistakes the argument of St. Paul in the seventh chapter of Romans, representing him as there urging the impossibility of sinless obedience in the believer, whereas he is speaking of an unregenerate man; a mistake which the Writer has fallen into in common with many evangelical expositors. Seventhly, (not to seem as ingenious as the Writer in multiplying the modifications of one primary error,) he confounds humility with despondency; and supposes that self-abasement before God must needs be a hopeless, gloomy, wretched feeling, leading to fanaticism and despair. We leave it to our readers to compare these errors with those attributed to the evangelical doctrine.

It is not, after all, attempted to be denied, that the immediate effect, on Cowper's feelings, of 'what are called serious or evangelical views' on these points and the correlative doctrines, was favourable to his happiness. 'So long as the state of his bodily health produced light and happy sensations, his conversion', it is admitted, 'was followed by experiences full of comfort.' So that all that is alleged respecting the tendency of the doctrine of human corruption to produce despondency, was, in his case, disproved by the fact. For nine years, (from 1764 to the beginning of 1773,) Cowper lived in the enjoyment of a delightful serenity of mind. For a description of this, the happiest, the only happy portion of his life, we refer to Chap. iv., v., and vi. of Mr. Taylor's memoir. But, strange to say, these nine happy years, are, by a perversion of fact and reasoning which we cannot but regard as monstrous, supposed to have 'laid the foundation, by the exhaustion they produced, of that subsequent despondency from which he never recovered!' To speak of 'ecstasies', 'spiritual revelry', exhausting experiences, lasting for nine years, is purely absurd. No state of mind resulting from mere excitement, could by possibility have been kept up during a single year, without being followed by a total prostration of the physical frame. But, allow this to be possible, the cause of Cowper's relapse, and its nature, were too palpable to admit of mistake; and the Writer, by suppressing all reference to the facts, stands chargeable with wilful misrepresentation.

Cowper's feelings had received a severe shock in February, 1770, through his having been twice summoned to Cambridge by the illness of his beloved brother, which terminated fatally on the 20th of the following month. But another circumstance is believed to have contributed to produce a degree of excitement and agitation unfavourable to his constitutional infirmity. The day for accomplishing a matrimonial union with Mrs. Unwin was fixed, when a fresh attack of his hypochondriacal malady took place, which, for five years, plunged him into utter mental darkness. One would have thought that the re-appearance of constitutional disease in one who had been subject to similar visitations in early youth, and who had once been under the treatment of a physician as insane, was not in itself a thing so unusual and surprising as to require a very far-fetched way of accounting for it. Cowper was now in his forty-second year; a time of life at which constitutional tendencies of this lamentable kind are remarkably apt to display themselves. He appears to have had some presentiment, or rather some consciousness, of its approach. The first symptoms were simply physical, indicating that his health was giving way. Whether by any treatment, or under any circumstances, the attack could have been warded off, may be questioned; but it is not doubtful that grief and agitation would greatly tend to aggravate the predisposition to disease. The immediate cause of his first decided aberration from sanity, was, we have seen, his agitation and terror at the prospect of undergoing an examination at the bar of the House of Lords. The immediate cause of his second attack was, according to our Essayist, the religious opinions he had held for the preceding nine years! the 'previous ecstasies' of an exhausting communion with God during nine years!! 'His mind, long habituated to 'consider these ecstasies as pledges of God's especial favour, and 'of his own election and call to salvation, when they were no 'longer continued, considered itself rejected of God.' That is to say, the *symptoms* and *effects* of his mental aberration were the cause of it! The philosophy of the conclusion is on a par with its piety.

We have seen that Cowper suffered from religious melancholy, or from that which would be so called, before he had acquired any distinct knowledge of the Christian doctrine, or manifested in his conduct any settled religious principle. In plain terms, if religion had any share in making him either melancholy or mad in the first instance, it must have been the want of it. But now his inveterate melancholy is to be ascribed to 'exaggerated estimates of human corruption', and 'exaggerated expectations of 'Divine grace.' What was the fact? The idea with which Cowper's physical depression became at length inseparably combined, the impression in which his insanity was, as it were, con-

centrated, had no more connexion with his religious opinions, than had his school-boy fears, or his terror at the House of Lords. This is susceptible of the clearest demonstration. Any man without a grain of religion might have taken up the insane notion, but no religious man, not insane, could have conceived, that his Maker had commanded him to commit suicide, and then sentenced him to damnation for not obeying the command. Such was Cowper's hallucination; such the source, so far as it had any source in his opinions, of his despair. Now he did not hold a single theological tenet that was not directly at variance with this strange persuasion. And what is more, he was to a certain extent aware of this, but, like other patients, deemed himself an exception to all general rules. Sensible that the cause of his despondency must appear to his religious friends imaginary and irrational, he says, in a letter to Mr. Newton: 'My friends think 'it necessary to the existence of Divine truth, that he who once 'had possession of it, should never finally lose it. *I admit the 'solidity of this reasoning in every case but my own. And 'why not in my own? For causes which to them it appears 'madness to allege, but which rest upon my mind with a weight 'of immoveable conviction. If I am recoverable, why am I 'thus?'*'\* In another very remarkable letter, adverting to the closely analogous case of the learned Simon Browne, who imagined that the thinking faculty within him was annihilated, Cowper uses this consistently insane language:

'I could, were it not a subject that would make us all melancholy, point out to you some essential differences between his state of mind and my own, which would prove mine to be by far the most deplorable of the two. I suppose no man would despair, if he did not apprehend something singular in the circumstances of his own story, something that discriminates it from that of every other man, and that induces despair as an inevitable consequence. You may encounter his unhappy persuasion with as many instances as you please, of persons who, like him, having renounced all hope, were yet restored; and may thence infer that he, like them, shall meet with a season of restoration; but it is in vain. Every such individual accounts himself as an exception to all rules, and therefore the blessed reverse that others have experienced, affords no ground of comfortable expectation to *him*.'

*Priv. Corresp. Vol. I. pp. 212, 13.*

The letters from which these passages are taken, were written to Mr. Newton in 1782 and 1784, when the paroxysm of his disorder had settled down into that milder insanity which is always found incurable, the madness upon one idea. In a letter to Mr. Bull, of which Hayley has printed only part, he uses

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\* Private Correspondence, Vol. I. p. 309.

language still more unequivocally betraying the hallucination under which he laboured.

‘ Prove to me that I have a right to pray, and I will pray without ceasing ; yes, and praise too, even in the belly of this hell, compared with which Jonah’s was a palace, a temple of the living God. But let me add, there is no encouragement in the Scripture so comprehensive as to include my case, nor any consolation so effectual as to reach it. *I don’t relate it to you, because you could not believe it. You would agree with me if you could. And yet, the sin by which I am excluded from the privileges I once enjoyed, you would account no sin. You would even tell me it was a duty.* This is strange,—*you will think me mad.* But I am not mad, most noble Festus. I am only in despair.’ \*

Once more, in a letter to Mr. Newton, dated Jan. 1787, just before a fresh paroxysm of nervous fever, which compelled him to suspend all his poetical labours during ten months, he uses language which implies an indistinct consciousness that his sufferings were to be ascribed to a physical cause.

‘ The mind of man is not a fountain, but a cistern ; and mine, God knows, *a broken one . . .* Sally Perry’s case has given us much concern. I have no doubt that it is distemper. But *distresses of mind that are occasioned by distemper, are the most difficult of all to deal with. They refuse all consolation : they will hear no reason.* God only, by his own immediate impressions, can remove them ; *as, after an experience of thirteen years’ misery, I can abundantly testify.*’

*Priv. Corresp. Vol. II. pp. 94, 6.*

Need we multiply extracts in illustration of the real nature of his distress ? It is a melancholy subject, but the importance of placing Cowper’s malady in a just light, arises not merely from the ignorant and malignant use that has been made of his case by the enemies of religion, but from its being no solitary and unprecedented one. We shall make no apology, therefore, for repeating the description given of it on a former occasion. ‘ Cowper’s despair was a purely physical sensation. He had not been led into it by any mental process : it was not a conclusion at which he had arrived by the operation of either reason or conscience, for it was unconnected with any one tenet or principle which he held. It had fallen upon him as a visitation, and he struggled with it as with an incubus, half suspecting that it was a phantom that seemed to weigh him down, but still it was there ; and he here argues from its continuance to its reality : “ If I am recoverable, why am I thus ? ” The sensation was

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\* See the entire letter in Ecl. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. VI. p. 337, where it was first printed.



real: it could not be reasoned away, any more than can headache or a fit of the stone. It was as clearly a case of hypochondriasis, as those instances in which the patient has fancied himself a tea-pot or a sack of wool, or has imagined his thinking substance destroyed. Cowper's only seemed to be a more rational impression: that it was not really so, is evident from the specific nature of the idea on which he fixed, namely, that he was excluded from salvation for not having committed suicide. That this idea produced his melancholy, no one who deserves to be himself considered as rational, can maintain: it was his melancholy which produced the idea. Religion could not have given birth to it, nor could it have survived one moment the presence of distemper. The patient more than half suspected, at times, that disease was the cause of all his mental suffering; but he could not *know* it, the impossibility of discerning between what is delusive and what is real, constituting the very essence of the disease. That knowledge would have involved his being sane on the very point to which his irrationality was limited: he would then have been well. It is observable, that he never attempts to give a reason for his despair, but only assumes that its existence in his mind proved the truth of the impression which seemed to himself to cause it: in this, he argued as all hypochondriacs and maniacs do. But, in fancying himself crippled, and made useless, and turned out of service, he argued not irrationally; he was only mistaken; and it is pleasing to reflect, (as it has long since been to him a source of the purest joy and gratitude to know,) how greatly he was mistaken. All the mystery has long ago been explained to him. In the above letter, (Vol. I. p. 309,) he evidently alludes to his belief in the doctrine of Final Perseverance, (which, properly understood, is but the doctrine of Regeneration,) as flatly opposed, in every case but his own, to his mournful conclusion, or rather delusion. He does not doubt his having been truly made a partaker of spiritual life, but, with his own peculiar force of expression, intimates that his soul had been slain by the hand of God. Mr. Newton appears to have seen the total inutility of combating this impression by argument, and to have attempted to dissuade his afflicted friend from suffering himself to dwell on the topic.\*

We have referred to the access of nervous fever which Cowper suffered in January, 1787. From the dreadful condition of mind into which it plunged him, he emerged suddenly; 'so suddenly,' he says, 'that Mrs. Unwin, having no notice of such a change herself, could give none to any body.' He continued to dread the recurrence of that month, which had twice returned upon

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\* Ecl. Rev. Vol. XXI. pp. 200, 1.

him, 'accompanied with such horrors as he had no reason to suppose ever made part of the experience of any other man.' Early in December, 1790, he had another short but severe attack of nervous fever, which was not succeeded, however, by the usual paroxysm of the mental depression under which he continued to suffer. This, although it admitted of comparatively lucid intervals, in which he had a glimmering of his real predicament as the subject of distemper, never entirely left him. In a letter to Mrs. King, dated July, 1790, he thus describes his state of mind.

'I have singularities of which, I believe, at present you know nothing; and which would fill you with wonder if you knew them. I will add, however, in justice to myself, that they would not lower me in your good opinion; *though, perhaps, they might tempt you to question the soundness of my upper story.* Almost twenty years have I been thus unhappily circumstanced; and the remedy is in the hand of God. That I make you this partial communication on the subject, conscious at the same time that you are well worthy to be entrusted with the whole, is merely because the recital would be too long for a letter, and painful both to me and to you. *But all this may vanish in a moment; and if it please God, it shall.* In the meantime, my dear madam, remember me in your prayers, and mention me at those times as one whom it has pleased God to afflict with *singular visitations.*' *Priv. Corresp.* Vol. II. pp. 223, 4.

In 1791, Cowper's spirits received a severe shock from Mrs. Unwin's being seized with a disorder which proved to be of a paralytic kind. A second attack, in May of the following year, which deprived her, in a very distressing degree, of the use of her limbs, her speech, and her faculties, threw her affectionate companion into a fresh 'paroxysm of desperation.' As she slowly, but imperfectly recovered her powers, Cowper's spirits were restored to tranquillity, but never entirely rallied. Nearly the whole of his time and attention were now devoted to Mrs. Unwin, whose infirmities gradually increased to a state of helpless imbecility. The depressing influence of the spectacle, and of the anxieties connected with it, upon Cowper's mind, became visible to his friends, and no doubt hastened the approach of the last calamitous attack of nervous disorder from which he never recovered. At the commencement of the year 1794, he was seized with so violent a return of his malady, that for a fortnight he refused food of every kind, except now and then a small piece of toasted bread, dipped in water or wine and water. Dr. Willis was called in; but medical skill was unavailing. In the year 1796, for a few weeks, he exhibited a slight abatement of the engrossing pressure of his distemper; and again, in the summer of 1797, sufficient to enable him to resume his literary tasks. But his shattered frame was no longer able to resist the repeated at-

tacks of disease; and in January, 1800, symptoms appeared which indicated the breaking up of his constitution. He expired on the 25th of April, without a struggle or a groan, but without having exhibited any return of unclouded reason. It would seem that his physical powers were too exhausted to admit of that transient illumination of the faculties which, in cases of derangement, is generally the precursor of death. We cannot forbear to notice, however, the remarks of the Author of the Essays upon this circumstance.

‘ There was one comfort which Cowper’s religious friends securely anticipated to him and themselves—that he would at least exhibit, not merely like Addison, how a Christian, but how a serious Christian could die. It was contrary to all precedent that a converted man should despair to the last. A something was to be wrought, as Cowper expresses it, within the curtains of the dying man, that neither the doctor nor nurse were to understand. This was almost necessary, we believe, to establish the reality of his former call. That the fears of death are commonly dispelled at the near approach of it, except in cases of a heavily-laden conscience, (and not excepting *all*, even of such cases,) and succeeded by a perfect serenity of mind, we are well aware. That such was not the case with Cowper, adds another and most striking proof that, in him, physical despondency was the least part of his sufferings.

‘ Had the calm which spoke peace to the death-bed of Addison and Johnson been possible to the agonized mind of Cowper, we should have had a few minutes of tranquillity, perhaps of religious aspiration, brought forward triumphantly as a proof of the blessed consequences of those opinions which we have shewn to have embittered his life. Had it been so, it would have been a weak support to opinions proved on other grounds to have been erroneous; but it was denied.’

*Essays*, pp. 29—31.

Our animadversions upon this passage shall be very brief. First, it is utterly untrue, that Cowper’s friends had securely anticipated for him a different exit. They cherished, as long as it was reasonable, the hope of his ultimate recovery; but the nature of his distemper was too well known to them, to allow of their supposing that any thing but death would completely set free his spirit from its bondage. Secondly, that physical despondency really formed *the whole* of his sufferings, must be evident to every person of common sense; and must be admitted by this Writer himself, unless he means to say that Cowper was *not* suffering under distemper; that he was perfectly sane; and that his horrors were those of a heavily-laden conscience under the fangs of remorse. Thirdly, that a converted man should despair *at all*, who has committed no crime to render his character equivocal, and assurance perilous, is so contrary to precedent, and so much at variance with sound reason as enlightened by Scripture, that, in every such case, the presence of physical disease may be sus-

pected; and if labouring under disease to the last, his despairing to the last is not a circumstance to excite surprise. Once more, the experience of the most eminent saints in their dying moments is so various, depending so much on the physical accompaniments of dissolution, that no well-informed Christian would adduce the degree of tranquillity and assurance enjoyed by a person in his last moments, as either a test of the correctness of his opinions, or a proof of the elevation of his piety. In a word, the whole passage upon which we have commented, is a melancholy display of that very rashness and ignorance which are charged upon the holders of evangelical sentiment.

We have dwelt so long upon the nature of Cowper's affecting malady, that we cannot extend this article by adverting to the more pleasing features of the biographical portrait; but must refer our readers for these to Mr. Taylor's volume, which, if not everything that we could wish for in a biography of Cowper, is a very judicious, instructive, and interesting performance. We have elsewhere endeavoured to shew that, rightly viewed, the exemplary character of Cowper's piety, and the beauty of his example, are by no means destroyed, or even diminished, by the hallucination under which he laboured. The influence of religion on his mind was never suspended, even at the time that he religiously forbore to pray. The piety that shines through his despondency, the filial submission with which he utters the mournful complaint, *Why hast thou forsaken me?* indicate that, through all the bewilderment of reason, his heart was singularly right with God. In the depth of his unutterable anguish, "he sinned not, nor charged God foolishly." He does not, indeed, say with Job, "If he slay me, yet will I trust in him"; because the idea which overspread and eclipsed his reason, forbade that exercise of trust. But, wild and irrational as was the supposition, the surrender of soul was not less implicit, the resignation not less real and exemplary, which led him in effect to say, *Though he damn me, yet will I justify him* \*. 'There is,' he said, 'a mystery in my destruction, and in time it shall be explained.'

Viewed, indeed, as the experience of a person in the possession of unclouded reason, and having at the same time a distinct knowledge and cordial belief of evangelical truth, we admit, that the case of Cowper would present a dark enigma, a moral contradiction. False views of religion may, it is true, generate despondency; and it is equally true, that despondency may gender false views of religion. Nor is it in every case easy to determine, which is cause and which is effect; the manner in which

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\* Cowper may be considered as having almost realized, in his insanity, the impossible condition which President Edwards makes the first distinguishing mark of 'gracious affection'.

mind and body reciprocally act upon each other, being often so inscrutable as to baffle the attempt to distinguish between physical and mental causes. Yet, if it be difficult to discriminate between bodily and mental depression, there is a distinct line to be traced between rational and irrational. When a rich man becomes possessed with despondency shaping itself into the fear of want, or under the imagination of actual distress, the obvious nature of his delusion shews at once that his causeless depression is disease. Now where the despondency puts on a religious form, its real nature may be ascertained in like manner, by inquiring into the actual character and circumstances of the sufferer. Where there is palpable illusion, there is disease. False impressions may proceed from ignorance and misapprehension; and such impressions will yield to moral treatment. But if the notions are not merely inaccurate, but illusive,—if the mind is found to have shaped out for itself the ideal object of its desponding apprehensions,—there can be no ground for hesitation in pronouncing the depression to be bodily distemper. There are morbid states of mind which do not rise to that height of nervous disorder that produces hallucination, but which still indicate an unhealthy state of body. There is such a thing as the religious vapours, for which the *Pharmacopœia* prescribes suitable remedies. But no one who knows what melancholy is, will confound that terrible visitation with any self-inflicted or fantastic complaints.

Of those subjects of what is called religious melancholy or religious madness, who come under medical treatment, the greater part, it is, we believe, undeniable, are such as would previously be termed irreligious persons. The religious anxiety has commenced with the mental aberration, and has disappeared on restoration to health. In such cases, though the apprehension of Divine anger may not seem unreasonable, it is as really an illusion as if the despondency put on the most extravagant form. In fact, where religious anxiety or excitement has had any share in *producing* mental aberration, this will generally put on the form of irreligious profaneness, or something contradictory of the previous state of mind. In Cowper's case, the religious despondency which preceded his becoming religious, seemed to himself, even on the retrospect, not irrational, because it was justified by his real moral condition as an unconverted man. Yet, it evidently originated in distemper, not in the convictions of conscience, and partook essentially of the character of an illusive impression. The religious despondency which attacked him *after* his conversion, was equally the effect of disease, and was shewn to be so by its contradicting his own principles, and by allying itself to an idea perfectly irrational, and which he half suspected, at times, to be an illusion.

But is there no difficulty, it may be asked, connected with the

abandonment of a pious man to such a state of mental darkness and suffering, especially when protracted to the hour of death? No greater difficulty, we conceive, when viewed as the result of physical disease, than in a good man's being suffered to linger under a torturing complaint, or to be laid aside by paralysis, or to be the victim of brutal violence, of persecution, or of fatal accident. We know of no promise that ensures a pious man against insanity, although we believe the physical influence of true religion to be the very best preservative against those exciting causes which are likely to develop a predisposition to mental disease. The history of Job is written to caution us against falling into the errors of his friends in so judging 'by feeble sense.' It is true, that *he* emerged from his complicated and unparalleled afflictions; but, in the case of diseases incurable except by miracle, what reason is there to expect an extraordinary interposition of Divine power, in anticipation of the blessed cure which death will effect, when the spirit 'drops its chains with 'glad surprise?' If Cowper was permitted to expire in apparent mental darkness, let it not be regarded as either militating against the Divine goodness, or as indicating the Divine displeasure against the sufferer, should any one under similar circumstances be allowed to close his days under the pressure of distemper, and to give no sign in death.

From those who have given no unequivocal sign of conversion to God in life, it may indeed be most anxiously desired, that a parting sign of penitence and faith should be obtained in some brief interval of mental sanity. But neither the truth of religion itself, nor the evidence of the individual's piety, depends upon the circumstances of a death-bed. Besides, the case of Cowper proves that, under a mental eclipse, there may be ample room for the manifestation of character, for the exercise of religious principle, for a discipline strictly probationary. The imagination may be disordered, while the affections preserve their integrity, the conscience its tenderness, the principles their steadiness. Cowper remarked of himself, that 'a convert made in 'Bedlam is more likely to be a stumbling-block to others, than to 'advance their faith; but, if it have that effect upon any, it is 'owing to their reasoning amiss; since he who can ascribe an 'amendment of life and manners, and a reformation of the heart 'itself, to madness, is guilty of an absurdity that, in any other 'case, would fasten the imputation of madness upon himself.' The same remark will apply to the manifestation of religious feelings and principles in a person suffering under mental disease: it may be a stumbling-block, rather than an edifying spectacle, to those who reason superficially. But, to Him who "seeth not as man seeth," the hypochondriac or melancholic sufferer may be exhibiting all the undoubted marks of religious



sincerity, while to others he is as one talking in his sleep. He is, in fact, labouring under a dream, a waking night-mare; and the analogy between the phenomena of sleep and some forms of mental disease, is so remarkably close as to deserve, we think, more attention than it has hitherto received from the pathologist. But this is a subject upon which we must not enter.

There is but one more remark we have to offer upon the case of Cowper; and that is, that, although deprived, by his constitutional infirmity, of religious comfort, he was singularly happy in being supplied with all the alleviations of his trial which he could derive from the tender care, and sympathy, and society of affectionate and accomplished friends, the solace of literary employment and literary fame, the consciousness of doing good, and freedom from pecuniary anxiety: in fact, as he expressed it, he was 'denied no comfort compatible with the total absence of the 'chief of all,'—that of which his distemper deprived him. In the circumstances of his history, it is delightful to trace the marks of a watchful Superintendence infinitely gracious, that made a hedge about him, securing his life against that enemy with whom he was so ill fitted to contend, — that supplied him at all times with the means of an honourable competency,—and when he was menaced with poverty, sent the timely relief of the royal bounty. No, he was never for a moment forsaken by Him in whom, with the grasp of blindness, he trusted,—like a child clinging to its mother in the dark. And there are others besides Cowper, who, when they emerge from the darkness and delusion of distemper, on whichever side of the river it may be, will be able to recognize in their own case, the special kindness of the Providence which watched over them, and tempered all their sufferings. Then also will they receive an answer to the question now so mournfully reiterated, 'Why am I thus?'

We are happy to find that Mr. Taylor's volume, though not long published, has nearly passed through a second edition, and that a third is in preparation for the press. We again commend it to our readers as the most complete memoir of Cowper that has yet appeared, containing a very copious selection from his letters, so as to make the poet to a great extent his own biographer. Mr. Taylor displays much unaffected good sense and modesty, claiming only the merit of a compiler; but biographical compilation is no easy task.

- Art. II. 1. *History of Armenia*, by Father Michael Chamich ; from B. c. 2247 to the Year of Christ, 1780, or 1229 of the Armenian Era. Translated from the original Armenian, by Johannes Avdall, Esq., Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, &c. To which is appended a Continuation of the History, by the Translator, from the year 1780 to the present date. In two volumes, 8vo. Price 1*l.* 1*s.* Calcutta, Bishop's College Press, 1827.
2. *The History of Vartan, and of the Battle of the Armenians* ; containing an Account of the Religious Wars between the Persians and Armenians ; by Elisæus, Bishop of the Amadunians. Translated from the Armenian by C. F. Neumann, Member of the Armenian Academy of the Mechitaristes at St. Lazaro, and of the Asiatic Society of Paris, &c. 4to, pp. xxiv. 111. London, printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1830.
3. *Translations from the Chinese and Armenian*, with Notes and Illustrations, by Charles Fried. Neumann. 8vo. London, printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1831.

**T**HE country watered by the Upper Euphrates, between Ararat and Mount Taurus, has been, from time immemorial, the theatre of perpetual war. Situated half-way between Rome and Parthia, between Constantinople and Ispahan, it has been subject to the usual fate of border countries. Alternately ravaged by one or other of the contending parties, it has either been crushed by their protection, ruined by their collision, or divided between them on their coalition. In this respect, it resembles Hungary, so long the seat of war between the Ottoman and the chivalry of Christendom. And it is not a little remarkable, that between the Armenian and Hungarian nations, there are said to be points of resemblance or apparent affinity. The two languages present, in their grammatical structure, a similarity which cannot be accidental \*. The national name of the Hungarians, *Magiar*, which some writers have supposed to be related to the Persian Magi, and others to the Indian Magadha, might with more plausibility be connected with the Armenian *Mogk* ; while a fanciful resemblance may be observed between these words and the unexplained Magog of the Scriptures.

According to their own traditions, the Armenians are descended from Haik or Haig, the son of Torgomah, or Thorgoma, the grandson of Japheth ; and they call themselves accordingly Haikans. The word *Armen* is supposed to be derived from the

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\* ‘ The plural nominatives in k are formed in the two languages in the same manner, and produce the same cacophony ; the terminations of the datives are not unlike ; and the perpetual repetition of the harshest consonants is more grating to the ear in the Hungarian than in the Armenian verb.’ *Malte Brun's Geog.* Vol. VI. Part I. p. 350.

name of a son of Haik, called Armenac or Armenag; but no confidence can be placed in such vague traditions. The Persians and Turks call the country Ermenistan. Mr. Neumann thinks that the Armenians are certainly a tribe of the ancient Assyrians.

‘ Their language and history speak alike in favour of it. Nearly all the words of Assyrian origin which occur in the Scriptures and in Herodotus, can be explained by the present Armenian language. Their traditions also say, that Haig came from Babylon; and Strabo’s authority would at once settle the question, if he did not affirm too much. The Arabian and the Syriac language, and consequently the people, are radically different from the Armenian. . . . And Strabo is quite wrong when he thinks that both names, (Aramæan and Armenian,) are commonly used to designate one and the same nation.’

*Vahram’s Chronicle*, Note 14.

The affinity of the Armenian language to the Zend, at least in its vocabulary, is strongly marked. Thus, *kert* or *gerd*, both in Armenian and in Zend, signifies to build: it occurs, in composition, in many names of cities; as Tigranokerd, Darabgerd; answering to the Slavonian *grad* and *gorod*. *Hashd*, prayer, in Armenian, is the Zendish *yeshd*. *Pedt*, head, in composition *bed*, is the Zendish *peted*. *Aderushan*, the place of fire, is also derived from the Zend language. *Ssaratashd*, the name by which Zoroaster is invariably called in the Armenian chronicles, means, in the Zend, according to Anquetil, *Golden Star*. In Mr. Neumann’s notes are given many other instances of affinity between Armenian and Zendish, and Armenian and Pehlavi words; as *weh*, good, Arm. and Peh., in mod. Pers. *beh*. *Shor*, strength, Arm.; in Pehl. *xoure*; Heb. *tsoor* (Tyre). The ancient Armenian names of the months are, apparently, mere variations of the old Persian names. *Mieds*, great, ‘a common ‘by-name of Armenia’, is obviously the origin of Media. This name is given, in the “History of Vartan”, to that part of Armenia which, on the extinction of the Arsacidan dynasty, fell to Persia; comprising the provinces of Ararat, Vasburagan, Sunik, Mogk, Gorshk, Parsgahaik, and part of Duroperan. The Medes, in Armenian, are called *Mark*; and from the ancient Medes are supposed to be descended the great mass of the Koords, who now occupy the southern part of Armenia. Once more, the priests of the fire-worship are called in Armenian, *Mogk*, from a word (*mog*) which, both in Armenian and Chaldean, signifies, we are told, at the present day, *to know*, or *to enchant*. Mr. Neumann seems to doubt, whether in the Persian *Magi* we have the same word. ‘The calling persons so totally different as the ‘enchanters and the Persian priests by the same name, *Magi*, ‘has occasioned’, he remarks, ‘much confusion in the history of ‘the religion and civilization of Western Asia.’ But, although

it may be necessary to distinguish, historically, the priests of the fire-worship from the Babylonian astrologers, it seems clear, that their name has the same etymology : and in fact, our Translator speaks of the chief of the Magi, under the name of *Mogbed* or *Mobed*, i. e. head-magus, or chief priest. (Hist. of Vartan, notes 5 and 34.)

It may, perhaps, be laid down as a general rule, in endeavouring to trace out affinities between nations by the unsteady lights of philology, that similarities of grammatical structure between two languages, afford a presumption in favour of an original affinity of race, how widely soever the vocabularies differ ; whereas a similarity between their vocabularies proves only early intercourse ; and when words obviously of common origin, vary materially in form in the two languages, it seems to indicate a physical diversity of race. Thus, we should perhaps be warranted in inferring, that at least the civilization of ancient Armenia was Zendish ; or rather that the Zend, the very existence of which, as a spoken language, has been deemed problematical\*, was the ancient language of Assyria and Armenia ; forming the link, possibly, between the Aramæan and the Sanscrit families. But if it be true that the Hungarian and the Armenian resemble each other in grammatical structure, but have no resemblance in their vocabularies, we should infer an original connection between the two nations, but an early separation, as in the case of the Celtic and the Indian families.

The ancient history of Armenia is about as authentic as, in the absence of either documents or monuments, history can be. Father Chamich, with a translation of whose abridged work the learned of Europe and India are here presented, may be said fairly to begin at the beginning, since his first part contains an account of the foundation of the first post-diluvian monarchy by the great-grandson of Japhet, about A.M. 2853, and brings down the history to Alexander the Great. The learned Author was an Armenian by nation, born at Constantinople, who, having attached himself to the Romish Church, became a member of the Society of San Lazzaro at Venice. In 1786, he published the first edition of his History in three large quarto volumes, of about 1000 pages each. It is compiled, we are told, not only from the records of various Armenian authors, the earliest of whom, un-

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\* Col. Vans Kennedy, with all the credulity of scepticism, doubts whether either Zend or Pehlavi was ever spoken. The former 'pretended language', he thinks, 'was invented by the Parsi priests, and 'was never actually spoken or written by any people upon the face of 'the earth.' And his remarks, he says, apply with even greater force to the Pehlavi ! *Researches into the Origin of Languages*, n. 173.

fortunately flourished in the fourth century, but also from those Greek and Roman authors who have noticed events connected with Armenia, from Xenophon down to Socrates and Procopius. The chief native authority is, of course, the famous Moses Choronensis, who flourished in the fifth century, and who wrote a History of Armenia, commencing with Haik, and brought down to the termination of the pontifical power in the house of St. Gregory the Illuminator, A.D. 440. The first part of his History is stated to be 'founded on information derived from records of events which happened before the reign of Alexander the Great, according to the testimony of Maribas, the famous Syrian historian, who discovered these documents.'

'A correct account of the ancient Armenian kings till the time of Volarsaces, is recorded in the history of the latter, of which Choronensis avails himself by abundant quotations. From this period to the third century, the facts narrated in the history are collected from different sources, principally from historians who wrote accounts of their own times. Choronensis makes ample quotations from Africanus, an eminent historian on whom Eusebius bestows great praise in his ecclesiastical history. The latter part of the History is composed from different records extant in our nation, written in Greek and Persian characters under the various Armenian chiefs.'

*Avdall's Preface, p. xxvii.*

Gibbon has availed himself of the account of the ruin and division of the kingdom of Armenia, contained in the third book of Moses of Chorene, as translated into Latin by William and George Whiston. He thus characterizes the original. 'Deficient as he (Moses) is in every qualification of a good historian, his local information, his passions, and his prejudices, are strongly expressive of a native and contemporary. Procopius relates the same facts in a very different manner; but I have extracted the circumstances the most probable in themselves and the least inconsistent with Moses of Chorene.\* Mr. Neumann, in his Preface to the "History of Vartan", remarks, that the history of the Parthian kingdom can be elucidated only from Armenian sources. By a mere translation of Moses of Chorene, however, he adds, little help is afforded. 'He, more than any author, required a detailed geographical, historical, and critical elucidation; and Gibbon had sufficient ground for complaint, when saying that, with these confusing sketches, he could come at nothing clear.'

The absence of any such illustration in Mr. Avdall's translation of Father Chamich's History, will be felt as materially lessening the value of his labours. The first Part, which professes to

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\* Rise and Fall, &c., Ch. xxxii.

give, within the compass of forty pages, the history of 1800 years, consists of little more than a tissue of obscure and sometimes absurd legends, narrated with all the gravity of implicit belief. Thus, we have a minute account of the overthrow of the tyrant Belus at the age of 300 years, by the valorous Haicus, whom Vardan styles 'the first champion of religion, for having refused to pay adoration to the statue of Belus, and for killing the latter as the first introducer of idolatry among mankind.' And the testimony of Maribas is cited as the authority for a personal description of this proto-champion, who is supposed to have lived to the age, 'probably,' of 500 years. Haicus was succeeded in his authority by his son Armenac, who reigned for ninety-six years, and had, 'it is said', twelve brothers named after the months of the year, and twenty-four sisters named after the hours of the day!! His son, Aramais, who succeeded him, reigned, some say forty, some say ninety years: in such cases, fifty years are of no consequence. He is stated to have changed the name of the river Gihon, to Arax, after his son, Arast! But the first monarch who 'raised the Armenian name to any degree of renown', was his great-grandson, Aram, who became so famous, that, says Father Chamich,

contemporary nations, in making mention of the actions performed by his subjects under his personal direction, called them the deeds of the Aramians, a name which has been corrupted into Armenians; and the country they inhabited, by universal consent, took the name of Armenia. This is the origin of the denomination which now distinguishes our country among foreigners; and the more ancient one of Haics, which is similar, and indeed is the juster of the two, has sunk into disuse.

Something is to be learned from all this; namely, that nothing survives, in the shape of authentic traditional record, of this part of the early history of Armenia, which is mere fable; and that, moreover, of the etymology of the name of the country, and of other geographical appellations, Father Chamich and his authorities were profoundly ignorant. In the first syllable of Armenia, we seem to have a word common to many languages, with a slight modification, in the sense of land, earth, or field. *Ar* has this sense in the Celtic dialects. The Latin *ager* is probably the same word, as the Greek *ἀρόω*, to plough, (whence *ἀρούρα*, *arvum*,) may plausibly be derived from the same root. The Hebrew and Chaldean *aretz*, *areg*, *arach*, the Arabic *ardhi* or *ardu*, the Pahlavi *arta* or *arda*, (whence *Arta-Xerxes*, or *Arda-kshashethro*, i. e., lord of the earth, answering to the Persian *Gil-Shah*,) all seem related to the same word. It is remarkable that, in Sanscrit, *arāmā* signifies a garden; which is likely enough to be the real meaning of the Hebrew *Aram*, or *Aramea*, Syria. Irak is



perhaps another form of Arak or Arach, the plains. Ararat (by the Armenians written Airarad) is evidently a compound, and may mean the high country; since *ard* or *art*, (in Sanscrit *ardha*;) signifies in many languages, high or lofty. It has this meaning in Celtic; and the Greeks gave it this interpretation in the composition of Persian names; as Artabanus, Artaphernes, &c.†. Ararat is still the name of the province of Armenia, situated between the Araxes and the lakes Van and Ourmia; which is probably the country referred to Isa. xxxvii. 38. and Jer. li. 27, as well as Gen. viii. 4. The kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz, mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, evidently bordered upon Assyria and Media; and in the second of these names, we have a word closely resembling Armenia; as the Syriac and Chaldaic versions have indeed rendered it. Josephus also speaks of a district of a similar name in Armenia, in the following citation from a more ancient writer. “There is a great mountain in Armenia, over Minyas (*Μινυας*), called *Baris*, upon which, it is reported, that many who fled at the time of the Deluge were saved, and that one who was carried in an ark, came on shore upon the top of it; and that the remains of the timber were a great while preserved. This might be the man about whom Moses, the legislator of the Jews, wrote.”† The word *Min*-*rich* occurs Ezek. xxvii. 17, where it is rendered by the Sept., fine wheat. Bochart would make the word *Muni* signify the moon. Whatever be its meaning, we may almost venture to derive Armenia from *Ar-Minni*, the country of Minni, or Minn-land. Ashk-anaz has certainly a very Armenian sound; but we will resist the temptation to guess at its etymology. We have no doubt that, in common with the others, it is a descriptive word, most of the ancient proper names being primarily descriptive of territory. Haik is, probably, a word of this kind, and the existence of such a *person* is very problematical.

In the third chapter of his history, Father Chamich introduces us to a personage whose historical existence we are not permitted to doubt, although it is difficult to detach the fact from the fabulous embellishments. This is no other than Semiramis, the widow of Ninus. This Assyrian queen, according to the present Writer, who appears to follow Moses of Chorene, having heard of the personal beauty of Arah, king of Armenia, sent him an offer of her hand and crown, which was most ungallantly refused. This led to a war, in which Arah was slain, to the great grief of

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\* See Gesenius's Lex. Herodotus renders Artaxerxes, μέγας ἀγῆνος. But the Greeks were bad etymologists, and we question the word's having ever had this signification in Persian, in which it is now confessedly lost. But it still exists in the Celtic dialects.

† Joseph. Antiq., B. I. c. 1. § 6.

the female conqueror, who had wished to take him alive. Semiramis then placed his young son, Cardus, a youth of twelve years of age, on the throne of his father, directing him to assume the name of Arah. The historian goes on to say :

‘ The Assyrian queen was so pleased with the salubrity of the air, and the fertility and picturesque nature of the country, that she left a splendid mark of her munificence in it, on her returning to Assyria, having built a magnificent city on the shores of the sea of Akhthamar. Twelve thousand workmen, and six hundred architects, were employed in the erection of the buildings in this city. It became, thenceforward, the summer residence of Semiramis, and was afterwards known by the name of Van.....

‘ Some few years after this event, Ninyas\*, the son of Semiramis, rebelled against his mother, and having formed a party vastly superior to what was attached to the queen, she was obliged to flee and take refuge in Armenia. Here she was received by Cardus with all the friendship he could demonstrate ; and raising an army, he marched with her at the head of it to reduce her rebellious son. A battle ensued, in which Semiramis and her gallant ally, Cardus, were defeated and slain.....Anushavan, (the son of Cardus,) on the defeat and death of his father, fell into the hands of the victor, Ninyas, who retained him captive in his palace. At the time of this unfortunate event, Anashavan was but fourteen years of age. When he attained maturity, some of the Assyrian nobles interceded on his behalf with Ninyas, and procured his release and restoration to a part of his hereditary dominions, on condition that he should pay homage for them to the Assyrians.’ Vol. I. pp. 23—25.

This story, in its general outline, so far agrees with the account given by the Greek historians, that it may be suspected of having been borrowed from them. It is certain, however, that the name of the Assyrian Queen is still preserved, not merely in Armenian traditions, but in connexion with existing monuments. The city of Van is still known under the name of *Shamiramakert*, the city of Semiramis. According to Persian writers, Tamerlane, towards the close of the fourteenth century, endeavoured to destroy the ancient monuments of Van, but their solidity and extent foiled the utmost endeavours of his soldiers. Moscs of Chorene gives a long account of the foundation of this city, after Maribas Catina, the Syrian historian, who flourished B. C. 140. Semiramis is related to have begun the work by raising an immense esplanade or platform, composed of enormous masses of rock, united by a cement of lime and sand. This construction was so solid, that it remained still entire in the time of the Armenian historian. It had not been found practicable to detach from it a single stone, owing to the tenacity of the cement ; and

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\* The similarity of this name to Minyas is remarkable : it is probably the same word.

the stones, he says, were so well polished and so smooth, that they had lost none of their splendour. This terrace extended for the space of several *stadia*; and under it were some spacious caverns, which, in the time of Moses of Chorene, afforded a place of refuge to the brigands of the country. These caverns appear, from his description, to have been originally intended as subterranean entrances to the fortified palace erected by Semiramis upon this platform, which recalls the works of the great Jemsheed at Persepolis. The Historian, after describing the various temples, vast apartments, and subterranean treasuries, adds, that the numerous inscriptions in themselves formed an object of admiration, as, in order to trace them, it would seem that they must have known the art of rendering the stones as soft as wax. This romantic description accords with the notices contained in more modern Armenian writers respecting the ancient monuments found near Van. In an Armenian work on Geography, composed by Father Luke Indjidjan, and printed at Venice in 1806, occurs the following passage, for which we are indebted to a French translation by M. Saint-Martin.

‘ To the north of the city, in a straight line, is a very high mountain of stone, the summit of which is above gun-shot; it is there that was excavated and founded the impregnable castle of Van, the work of Semiramis. This mountain is composed of a hard stone of a particular species: it extends from west to east for the distance of an hour’s journey. The foot of the mountain, on the south, is contiguous to the city walls; there is situated the suburb. This wall and the castle are half an hour’s distance from the lake. The exterior side of this mountain, that is to say, that which is to the north of the plain, is a very steep elevation, filled with enormous rocks: the walls have been repeatedly destroyed and reconstructed.

‘ In the interior of this rock are found, in five or six places, immense caverns, hollowed out by the ancients: the entrances are turned towards the city side or the south. Other caverns are to be seen on the northern side of the mountain. They are now quite abandoned. These are the excavations, the caverns, the vaults, of which Moses of Chorene speaks.

‘ On the southern side is seen an opening cut with the greatest labour in the hardest marble, leading to a very beautiful apartment, the ceiling of which is in the form of a vault: on the whole length of the opening are found inscriptions in a character unknown to the inhabitants. This entrance leads into the centre or heart of the mountain. The inhabitants find it very difficult to reach it with ladders, either from above by the citadel, or from below by the city. On the north side are found, in like manner, towards the bottom of the mountain, three openings, which also lead to apartments with ceilings in the form of a vault, and on the doors of which are in like manner seen inscriptions in the same unknown characters. These are, probably, the inscriptions in ancient letters, cut by order of Queen Semiramis, to

which Moses of Chorene refers. Upon both the northern and southern sides of this mountain of stone are sculptured, in several places, little crosses and human figures. Not long ago, in digging in the interior of the city, a stone statue was found, representing a man on horseback.

‘ This mountain and its fortress are without water ; but in time of peace, there exists an easy way by which you may ascend the mountain on the western side, near the gate *Iskele Kapousi* : by this way, water is carried to those who reside in the castle. In that direction is found a spring of excellent water, which flows into the lake. Near this stream are seen three immense blocks of marble, which are abandoned ; and near them, a ruined tower ; but in the plain is found another source of good water.’ \*

Diodorus Siculus describes some magnificent monuments erected by Semiramis in Media, under which name this part of Armenia, now the Turkish pashalik of Van, is often included or confounded. It is, therefore, as M. Saint-Martin suggests, very possible, that some of the monuments which he mentions, are the same as those described by Moses of Chorene. Strabo also speaks of immense walls executed by Semiramis, and of vast artificial hills which she caused to be erected in several places of Asia Minor and Armenia. An Arabian writer, (Masoudy,) who flourished about the middle of the tenth century, also refers to the conquests and works of Semiramis ; borrowing his details, apparently, from Greek and Syrian writers now unknown to us. The celebrity of this Queen has perpetuated itself to the present day, in these same regions, not only among the Armenian population, but even among the Kourds, who, as well as the Armenian natives, give the name of the water (or stream) of Semiramis (*Shamiramai-dchour*, or *Shamiramai-ahrou*) to a considerable stream which falls into Lake Van at a short distance to the S. W. of that city. The Turks call it *Shamiram-su*, which has the same meaning.

In the year 1826, M. Schulz, professor in the University of Giessen, undertook a journey of literary discovery in Asiatic Turkey and Persia, under the auspices of Baron Damas, then minister for foreign affairs at Paris. In a letter from Constantinople, dated March 1828, inserted in the same Journal from which we have taken these particulars, he gives the following account of the results of his visit to Van.

‘ I arrived at Van on the 24th of July, and was received in the most friendly manner by the Pasha, to whom I had letters of strong recommendation from the Pasha-seraskier of Erzeroom. You will probably learn with pleasure, that the expectation which we entertained of discovering some monuments of Semiramis on the borders of Lake Van,

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\* *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Tome ii. pp. 168—170.

has not been disappointed. The great number of inscriptions in the cuneiform character which I have discovered at Van and in its environs, and of which I have this day transmitted a copy to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, will prove to you the important part which the castle of Van and the surrounding district must have borne in the history of the ancient Assyrian monarchy. The system of cuneiform writing, on all these monuments, is entirely different from that which is presented to us in the trilingual Persian inscriptions, and from that of the Babylonian bricks. Among the forty-two inscriptions which I send to Paris, you will find but a single one which belongs to the systems known in Europe. It is modern, if it is allowable so to call an inscription in the Zend, Assyrian, and Median languages, cut in the rock of the citadel of Van, by order of *Khshéarsha*, son of *Daréioush* (Xerxes, son of Darius). I took great pains to bring away each character with the greatest exactness. . . . . It required many fortunate circumstances to enable me to bring away all; and it will probably be a long time before we meet in Koordistan with an Isaak Pasha, whose perfect confidence and friendship have permitted me to penetrate to places to which, under other circumstances, it would have been impossible for me to gain access. In returning to Erzeroom, I followed the borders of the lake by Awanz, Berghiri, and Ardjish, where the famous Serpent-rock (*Ilantach*) afforded me two inscriptions of the same description as those of Van. Thence I repaired, by Norshin and Tashkent, to Melezgerd and Daher, to obtain, near that Kourdish village, a copy of a magnificent inscription of thirty-seven lines, in as excellent preservation as if written only yesterday.\*

But do these inscriptions, and the monuments upon which they are found, really belong to so remote a date? Upon this point, M. Saint Martin in this paper candidly avows the doubt he entertains. He had not been able to ascertain that the name of Semiramis occurred in them. He thinks, however, that the trilingual description referring to Xerxes, the son of Darius, is the most modern of these inscriptions, and that the others are in Assyrian, and belong to the most ancient eras of history. At all events, the terrace would seem to be fairly attributable to the Assyrian Queen†; and the fact of her having conquered Armenia,

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\* *N. Journ. Asiatique*, t. ii. pp. 175—177. M. Schulz proposed to explore, the following summer, the borders of Lake Ourmiah, and to penetrate to Persian Kourdistan. We know not whether his further researches and more detailed memoirs have yet been made public.

† Herodotus briefly mentions this queen as having ‘raised an embankment worthy of admiration through the plain of the Euphrates, to confine the river, which heretofore often spread over the level like a lake.’ Taylor’s Herodotus, p. 87. The principal works at Babylon, however, he ascribes to Queen Nitocris, to whom he assigns the palm of intelligence, although the former is the favourite of tradition. Possibly, the embankment referred to was that on the shores of Lake Van; and the old Grecian may have confounded the two stories.

which is not mentioned by any extant classic historian, may be considered as established by the traditions exclusively preserved by Armenian writers.

To return to Father Chamich. On the death of Anushavan, who died without issue, the crown of Armenia is stated to have fallen to a warlike prince named Paret, the contemporary of the Hebrew patriarch Joseph. To him succeeded Asbak, Zavan, and Pharnak; the latter of whom was conquered, but restored to his kingdom, by Sesostris, king of Egypt.

‘After the departure of the latter from Armenia, Pharnak built a number of fortresses in his dominions, to protect himself against future invasions. At this period, the children of Israel quitted Egypt. On the death of Pharnak, Soor became the king of Armenia. He proved a great and successful warrior, and was the idol of his subjects. During his reign, the children of Israel took possession of Canaan as the land of promise. Many of the aborigines of that country took refuge in Armenia, under the conduct of a leader named Canaanidas; a man, as the records state, of immense riches. From him the Canaanidians, otherwise the Gunthunians, who are well known in the annals of our history, are descended.’ Vol. I. p. 27.

Then follow notices of the reigns of Havanak, alias Hunak, Vashtak, Haykak I., who subdued Amindes, king of Assyria, and made him his tributary, but was defeated and slain by Belok, the son of Amindes;—Ambak I., Arnak, Shavarsh I., Norayr, Vistam, Car, Gorak, and Hirant I., in whose reign, ‘Buz, the ‘son of Neptune, founded the city of Byzantium’! To Hirant succeeded Unzak, Gilak, Horo, and the illustrious Zarmayr, who, being an ally of the Trojans, went to the famous siege of their city, and fell in an encounter with Achilles, in the twelfth year of his reign, and in the year of the world 2818, or, according to the Septuagint, 4017. Chronologists will be infinitely indebted to Father Chamich for this invaluable piece of information. With regard to the long line of princes with names ending in *ak*, (recalling the Anak and Shishak of the Old Testament,) if they rest upon any veritable record, we may conclude, that at least the termination is honorific, implying lord or ruler, and that they belonged to the same dynasty of kings or viceroys. An interregnum is stated to have ensued upon the death of Zarmayr; and then follow some more rulers with names ending in *ak*; till at length we come to Paroyr, who joined with Arbaces, prince of the Medes, and Belesis, surnamed Nabonazar, prince of Babylon, in a conspiracy against Sardanapalus, the Assyrian emperor. Up to this time, it is admitted that the Armenian kings had never been crowned: in other words, they were but governors appointed by the Assyrian monarch, or tributary princes. But, on the expulsion of Sardanapalus, Arbaces, agreeably to his promise to his two allies, solemnly crowned them kings of their respective



countries; no doubt on the condition of their transferring their homage from Assyria to Media. It may be worth while to transcribe the following paragraph, although it is impossible to read such narratives without a constant suspicion of their apocryphal character.

‘ Assyria, by the succession of various events, was, after the expulsion of Sardanapalus, at first governed by Tiglath-pileser; then by his son Shalmanazar, who conquered Samaria. Sennacherib, the son and successor of the latter, in an expedition against the Jews, then governed by king Hezekiah, lost the whole of his army by the sword of the avenging angel. On his return to Nineveh, he was plunged into the bitterest grief by the reflection of the late defeat and destruction of his soldiers; and superstitiously conceiving that the anger of the gods he worshipped was kindled against him, he meditated endeavouring to appease them by the sacrifice of his sons Adramelech and Sharezer on the altar of the idol Nisroch. The two intended victims, however, got timely information of the cruel designs of their unnatural father, and seizing their opportunity, killed Sennacherib in the temple of Nisroch. They then took refuge in Armenia, where they were kindly received by king Paroyr, who allotted them portions of land for their maintenance. To Sharezer he gave a territory in the southwestern part of Armenia, bordering on Assyria. The Sanasoons or Sasoons, a numerous and valiant race, who principally inhabited Mount Sion, claim Sharezer for their ancestor. The king gave Adramelech a country to the south-east of that of his brother Sharezer. From Adramelech are descended the great tribes of the Arzrunians and Gnunians. The posterity of these two Assyrian princes, in the course of a few ages, became so numerous, that they established an independent kingdom in the country in which their ancestors had first settled, calling it Vaspurakan, and themselves Vaspurakanians.’

Vol. I. pp. 33, 4.

To Paroyr succeeded Hirachay, Pharnavaz II., Pachoych, Cornak, Pharos, Haykak II. The latter

‘ joined Nebuchadnezzar the Great, king of Babylon, in his expedition against the Jews; and on the latter being led into captivity, Haykak took one of their chiefs, named Shambat, together with all his family, and brought him into Armenia. From Shambat are descended the great family of the Bagratians, who afterwards possessed the throne of Armenia, and who derived their name from the illustrious Bagarat, who shed such a lustre on the reign of Valarsaces. Many of the most distinguished of this race were called Sumbat, after their original ancestor; and a few took the name of Ashot, in memory of Asood, the son of this Jewish chief.’ Vol. I. pp. 35, 6.

Haykak II. was succeeded by his son Erwand; whose successor, Tigranes, is represented as having joined Cyrus, king of Persia, and Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in an alliance against Ahasuerus, king of Media. From this may be inferred, if we may attach credence to this part of Armenian history, that the

country had become tributary to Media, and that Tigranes was a Median viceroy who raised the standard of rebellion against his liege. We have a somewhat romantic story of the Median emperor's having solicited the hand of Tigrana, the sister of Tigranes, in marriage, with a view to get the brother into his power. Tigrana accordingly became queen of queens; but, retaining her affection for her brother, she betrayed to him the insidious designs of her husband, and at length escaped to the allied armies, who were advancing to the frontiers.

‘ Ahasuerus made a faint attempt to protect his dominions; but he was defeated, and fell by the hand of Tigranes, who killed him by a thrust of his spear. A vast number of Medes fell in the action, and 10,000 were made prisoners, among whom were the whole of the women belonging to the king. The country then submitted to the victors, and Cyrus added it, by the consent of Tigranes, to his own dominions. The latter returned to Armenia loaded with booty, and attended by a vast number of captives. In gratitude to his sister, he gave her the city of Tigranakert, which he had lately built, with a large extent of country in its environs. The women of Ahasuerus, with the remainder of the captives, he settled near Nackjuan and along the banks of the river Arax.

‘ The descendants of these women, proceeding from the king of Media, were thenceforward called the offspring of Ajdahak or the Dragon, in allusion to the name of Ahasuerus, which, in the Armenian language, signifies a dragon. At this period, Cyrus, accompanied by Tigranes, effected the conquest of Lydia, which was then in the possession of Croesus, but was now added to the large empire of the former. Shortly after, the two monarchs besieged and took the city of Babylon, which was given to Darius, the uncle of Cyrus, who thenceforward governed it under the title of king. All the Christian nations are in possession of authentic accounts of Tigranes being associated with Cyrus in his conquest of Babylon; for the prophet Jeremiah exclaims, “Set ye up a standard in the land; blow the trumpet among the nations; prepare the nations against her (Babylon); call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz; appoint a captain against her; cause the horses to come up, as the rough caterpillars.” See Chap. 51, verse 27, &c. It is evident, by the chronology of the Jews and Armenians, that, at the capture of Babylon, Tigranes was king of Ararat. After a glorious reign of 45 years, in which his glory had eclipsed that of all his predecessors, Tigranes died, to the great regret of all the nation, leaving three sons, born of his queen Zarina, viz. Bab, Tiran, and Vahagn. The great conqueror Cyrus died five years before his ally Tigranes.

‘ Vahagn, although the youngest son of the late monarch, took possession of the throne at the decease of his father; his two elder brothers being of a less warlike disposition, quietly relinquishing their claims. This prince proved a virtuous and magnanimous character. His personal strength and courage were so great, that he was usually called by his subjects Hercules the Second. He performed many gallant exploits, and became so renowned that songs in his praise were

composed and sung by the Armenians and Georgians ; wherein, amongst a variety of other valiant actions, he was said to have fought and conquered dragons. This alluded, no doubt, to his wars with the Medes, the descendants of Ahasuerus, who, as we have related, were called the Dragons. These songs were current in Armenia even in the days of the most flourishing state of Christianity in that country. Vahagn died after a brilliant reign of 27 years. A statue of this monarch was erected in Georgia by the inhabitants of that country, in commemoration of his many great qualities ; and according to the pagan custom in those days, divine honours were paid him ; sacrifices being offered to the statue. From this prince the tribe of Vahunians are descended, many of whom afterwards officiated as priests in temples which they had erected to their ancestor, who, as we before stated, had been deified.' Vol. I. pp. 40—44.

The Ahasuerus of the above story is of course the Astyages of Herodotus, whose account of Cyrus is the most unsatisfactory and confused portion of his history. The ' Father of History ' seems to have been himself bewildered by the conflicting accounts he obtained of this extraordinary personage, the hero of Xenophon and the restorer of Jerusalem. Sir John Malcolm has taken great pains \* to harmonize the accounts given in the Persian annals, of Kai Khosrou, who is apparently the Cyrus of Herodotus, with the intimations in the Hebrew Scriptures relative to Koreish (as his name is there written), and the other notices contained in authentic history ; but with very imperfect success. The irreconcilable discrepancy which occurs in the accounts of this hero, furnished by the western and oriental writers, compel us to suppose that different individuals have been confounded under the same name, which was probably titular. It is remarkable, that both Herodotus and the Armenian historians represent the Median sovereign as being forewarned in dreams of the overthrow of his power, although the stories differ widely in the details. The account given in the present History is, that Ahasuerus beheld a mountain in labour, from which issued, not a mouse, but three armed warriors ; one mounted on the back of a lion, which he guided towards the west, the second riding on a leopard, which took a northerly direction, the third, the most terrible of the three, on a dragon, who turned towards Media. This third was explained by his wise men to mean Tigranes, the other two being Cyrus and Nebuchadnezzar. Some vague tradition must have been the foundation of the varying legends. *Ajdahak*, which, we are told, signifies a dragon, is evidently the Zohauk of the Persian writers, as it is apparently the Astyages of Herodotus. Ahasuerus was a common titular appellation of the

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\* See Hist. of Persia, Vol. I. pp. 220—233.

Persian monarchs, and is rendered by Gesenius, 'excellent prince', or 'hero'. M. Saint Martin reads, in an inscription brought from Van, *khshaéhiè-iéré*, which he renders, *roi brave*.

Vahagn is stated to have been succeeded by his son, Aravan; then follow the names of Nerseh, Zareh, Armog, Baygam, Van, (who is said to have rebuilt the city of Semiramis, and changed its name to Van,) and Vahey, the last of the dynasty. Being the ally (probably the tributary) of Darius, the Persian king, he joined him in resisting the invincible arms of the Macedonian conqueror, and perished. 'The whole of Armenia fell into the hands of Alexander, and from this period, royalty was unknown in Armenia until the rise of the Arsacidæ.'

Having traced the imperfect and obscure annals of Armenia to the dawn of authentic history, we here pause to offer a few general observations. And in the first place, we may remark that this history tends to confirm a rational scepticism as to the existence, in early times, of any extensive consolidated empires. A delusion is practised upon the imagination, by applying to ancient kingdoms, which were limited to a province, the comprehensive names of modern geography. There was no such country in ancient geography, as Armenia, or Persia, or India. With regard to the first, we learn from the only authentic source of information relative to those early times, that Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz still formed, about B.C. 600, three separate kingdoms; that the Medes also had their several kings, and captains, and rulers; that Babylon, one of the greatest and most powerful kingdoms, was limited to Chaldea, not including Assyria, which had also its king. In fact, the axiom laid down by a high authority seems the key to ancient history; that there were as many kings as cities, every capital city constituting in fact a kingdom; to which we may add, that every such city must have owed its formation to its position in the line of commerce. The first city that we read of is ascribed to the 'mighty hunter,' or plunderer, Nimrod, the 'beginning of whose kingdom' was Babylon, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, all in the plain of Shinar or Mesopotamia, and commanding, therefore, the commerce of the Euphrates; out of which land, he is represented as going into Assyria, and building Nineveh, and Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, situated between Calah and Nineveh\*. All these cities, if built by the same enterprising 'rebel,' may have been originally fortified stations, by means of which he secured the plunder exacted in the shape of toll or tribute upon the merchants. These would of necessity be halting-places, and would soon be made places of rendezvous and permanent residence. No sooner, however, did

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\* Gen. x. 9. marg. reading, and Boothroyd.

they grow considerable, than they became the seat of rival communities; and Babylon and Nineveh at a very early period rose into hostile states. The inferior cities in their neighbourhood, under their respective chieftains, would require and purchase, by tribute or homage, the protection of the more powerful ones; and those which were united by a common language, or religion, would naturally form a national league. Such, there is every reason to believe, was the origin of the territorial kingdoms of antiquity. But besides these, there were sovereignties or lordships of a very distinct origin and character, among the nomadic and equestrian tribes; between whom and the dwellers in cities, there seem to have existed in all ages a perpetual antipathy and hereditary feud. These kings of the mountain, or of the plain, or of the desert, were sovereigns of a tribe or a nation, not of a kingdom, having often neither definite country nor capital.

Ancient history, then, is either the history of nations or of municipal communities; not of countries or of empires. At least, the only empires were either confederacies of kingdoms under a 'king of kings,'—the most powerful sovereign of his day, or the meteoric dominion of a foreign conqueror. The only permanent trace of such conquests is found in a new city, often raised upon the site of a ruined one, but sometimes on a new and advantageous route. Thus, it is at once the most important and the most honourable information that is transmitted to us concerning the kings and conquerors of those remote days, that they built such and such a city. Of Semiramis, for instance, this historical fact alone attests the existence and the success, that she built the city of Van, where probably no city had before stood, and thus created a new focus of population and wealth.

At no period, probably, was Armenia comprised under one empire. The centre of the original population of the post-diluvian world, its physical geography in a manner compelled the increasing families to diverge in the opposite directions in which its waters seek the basins of the Euxine, the Caspian, the Persian Gulf, and, but for the great bulwark of Taurus, the Mediterranean. The cities and territories of Van, Erivan, Erzeroom, Kars, and Diarbekir, or the more ancient cities they represent, must always have been politically disconnected, from their local position, standing on different routes, and open to invasion from different powers. It is probable, therefore, that Assyria, to which Armenia Proper may be considered as belonging, Media, Syria, and Capadocia, in the earliest times, shared the dominion or allegiance of what we now call Armenia; just as it is now subdivided between the Ottomans, the Persians, the Russians, and the Koords. It was, as we shall see hereafter, by sharing in the *western* civilization, that this country became the seat of any thing deserving the name of literature. The first light that shone upon it, proceeded from

Athens; and the chief seat of the Armenian greatness has been on the European side of the Euphrates, in Cappadocia and Cilicia. The existing cultivation and literature of Armenia are exclusively Christian; and ‘but very rarely the faded lustre of a former civilization is seen, gleaming from ages long since past away.’ The following judicious observations, taken from Mr. Neumann’s valuable preface to his translation of the “History of Vartan,” will serve to confirm the preceding observations, while they throw a new light upon Armenian history. With these, we shall conclude the present article, intending to resume the subject on a future occasion.

‘The Parthians, it is well known, cherished a strong predilection for Grecian manners and learning: hence, during their dynasty, it was the custom to visit the schools of Athens and other Greek cities, in the same manner that, towards the close of the middle ages, men from all parts of Europe repaired to Italy and Paris, to perfect themselves in the sciences. Gregory the Enlightener, in the panegyrick of Barsh Ardsanagan, which is ascribed to him, and is still extant, says that he became acquainted with this saint at Athens, where at that time many of the Armenian youth were studying. The Armenian youth, studying at Athens, had their own principal; who, in the time of the Emperor Julian, was the celebrated orator Proæresius, a native Armenian. Sahag and Mesrob sent their most talented pupils to Greece, “to the mother and nurse of all knowledge,” to use an expression of Moses of Khorene. In so doing, however, they had by no means a purely scientific object, but were most anxious to form good translators from the Greek, who might translate the holy scriptures, (which had first been done from Syriac into Armenian,) and the Greek Fathers into their native language. But the disciples of Mesrob were not content with mere translations: they all, more or less, became authors; and with them, strictly speaking, *the first epoch* of the Christian literature of Armenia begins. From the return of the disciples of Sahag the great, and Mesrob from Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Edessa, about 434, and the composition of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrob, about 406, may be dated the most ancient epoch of Armenian literature.’

‘While the spiritual strength of the Armenian nation, and with it the Christian belief, continued progressively strengthening itself, their political power declined to a mere shadow of what it had been. The branch of the Arsacides, which after the fall of the Parthian Shahinshah (226, A. C.) had ruled in Armenia, owed its brief and troubled existence solely to the reciprocal enmity and jealousy of the Byzantine Greek and Persico-Sassanide kingdoms. But the Armenian kings knew not, like the House of Savoy, in modern history, how to profit by this state of things. At the court of the feeble, and, both physically and morally, degraded successors of the Arsacides, who had once contended with Rome, now Greece and now Persia obtained preponderating influence, without, however, any increase or security of dominion, according to the Khosros and Artashirs. No less censurable



was the conduct of the Byzantine court. Without reference to the duty owed by Byzantium to a neighbouring Christian state, her own advantage required that she should support the independence of the Armenian kingdom and strengthen its power; for, was not Armenia the strongest bulwark against all attempts at conquest on the part of the Sassanides? But of this the emperors and their councillors appear not to have thought: they applied themselves to the crushing of heresies in their kingdom, and spent their time in gravely deliberating in council, about the ridiculous dreamings of half-crazy anchorites. Who can peruse without indignation and scorn, the account of the proceeding of the Byzantine court, as given in the following work of Elisæus? Thus it came to pass, that after its nominal kings had long sunk into mere deputies of Sapor and Yasgerd, Armenia at last, in 428 of our era, ceased to retain even the name of a nation. A small part, Upper, or Lesser Armenia, fell to the share of Byzantium; while the far larger and more important provinces of Lower, or Greater Armenia, were joined to the kingdom of the Sassanides.

‘ In the Western Asiatic kingdoms we may remark, at one time, an exclusively Oriental tendency; at another, one favourable to Grecian views. The old Persian dynasties, however, appear to have been in a close and confidential political alliance with India, and to have decidedly opposed Western influence and the introduction of Grecian manners into their empire. A change took place with the conquest of Alexander the Great, and with the dynasties arising out of the ruins of his kingdom. Not to mention the original Greek ruling families in Syria and Bactria, even the Scythian Parthians were favourable to Greek customs and literature. With the house of Sassan, however, a re-action begins against the Western principle: the ancient Persian civilization, which had long been in part suppressed, and in part had declined, arose again with renewed energy, and was of necessity opposed with all its force to the new doctrine of Christianity, coming as it did from the West and from Greece. Two churches, those of Christ and of Zoroaster, stand in mutual enmity, threatening each other's destruction; and between them a war, partly open, partly secret, is carried on. The history of the machinations and battles which took place during a short period, are described in the following work of Elisæus, a contemporary of the circumstances related by him.

‘ The history of this religious war has been given by several Syrian and Armenian writers: and among the Greek authors also, sacred and profane, some fragments and unconnected accounts are to be met with on this subject. But the Armenians possess historical writers who have almost exclusively occupied themselves with the narration of this struggle, so highly interesting, as regards the religious history of mankind.’ pp. x—xiii.

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‘ It is worthy of remark, that throughout the middle ages, the province of Sunik was a principal seat of Armenian literature and science, and John Blüss, of the city Erissa or Essenga, of the canton of the same name in Upper Armenia, a celebrated writer of the thirteenth century, is regarded by the native scholars as the last of their classical writers.

‘ Even the general fact, that exclusively religious wars were carried on in the fifth century, between the Armenians and Persians, was hitherto very partially known: and, of course, the peculiar circumstances, the proclamations, embassies, and negotiations of which our author treats were nearly unknown. Saint Martin, in his copious work on Armenia, has indeed touched on this interesting epoch, and translated the proclamation of the Grand Vizier, relative to the creed of Zoroaster. The influence exercised by the Parais may be clearly traced in many of the Christian sects in the fifth century of our era; and, in Armenia, visible marks of the stubborn religion of Zoroaster are found, long after the fall of the Sassanide dynasty. The followers of Zoroaster, called ‘sons or servants of the Sun’ by the Armenian writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, withdrew for the greater part to the borders of Armenia, towards Mesopotamia. This worship of the sun and of the elements mixed itself with Christian views, and thence divers heresies arose. Nerses, surnamed *the pleasing* (+1173), expressly says, that the servants of the Sun, among the Armenians, were the same with the Paulicians among the Greeks. From 1166 to 1173, Nerses was invested with the dignity of Katholikos of all Armenia, and he spared no pains to eradicate this last remnant of the religion of Zoroaster in Armenia. His endeavours appear to have been successful, for after his time no further traces are found in Armenian history of the servants of the sun.’ pp. xx—xxi.

(*To be continued.*)

Art. III. *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Rev. W. Thorp.*

By Joseph Fletcher, D.D. Including a Memoir of Mr. Thorp, and the Letters addressed by him to his Church, during the last Month of his Illness. 8vo. London, 1833.

**D**EATH has reaped a rich harvest within the last few years. Poets, statesmen, and philosophers, men whose fame had become commensurate with civilized humanity, have been numbered among its victims. Numbers, not wont to be thoughtful on such themes, have been constrained to think something of those narrow and gloomy dwellings where the tabernacles of clay, so late the home of genius, science, learning, or philanthropy, have been deposited;—laid apart, that, away from the sight and sound of the bustling crowd surviving them, they may meet their native element again. A foreboding gloom, like the shadows of a coming night, has been thus sent over many a scene of gayety, and has entered, for a little season, the retreat of the learned, and the homes of power and ambition. Dryburgh churchyard is not the only spot in the land which, of late, has forced the transient indulgence of a misgiving, melancholy mood on the subject of human greatness and human hopes.

Yet, there is a greatness, of its own order, even in death; the greatness of the last and greatest evil that may here befall hu-

manity! Yes, there is little to impress, in what is peculiar to the most favoured class of the living, if compared with what is common to the dead. The living genius to which a whole race has done its homage, has less power to awe the inner man, than is found to belong even to the peasant, when his coffin is about him; and a monarch on his throne would be almost forgotten, by a mind of due sensibility, before a beggar in his shroud. The only greater event than the death which all men see, is the death which is ever before them, but which they too often fail to see,—the death of the soul!

While we have been thus adverting to the trophies which death has recently gained from among the great in the estimate of man, some of our readers have probably been reminded of similar inroads, during the same period, nearer home. There are men who are not great, in the sense of this world's greatness; but who are eminently such, in the view of an intelligence more perfect than has hitherto obtained on the earth. And when we call this fact to mind, the names, and more than the names, of such men as Waugh, and Wilks, and Hill, readily occur; and we are reminded of a Hall, and a Clarke, and of many besides;—men, some of whom have bequeathed the fruit of their consecrated power and erudition for the benefit of future times, while others, devoting themselves to the labours of the sphere immediately around them, have been content that their memorial should be on high, satisfied with prosecuting their plans of usefulness so that others might enter into their labours, and extend them. If the desire of posthumous fame had any place with this latter class, it was subdued and chastened, in common with many other tendencies, by religious principle. To do good “in their generation”, was evidently their leading maxim.

The late Mr. Thorp must be regarded as belonging to this truly honourable class of men. With talents and acquirements equal to almost any thing to which they should be applied, his life was mainly occupied in those more immediate and local exertions, the fruit of which will be more apparent in the disclosures of eternity, than in the present world. It is well known that there were minor opinions entertained by Mr. Thorp, which are by no means our own. But on these, we are in no mood at present to expatiate; and we must present our sincere acknowledgements to Dr. Fletcher for the candour, the independence, and the ability, with which he has exhibited the claims of the friend of his youth. Our readers cannot peruse the following extract without interest.

‘With the character of Mr. Thorp’s ministry you are well acquainted. You well remember his clear and forcible statements—his full and rich exhibitions of evangelical truth—his energetic appeals to the conscience—and his tender and affectionate pleadings with you.

You know the unblemished purity of his life and conversation, and the living testimony which he bore to the truth of the doctrines he preached, and to the simplicity and sincerity of his own conviction.

‘ It was during the time of his Ministry at Chester, thirty-nine years ago, that it was my happiness to become first acquainted with your honoured and beloved Pastor. Never shall I forget the impressions produced on my youthful mind by his affectionate and persuasive eloquence at that early period of his Ministry. There was a tone of pathos that melted and subdued the hearers, while his unaffected, and truly natural manner of delivery, powerfully arrested and captivated the attention. He did not long remain at Chester, and I had not the privilege of again hearing my esteemed friend, till the period of his ministry in London. During the intervening period, there had been a rapid and powerful advancement in all the elements of mental greatness and ministerial power. The furniture of his mind was greatly enlarged by vast and extensive acquisitions. His memory, singularly accurate and retentive, was combined with a matured and discriminating judgement.

‘ His acquaintance with historical, ecclesiastical, and theological literature was minute and extensive ; and on all the great and interesting points that regard the essential verities of Christian doctrine, he possessed the most luminous and comprehensive views. His power of argumentation was of the highest order ; and he had the rare and enviable faculty of investing an abstruse and complicated train of reasoning, with so much of a lucid order and expansive illustration, as to render even a polemic discussion a source of the richest intellectual enjoyment, as well as conducive to the great ends of religious edification. His mind was eminently fitted for discursive efforts ; possessing a grasp of gigantic power on any subject that had been long the matter of his thoughtful meditation. He could perceive distinctly all the direct and collateral bearings of each successive point of evidence ; no link dropped from the chain, and of all he was in such complete possession, as to bring the entire series of the most prolonged argumentation, without any artificial help, to a satisfactory and convincing termination. At the same time, there was every thing that tended to confirm and perpetuate impression, in the manner as well as the matter of his discourses ; a tone of majesty that could awe, and of tenderness that could melt and subdue. His discourses were eminently imbued with evangelical sentiment : he maintained the harmony and proportions of Christian doctrine, and exhibited with fearlessness and fidelity “ the whole counsel of God.”

‘ Whatever might be the peculiarities of his theology, or rather of his system of theological interpretation, they were the result of deep thinking and matured conviction. Nor can a light estimate be justly formed of the evidence that may be adduced in their favour, when the names of *Bryant*, and *Forbes*, and *Horne*, and *Jones*, and *Horsley*, may be cited as authorities in their support. Those views of interpretation which he deliberately adopted, were such as tended to impart a rich savour of evangelical unction to his ministry, so that CHRIST JESUS was indeed the Alpha and Omega of his ministration. But whatever, on these points, or on such as respected the accomplish-

ment of unfulfilled predictions, might have been the peculiarities of his mental habits, they did not affect the general strain of his ministration, or interfere with his continued efforts and zealous cooperation in the great cause of Christian truth. He was not ambitious to form a sect, and proudly insulate himself and his partisans from every portion of the Christian Church; nor did he delight in dealing out anathemas and fulminations on all who differed from him. Whatever might have been his convictions on points of prophetic interpretation, in which he agreed with *Mede*, and *Gill*, and *Newton*,—he had no sympathy with the displays of intolerance and the pretensions of fanaticism. It is right and proper that no imputation should lie against the memory of our departed friend, that could identify his opinions and sentiments with the assumptions and follies of the most repulsive dogmatism that has ever appeared in modern times. But I need not attempt a further illustration of the leading features of his ministerial character. With all his excellencies you are well acquainted:—nor can those forget, who had the privilege of his friendship, how kind and benignant was the prevailing tone of his feelings and spirit, how eminently fascinating were his powers of conversational intercourse, and how unimpeachable were his character and deportment.'

pp. 25—27.

To all this it should be added, that Mr. Thorp was eminently the friend of his brethren in the ministry. His attachment to them did not evaporate in a barely decorous courtesy of manner toward his equals in talent and station; still less did it allow him to indulge in sarcastic ribaldry at the cost of young preachers, or to deem himself released from the law of courtesy and kindness when his brother happened to be among the needy and oppressed. In the case of the injured, there was nothing in the probable frown of any local Diotrophes, to deter him from pursuing the course commending itself to him as proper; and wrong done to a minister, whose only real offence perhaps was his inevitable poverty, was about the last thing he could forgive. No man could have less of the priest in his character or deportment; but he had withal a respect for the ministerial office, which partook of all the sanctity of a religious feeling.

The account of Mr. Thorp's last illness, affords the most edifying proof of his sincere and ardent piety. Many of the sentiments uttered by him in his sick chamber, and in the near prospect of death, are given by Dr. Fletcher, and cannot be read without advantage to a devout mind. The whole sermon, while partaking of that soundness of theological statement and correct taste, which were to be expected from the preacher, is characterized by a pathos and devotion eminently suited to its object; and must contribute to preserve the memory of a man who was most honoured and beloved where he was most intimately known.

We should add, that the profits of the Discourse are to be appropriated to the benefit of the Widow and younger children.

Art. IV. *Poems by Hartley Coleridge.* Vol. I. 8vo. pp. viii. 157.  
Price 6s. Leeds, 1833.

**H**OW such a volume as this came to be printed at Leeds, we may wonder, but care not to inquire. Instead of wishing to pry into the circumstances of the life of the Poet, we would rather know nothing about the Author of these delicious compositions, (for such the greater part are,) than may be gathered from the poems; out of which the fancy may shape an ideal portrait and a poetical life, such as ought to be the likeness and history of the man gifted with the genius they exhibit. But how few are the poets whose lives add any thing to the pleasure and interest derived from their productions! When we have excepted Milton, Spenser, Cowper, and a few more, we have named nearly all of whom it can be truly said,

‘ Yet is his life the more endearing song ’.

Nor is this to be wondered at. The exquisite mental organization requisite to imaginative genius, requires to be balanced by no ordinary degree of constitutional vigour or moral energy, not to become a source of feebleness and morbid feeling. The intellectual luxury which consists in resigning the mind to pleasing impressions and disporting with the imagery of an ideal creation, is in itself enervating to the mind, tending to unfit it for the masculine virtues of real life. The moral purpose of poetry is, ‘ to make the past and the future preponderate over the present ’; but to the poet himself, there is danger that the present, which is the only point of time that admits of action, should be altogether sacrificed to vain reminiscences and abortive aspirations, which, instead of exciting the active energies, act as opiates, first weakening and at length destroying them. No species of self-indulgence, however innocent or intellectual, can be made the business of life, without a fatal influence upon the character. It is all very well, as beneficial to the mind as delightful, in early life, to

‘ wander like a breeze,  
By lakes and sandy shores, beneath the crags  
Of ancient mountain, and beneath the clouds  
Which image in their bulk both lakes, and shores,  
And mountain crags.’

But when ‘ the shapes and fantasies ’ of poetry come to mix with the passions of riper years, then it is that the spoiled child of imagination begins to display the unequal growth of his powers, the vivacity and strength of his conceptions with the *spinal* weakness of his active principles, and to suffer and err from the absence of that virtue which is to be acquired only from some species of gymnastic discipline with the troubles and difficulties of



life. We do not inquire, whether the following beautiful sonnets disclose the sad experience of the Writer, but they are as instructive and as true as they are touching and melodious. The first has quite a Shakspearian cast.

## SONNET IX.

‘ Long time a child, and still a child, when years  
Had painted manhood on my cheek, was I ;  
For yet I lived like one not born to die ;  
A thriftless prodigal of smiles and tears ;  
No hope I needed, and I knew no fears.  
But sleep, though sweet, is only sleep ; and waking,  
I waked to sleep no more, at once o’ertaking  
The vanguard of my age, with all arrears  
Of duty on my back. Nor child, nor man,  
Nor youth, nor sage, I find my head is grey,  
For I have lost the race I never ran ;  
A rathe December blights my lagging May ;  
And still I am a child, tho’ I be old,  
Time is my debtor for my years untold.’

## SONNET XI.

‘ How long I sailed, and never took a thought  
To what port I was bound ! Secure as sleep,  
I dwelt upon the bosom of the deep  
And perilous sea. And though my ship was fraught  
With rare and precious fancies, jewels brought  
From fairy land, no course I cared to keep ;  
Nor changeful wind nor tide I heeded ought,  
But joyed to see the merry billows leap,  
And watch the sunbeams dallying with the waves,  
Or haply dream what realms beneath may lie ;  
Where the clear ocean is an emerald sky,  
And mermaids warble in their coral caves,  
Yet vainly woo me to their secret home.  
And sweet it were for ever so to roam.’

But a truce to all grave reflections. Here is, however it be obtained, a draught of ‘ pure Castaly ’,—a volume of genuine poetry,—unequal, sometimes feeble, and seldom rising to the character of ‘ words that burn ’, but sustaining palpably throughout, the impress of original, we were going to say constitutional and hereditary genius. We are not about to offer any criticisms upon the poetry, because to the Author it were needless, and to our readers tiresome. We may apply to real poetry, what our Author says in a different reference,

‘ He loves not right, that asks or answers why ’.

If any one asks why we like the following lines, let him be assured that no answer could be to him intelligible.

## ' WHAT I HAVE HEARD.

' I've heard the merry voice of spring,  
When thousand birds their wild notes fling  
Here and there, and every where,  
Stirring the young and lightsome air ;—  
I've heard the many-sounding seas,  
And all their various harmonies ;—  
The tumbling tempest's dismal roar,  
On the waste and wreck-strewn shore—  
The howl and the wail of the prisoned waves,  
Clamouring in the ancient caves,  
Like a stifled pain that asks for pity.  
And I have heard the sea at peace,  
When all its fearful noises cease,  
Lost in one soft and multitudinous ditty,  
Most like the murmur of a far-off city :—  
Nor less the blither notes I know,  
To which the inland waters flow,—  
The rush of rocky-bedded rivers,  
That madly dash themselves to shivers ;  
But anon, more prudent growing,  
O'er countless pebbles smoothly flowing,  
With a dull continuous roar,  
Hie they onward, evermore :  
To their everlasting tune,  
When the sun is high at noon,  
The little billows, quick and quicker,  
Weave their mazes thick and thicker,  
And beneath, in dazzling glances,  
Labyrinthine lightning dances,  
Snaky network intertwining,  
With thousand molten colours shining :  
Mosaic rich with living light,  
With rainbow jewels gaily dight—  
Such pavement never, well I ween,  
Was made by monarch or magician,  
For Arab or Egyptian queen ;  
'Tis gorgeous as a prophet's vision.  
And I ken the brook, how sweet it tinkles,  
As cross the moonlight green it twinkles,  
Or heard, not seen, 'mid tangled wood,  
Where the soft stock-dove lulls her brood,  
With her one note of all most dear—  
More soothing to the heart than ear.  
And well I know the smothered moan  
Of that low breeze, so small and brief,  
It seems a very sigh, whose tone  
Has much of love, but more of grief.  
I know the sound of distant bells,  
Their dying falls and gusty swells ;

That music which the wild gale seizes,  
 And fashions howsoe'er it pleases.  
 And I love the shrill November blast,  
 That through the brown wood hurries fast,  
 And strips its old limbs bare at last;  
 Then whirls the leaves in circling error,  
 As if instinct with life and terror—  
 Now bursting out enough to deafen  
 The very thunder of the heaven;  
 Now sinking dolefully and dreary,  
 Weak as a child of sport a-weary.  
 And after a long night of rain,  
 When the warm sun comes out again,  
 I've heard the myriad-voiced rills,  
 The many tongues of many hills,  
 All gushing forth in new-born glory,  
 Striving each to tell its story—  
 Yet every little brook is known  
 By a voice that is its own,  
     Each exulting in the glee  
     Of its new prosperity.'

Here are some lines in a graver strain, which will at all events find their way to the heart.

‘ REGENERATION.

- ‘ I need a cleansing change within;  
 My life must once again begin.  
 New hope I need; and hope renew'd,  
 And more than human fortitude;  
 New faith, new love, and strength to cast  
 Away the fetters of the past.
- ‘ Ah! why did fabling Poets tell,  
 That Lethe only flows in Hell?  
 As if, in truth, there was no river,  
 Whereby the leper may be clean,  
 But that which flows, and flows for ever,  
 And crawls along, unheard, unseen,  
 Whence brutish spirits, in contagious shoals,  
 Quaff the dull drench of apathetic souls.
- ‘ Ah no! but Lethe flows aloft  
 With lulling murmur, kind and soft  
 As voice which sinners send to heaven,  
 When first they feel their sins forgiven;  
 Its every drop as bright and clear  
 As if indeed it were a tear,  
 Shed by the lovely Magdalen  
 For Him who was despised of men.
- ‘ It is the only fount of bliss  
 In all the human wilderness.

It is the true Bethesda—solely  
 Endued with healing might, and holy :  
 Not once a year, but evermore ;  
 Not one, but all men to restore.'

We must again advert to the noble sonnets: there are about forty of them, each a gem of poetry, perfect in the setting, and relieving each other by their varied character; forming altogether a series sufficient to redeem this beautiful species of poem from the imputation of being a foreigner to our language, or unsuited to English versification. We must make room for two more.

‘ SONNET V.

‘ What was it wakened first the untried ear  
 Of that sole man who was all human kind?  
 Was it the gladsome welcome of the wind,  
 Stirring the leaves that yet were never sere?  
 The four mellifluous streams which flowed so near,  
 Their lulling murmurs all in one combined?  
 The note of bird unnamed? The startled hind  
 Bursting the brake—in wonder, not in fear,  
 Of her new lord? Or did the holy ground  
 Send forth mysterious melody to greet  
 The gracious pressure of immaculate feet?  
 Did viewless seraphs rustle all around,  
 Making sweet music out of air as sweet?  
 Or his own voice awake him with its sound? ’

‘ SONNET XVI.

‘ NOVEMBER.

‘ The mellow year is hasting to its close.  
 The little birds have almost sung their last ;  
 Their small notes twitter in the dreary blast—  
 That shrill-piped harbinger of early snows.  
 The patient beauty of the scentless rose,  
 Oft with the Morn’s hoar chrystal quaintly glass’d,  
 Hangs, a pale mourner for the summer past,  
 And makes a little summer where it grows.  
 In the chill sunbeam of the faint brief day,  
 The dusky waters shudder as they shine ;  
 The russet leaves obstruct the straggling way  
 Of oozy brooks, which no deep banks define,  
 And the gaunt woods, in rugged, scant array,  
 Wrap their old limbs with sombre ivy twine.’

It will be seen that this publication is announced as Vol. I. Should it be favourably received, it is to be shortly followed by another; ‘in which, if no more be accomplished, a higher strain ‘is certainly attempted’. We claim the fulfilment of the promise, and hold the Author to his engagement to endeavour to

excel himself. Let him shake off all that would be a drag upon his honourable ambition, and surprise and rejoice his friends by redeeming the 'time of power' spent

' In idly watering weeds of casual growth,—  
Till wasted energy to desperate sloth  
Declined, and fond self-seeking discontent.'

His brother Derwent is setting him an honourable example.

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Art. IV. 1. *A Theological Dictionary*, containing Definitions of all religious and ecclesiastical Terms ; a comprehensive View of every Article in the System of Divinity ; an impartial Account of all the principal Denominations which have subsisted in the Religious World from the Birth of Christ to the present Day ; together with an accurate statement of the most remarkable Transactions and Events recorded in Ecclesiastical History, and a biographical Sketch of such Writers as have exerted a decided Influence in the field of Theological Science. By the late Rev. Charles Buck. A new and greatly enlarged Edition ; by the Rev. Dr. Henderson, Theological Tutor of Highbury College. 8vo, pp. 945. Price 18s. London, 1833.

2. *A Biblical and Theological Dictionary* : explanatory of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Jews, and neighbouring Nations. With an Account of the most remarkable Places and Persons mentioned in Sacred Scripture ; an Exposition of the principal Doctrines of Christianity ; and Notices of Jewish and Christian Sects and Heresies. By Richard Watson. Royal 8vo., pp. 1068. Price 1l. 5s. London, 1832.

3. *Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible*, by the late Mr. Charles Taylor, with the Fragments incorporated. The whole condensed and arranged in Alphabetical Order ; with numerous additions. Illustrated with Maps and Engravings on Wood. Second Edition. Royal 8vo., pp. 964. Price 1l. 4s. London, 1832.

4. Part I. of an *Encyclopædia Ecclesiastica* ; or a complete History of the Church : containing a full and compendious Explanation of all Ecclesiastical Rites and Ceremonies ; a distinct and accurate Account of all Denominations of Christians, from the earliest Ages to the present Time ; together with a Definition of Terms occurring in Ecclesiastical Writers. By Thomas Anthony Trollope, LL.B. late Fellow of the New College, Oxford, Barrister at Law. 4to., Price 1l. London, 1833.

ALTHOUGH these works contain many features in common, it will be obvious, that they are publications of not precisely similar character. A Biblical Dictionary is a very different thing from a Theological one ; and each of these differs materially from an Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia. Buck's Theological

Dictionary is, indeed, also a Dictionary of Ecclesiastical information. At the time of its original publication, it was quite a desideratum; of which full proof has been offered by its extraordinary sale. Besides six editions in this country, upwards of 50,000 copies have been circulated in the United States of America. Great commendation is due to the diligence of research and general fairness of the original Compiler, which, notwithstanding the subsequent appearance of similar works, have continued to secure for it a very general reception among different sections of the religious public; so that the demand for copies has constantly been on the increase. The Dictionary, however, it must be confessed, stood in urgent need of a thorough revision, to adapt it to the present more advanced state of knowledge, and it admitted, in many respects, of material improvements. We are glad that the task of re-casting the work has been committed to such competent and judicious hands. Dr. Henderson might fairly put in a claim to co-authorship, and he has certainly doubled the value of the Dictionary by his additions and amendments. The extent of these will be learned from the Preface.

‘The present Editor has considerably altered several of the original articles, especially such as related to foreign divinity; the circumstances connected with the different religious establishments in Christendom; the history, views, and usages of the different parties that have seceded from these establishments; the literature of theology; and other subjects of a kindred nature. Several that appeared to be of minor importance he has omitted, in order to make room for the insertion of others, of higher and more general interest. The number of *additional* articles in the present edition amounts to nearly FIVE HUNDRED.

‘One totally new feature of the Work, as it now appears, is its Biographical department. Readers who have not the command of biographical dictionaries, are frequently at a loss in regard to dates, places, and other circumstances connected with the history of divines and others, to whom reference is currently made, both in conversation and in books on religious subjects. Yet, to supply this want within a reasonable compass, has been found to be a matter of no small difficulty. The selection has been regulated by a regard to the prominent station, the literary eminence, or the celebrated character of the individual; and those writers only have been made the subject of biographical notice, who have exerted, to a considerable extent, a decided influence over the religious opinions and practices of certain sections or communities, in the age in which they lived, and in after times. See the articles, AUGUSTINE, BARCLAY, CALVIN, EDWARDS, KNOX, SANDEMAN, WESLEY, WHITFIELD, &c.

‘In preparing the additional articles, the Editor has availed himself of various sources which were not in existence in Mr. Buck’s time, or to which he could not obtain access; and he flatters himself that the extent to which he has carried the improvements will meet the approbation of general readers.’



Mr. Watson's Dictionary, published before his lamented decease, claimed from us earlier notice; but while, on the one hand, we felt it impossible to bestow an unqualified commendation upon a work tinged so strongly with the Author's theological views and prejudices, we were indisposed to engage in polemical criticism in reviewing a dictionary. The work is professedly a compilation from preceding compilations, with the addition of original articles, which it is not always easy to distinguish. Free use has been made of Calmet's Dictionary, of Harris's Natural History of the Bible, and of Buck's Dictionary; it being the plan of the Compiler, to select only the more important articles, and to exclude 'many things of minor importance usually found in similar works,' so as to render his book, as the title indicates, at once a Biblical and a Theological Dictionary. How far this is an improvement, our readers will judge. The chief objection to mixing up articles of natural history, of Scripture geography, of ecclesiastical history, and of theological opinion, under one alphabet, seems to be, that a competent compiler of facts and historical details may not be altogether trustworthy as a guide and authority in points of divinity. Dr. Harris, for instance, whose Scripture Natural History is the best work of the kind extant, would have failed, we suspect, had he set about compiling a dictionary of theological opinions. Such words as Liturgy, Locust, Lollard, Love to God, Lucian, Ludim, Lunatic, Luther, occurring in immediate sequence, not only have an incongruous effect, but require, in order to be properly treated, a combination of talents and acquirements not often united. We admit that the mental qualifications possessed by Mr. Watson for any task he chose to undertake, were of no ordinary kind; and although errors, of which there are not a few, could not be avoided, the compilation is highly respectable.

But, as already intimated, the theology is so decidedly and dogmatically anti-Calvinistic, that the volume must be limited in its sale, as was perhaps contemplated, to persons of the same divinity school as the Author. The articles 'Calvin' and 'Calvinism' exhibit a warmth of manner which we were not prepared to find in a person of Mr. Watson's philosophical temperament. 'The man,' he says in one place, 'who asserts the contrary to this, and who has *the hardihood to deny* the Melancthonian origin of the Articles and Liturgy'—what then?—'discovers at once his want of correct information on these subjects, and has never read' Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, and the publications of Todd, Kipling, and Winchester!! Now it were easy to prove that Mr. Watson was deplorably deficient in correct information on these subjects, and to surmise that he had never read some works much better worth reading than these; but we would not have imputed 'hardihood'

to his assertions, because this word would convey the idea of something very much like wilful mis-statement, and would imply, too, the party's possessing the very information in which he is supposed to be deficient. We should be led to suspect that Mr. Watson had not even read Bishop Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles.

We must remark, by the way, that the article 'Calvinists,' in this new edition of Buck's Theological Dictionary, is utterly unsatisfactory: it is very defective, and not quite accurate. We have not at hand a copy of the previous edition, and cannot, therefore, ascertain the extent of the variations. We suspect, however, that Dr. Henderson has felt himself restrained from making all the alterations which would have seemed to himself desirable, lest too little should be left of the original work to identify it. Surely such words as Persuasion, Peterobrussian, Petition, Petrojoannite, which occur in one page, or Immensity, Immorality, Impeccabiles, Impostors, Intrepidity, &c., were not worth retaining: the articles are perfectly trivial. Still more superfluous or absurd are the articles Lifters, Mirth, Marrow-men, Rogereens, &c. We should recommend copious expurgations in a new edition. As far as we have been able to examine the volume, great attention has been paid to accuracy by the present Editor. We have observed only a few errors. Under 'Creed, Nicene,' for 'second general council of Constantinople,' it should read, second general council, *at* Constantinople; the latter being held 170 years after the former. Under the word 'Canon', use has been made of Dr. Alexander's recent work; but we are surprised that the statement should have been suffered to pass, that the book of Malachi was inserted in the sacred volume by Ezra, who is made to have completed the canon, which includes a book (Nehemiah) written a hundred years after his death. Under 'Ishmaelites,' the old blunder which renders *Sheikh el Jebel*, old man of the mountain, ought not to have been perpetuated: it would be just as proper to translate alderman, *viellard*. That the Paulicians were called '*Gathari* or *Gazari*, from Gazaria or the Lesser 'Tartary,' is a piece of information perfectly new to us, and for which we presume we are indebted to Mr. Buck, not to the learned Editor. We were aware of their being denominated *Cathari* or Puritans; but we did not know that such a country as Gazaria existed, or that Armenia, the original country of the Paulicians, was in Tartary.

We know, however, by experience, what sort of task the compiling, or even editing of a Dictionary is; and we beg to be understood as not invidiously pointing out these few errors as specimens of the work in which they are found. The Dictionary, as improved by Dr. Henderson, will be found a very useful book of reference, containing a great mass of information, temperate and

orthodox in its theology, while the biographical articles add greatly to the value of the work.

Calmet's Dictionary is so well known, that we have only to notice the cheap and beautifully printed form in which it is here given to the public, with the substance of the Fragments incorporated in one alphabet. We noticed the first Number of this edition on its first appearance, and have only to repeat our warm commendation of the manner in which editor, printer, and publishers have performed their respective part in condensing five quarto volumes into a single large octavo. It is a volume which no Biblical student will be content to be without, unless he is able to make himself possessor of the complete work.

Of Mr. Trollope's *Encyclopædia Ecclesiastica*, we have at present before us only Part I., which ends with the word *Burial*. The whole work is to extend to four volumes 4to., which will cost about 8*l*. As far as we have been able to examine this specimen, we have pleasure in reporting that it appears to be prepared with great care, competent ability, and laudable impartiality. The work is to be published by subscription; and from the names of right honourables and right reverends which grace the list, we hope that the Author will meet with sufficient encouragement to proceed in his labours. There is room for such a work, although the price will put it far out of the reach of poor students. We question the utility of swelling out the volumes with such articles as *Bacantibi*, *Bagnolians*, *Ballimathiæ*, *Barbeliotæ*, *Barules*, *Bumicilli*, &c. By thus converting temporary nicknames into specific appellations, it would be easy to multiply any sect into a score. The article *Assassin* is very faulty: the sect took their name from their leader *Hassan*. The account of editions of the Bible, taken from *Short's Sketch*, is also inaccurate on several points.

Art. VI. *Journals of Excursions in the Alps*: the Pennine, Graian, Cottian, Rhetian, Lepontian, and Bernese. By William Brockedon, Author of "*Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps*." 12mo, pp. xiv. 376, Map. Price 10*s*. 6*d*. London, 1833.

**M**R. BROCKEDON and Mr. Latrobe are, we presume, better acquainted, by personal inspection, with the topography of the Alps, than any other English or European travellers. At least, they have made us better acquainted with them, and thrown more light upon Alpine history and geography, the one by the magic of the pencil, the other by the feats of his alpenstock, than all preceding travellers put together. To Mr. Latrobe we are more especially indebted for the best description

of the Tyrolese Alps. Mr. Brockedon (of whose larger work an account was given in the fourth volume of our present series) has traversed the Alps no fewer than sixty times, and explored more than thirty different routes. The present volume comprises the 'personal narrative' of his various excursions, from the notes of which the text was formed that accompanies his graphic 'Illustrations;' thrown into a shape adapted as well to direct the actual tourist, as to furnish amusement to the fire-side traveller.

Previously to the first of the two excursions narrated in this volume, Mr. B. had crossed the Alps by the Simplon route in 1821, and repassed them in the following year by the Brenner. In July, 1824, he started again on a journey of discovery, in search of Hannibal's route, and repaired direct to the foot of Mont Blanc at Chamouny; whence he crossed, by the Col de Vosa, the Col de Gauche, and the Col de la Seigne, to Courmayeur, and descended with the Doria Baltea to Aosta. After exploring the picturesque lake scenery of Piedmont and Lombardy, and visiting Milan and Turin, our Tourist turned up into the Cottian Alps, by the valley of the Clusone, and crossed the Col de Sestrières and Mont Genève to Briançon in Dauphiny. This route, the ancient *Saltus Taurinus*, was to have been part of Napoleon's intended *route d'Espagne en Italie*. From Briançon, Mr. Brockedon proceeded by the valleys of the Guisanne and the Romanche, and the intermediate Col de Lautaret, to Grenoble. Thence he ascended the valley of the Isère to Montmélian, in Savoy; and, entering the Tarentaise, crossed the Graian Alp in the track of Hannibal, by the pass of the Little St. Bernard, which conducted him again to Aosta. From this place, he ascended the pass of the Great St. Bernard, and by that well-known route reached Martigny in the Valais, Geneva, and Paris.

The second excursion, in the summer of 1825, commenced with a journey to Lyons and Chambery, and the passage of Mont Cenis to Susa and Turin. Mr. B. then turned again into the Alps by the Val d'Aosta; from Chatillon, he ascended Mount Cervin by the Val Tournanche, and descended, by Zermatt and St. Nicolas, to Visp in the valley of the Rhone. Thence he crossed Mount Moro to Macugnaga, in the valley of the Anza, at the foot of Monte Rosa; a route but little known, but one of the most picturesque and interesting in the Alps. After visiting the lakes of Lugano and Como, our indefatigable Tourist proceeded by the new route of the Splügen to the capital of the Grisons, and Wallenstadt. Returning to Coire, he then ascended the pass of the St. Bernardin, and, by the Val Misocco and Val Levantina, reached Bellinzona and Locarno. The next excursion was across the St. Gothard to the Val Ursern and the lake of

Lucerne; whence Mr. B. found his way by the Grimsel and the Gries to Duomo d'Ossola, and by the Simplon to Brieg, Lausanne, and—home.

Having given this brief report of the route of the two excursions, which will serve as a general index to the volume, nothing remains but to offer a few samples of the scenery they afford, and of the Writer's power of making it intelligible to the mind through a different medium than that by which his pencil has already familiarized to us some few of the more striking combinations. The ascent of the Col de la Seigne, between Chamouny and Courmayeur, affords a pleasing specimen.

‘ Our route lay up the valley of the torrent which rises in the Glacier *del Oratoire*, on the south-east side of Mont Blanc. The path was rugged and difficult. No living sound was heard, except that of the marmot, whose shrill whistle occasionally disturbed the deep sense of solitude with which the mind of the traveller is oppressed in his first visit to these Alpine regions. Yet, there was a spirit, a vivacity excited by the cool freshness of the morning and the purity of the air that we breathed in, which is never felt in the same degree out of the mountains.

‘ In about two hours we reached, by a rugged and difficult path, the *Hameau de Glacier*, and, soon after, the *châlets* of Motet. From these *châlets*, the ascent to the Col de la Seigne is very steep and fatiguing; and in one place, the idea of danger was strongly excited by our guide, who lay on his back towards the mountain slope, where a very narrow path skirted a precipice, and held our coats until the mules were beyond the point of danger. The path was slippery, from the wet and loose slate of which it was composed; but the precaution was appalling, and, I think, unnecessary; though we certainly could not see the bottom of the valley immediately beneath us as we passed this spot.

‘ After ascending about an hour and a half from Motet, we attained the summit of the Col de la Seigne, about 8000 feet, where an alpine view of extraordinary magnificence burst upon us. We looked upon Mont Blanc, and along the course of the valleys which divide Piemont from the Valais, and extend nearly thirty miles on the eastern side of its enormous mass, through the Allée Blanche, the Val Veni, and the Val d'Entrèves, to the Col de Ferret. Two immense pyramids of rugged rock rear from the valley their scathed heads, and appear like guards to the “monarch of mountains;” beyond and below them lay the little lake of Combal, whence issues one of the sources of the Doira Baltea; and down the sides of Mont Blanc appeared to stream the glaciers of the Allée Blanche and the Miage; whilst the distant peaks which overhang the western side of this long valley or valleys (for different portions of it, from the Col de la Seigne to the Col de Ferret, bear different names) give a peculiarly grand and severe aspect to the scene: among these the Géant and the Grand Jorasse are distinguished. The eastern side of the valley is formed by the Cramont, and a range of mountains which extend to the Col de

Ferret, and terminate the vista in Mont Velan, and the masses which surround the pass of the Great St. Bernard. The summit of Mont Blanc was occasionally enveloped in clouds, and the changes which these produced upon the scene, were often strikingly beautiful. Most travellers, whose expectations have been formed upon the descriptions in guide-books, are led to believe that the eastern side of Mont Blanc is one vast precipice, from the summit down to the Allée Blanche: it is certainly much more abrupt than towards the vale of Chamouny; but no such anticipation will be realised in the magnificent view from the Col de la Seigne.

‘ From this col, leading across the great chain of the Alps, we began our descent over some beds of perpetual snow, which, lying on the northern side of the pass, remain unmelted. Though steep, these are not dangerous, as the feet sink two or three inches, and give firmness to the step. Scarcely any melting takes place on the surface of the snow, unless where the soil has been washed over, or fallen so as to cover it. Generally, the snow melts below, in contact with the earth; and this is one of the causes of avalanches, where the mass which slips acquires momentum enough to rush on. Caution is generally necessary near the edges of these beds of snow, where it is thin, lest the traveller should sink through, perhaps two or three feet. After a tedious descent to the first pasturage, at the base of the two immense pyramids which formed so striking a feature from the summit, we sat down upon the short and soft grass of the pasturage of the châteaux of the Allée Blanche, to rest the mules and ourselves, and took refreshment, which we had brought with us. The life and spirit of such enjoyment as this is only known to alpine travellers. The sward around us was enamelled with beautiful flowers: of these, the broad patches of the deep blue gentian were the richest in colour; the alpine ranunculus, and a hundred other varieties, embellished the place where we rested; being surrounded by, and in the immediate vicinity of, the loftiest mountains in Europe.’ pp. 31—34.

Selection is sometimes a perplexing task; but we think that the Author himself will be pleased with our giving a preference to his favourite Anzascans, whose beautiful valley draws from him the highest expression of satisfaction that a true *Devonian* could employ;—it reminded him, where, from its depth, the lofty mountains were concealed from view, ‘of some of the sweetest scenes of Devonshire.’

‘ Extensive forests of chestnut and walnut-trees, fine in form and rich in colour, clothed the hills as far up as the eye could perceive them, (except where lofty and distant mountains peered above,) and descended far beneath the traveller’s path, to where it met the opposite slope, scarcely appearing to leave room enough for the river to struggle through, and of which glimpses were rarely caught. This was the general character of the valley. From a chapel at Cimamorga, in the road near Ceppo Morelli, there is a very striking view: in it all the beautiful characteristics of the scenery seemed to be assembled—the river far beneath struggling through its narrow bed; the ma-



jestic forests, which clothed the mountain sides, among which was sometimes seen a village church or group of cottages ; and the vista towards the Alps terminated by the vast and beautiful peaks of Mont Rosa.

‘ I was much struck by the appearance of the inhabitants of this valley. I rarely saw a plain woman : their beautiful faces and fine forms, their look of cheerfulness and independence, and, what in Piemont was more remarkable, their extreme cleanliness, continually arrested attention. Their costume was peculiar, but pleasing : the hair braided ; a vest fitted to the form, and buttoned high, over which was another, usually embroidered and left open ; beneath, a silk or other cincture round the waist, and a petticoat reaching half-way down the legs : the feet generally bare ; the sleeves of the chemise loose, full, and white as the snow of their mountains ; with faces, hands, and feet, cleaner than those of any other peasantry that I ever saw. Sometimes I observed a loose coat, like that of the modern Greek, worn over their usual dress, as if going on a distant visit. Naked feet are rarely seen without the concomitants of filth and beggary, and among such persons a large proportion of the *gummy* ; but here the feet, ancles, and legs, were models for the artist : and my admiration as a painter was demanded, in observing the elegant form and graceful appearance of one particularly beautiful young girl, near St. Carlo, who was bearing a vessel of oil on her head to the mines. All this I suppose will appear rodomontade to those who are only acquainted with the ugliness, filth, and wretchedness of the general inhabitants of the valleys of Piemont ; but another fact will support the claims of the Anzascans to distinguished superiority. I did not see nor hear of a *goître* or *crétin* in my day’s journey of twenty-five miles through the valley—a strong confirmation of the opinions always given to my inquiries by mountaineers themselves, that the filthy habits of a people are the primary cause of *goîtres* and *crétinism* ; it is thus induced in the community of those afflicted by the dreadful scourge, becomes hereditary, and can only be removed by a change of habits in two or three generations. This valley differs not in the local causes, often cited as productive of *crétinism*, from other valleys which are marked by this scourge. The waters of the Anza flow from the glaciers of Mont Rosa as those of the Doire descend from Mont Blanc, and both are drank by the inhabitants. The proportions of labour, and burdens borne, are at least equal to the Val Anzasca ; the degree of elevation and moisture is similar ; and it is parallel with those valleys which are the most remarkable for this curse, the Valais and the Val d’Aosta.

‘ The Anzascans are aware that they have a reputation for cleanliness and beauty, and they are justly proud of it. Whilst I was taking refreshment at Vanzone, the principal town in the valley, I mentioned to the innkeeper (rather, a sort of keeper of a chandler’s shop) the impression which the people of the valley had made upon me. He seemed delighted at my having noticed the fine women and their cleanliness, and said that what I had seen was not sufficient to do them justice : “ Come,” said he, “ into our valley at a festa ; see our women on Sunday next at St. Carlo, the village below there,

which you see in the valley ; all the world will be there : in Upper Val Sesia they boast of their women, but they are not to be compared to ours." I spoke again of their cleanliness ; he said, " Our women pride themselves upon the quantity, the fineness, and, above all, the whiteness of their linen ; and they are so scrupulously clean in their persons, that (I must use his own energetic expression) *il est plus facile de trouver une mouche blanche dans cette vallée qu'une vermine.*" I had not observed any beggars in the valley ; and there was no appearance of poverty : mine host said, that the great industry of the Anzascan enabled them to establish funds for their poor, which prevented their wants, and restrained their begging. Those who could not work were assisted, and those who could, were not permitted to be idle.' pp. 256—259.

Mr. Brockedon's narrative is written in a style extremely pleasing, and the more so from being perfectly unaffected. There is no attempt at fine writing, nor at the embellishments of dramatic adventure or 'hair-breadth 'scapes.' He was so fortunate, or so unfortunate, as to encounter no bandits, no worse thieves than extortionate landladies, insolent douaniers, or petty pilferers, and to meet with nothing that could be manufactured into a tragic or sentimental story. Scrambling over the Alps is, however, under some circumstances, no joke ; and we scarcely envy the Author his journey over Mont Cervin, as described in the following paragraphs.

' We proceeded, over a wet, loose, and fatiguing path, to a great elevation, whence the surrounding scene of snow, scathed peaks, and sterility, was most sublime. When we had attained the extreme height of this loose and dangerous ascent, with clouds, glaciers, and even mountains, beneath our feet, we entered upon the fresh snow over the glaciers. We were the first to pass after the storm, and we sunk knee-deep in the snow at every step. One of my guides walked a-head, searching with a long baton for crevices ; we slipped occasionally into small ones concealed by the snow, and sunk to the middle, but we scrambled out, sometimes with, sometimes without assistance. The most fatiguing part of a walk over deep snow arises from the jerking consolidation beneath the feet, particularly in the ascent : where the leg was first placed in walking, it sunk to a certain depth ; in advancing the body on that leg, it sunk deeper, with a violent and fatiguing jerk. The sun, when he shone upon us, poured down with excessive fervency. During the entire pass, I did not once feel it cold, though sometimes we were so entirely enveloped in clouds that we could not distinguish the small sticks which had been put up to point out dangerous situations, or to direct the passengers to straight lines from point to point. When we encountered two such sticks, it indicated a bridge of ice across a crevice, which required great caution. We were above five hours on the glaciers, of which the ascent employed about three and a half. On attaining the summit, I was disappointed in finding little trace of the chalet of Saussure, or of the place it was described, free from snow. There is a vast ac-

cumulation of rocks on the summit, with the sides too steep to retain the snow; it is probable, also, that the unfavourable circumstances under which I passed it might have been an exception to its general appearance and character. The changes of weather at this great height, above 11,000 English feet, are inconceivably sudden; at one time, when the sun shone out, we observed the vast mountains of Mont Rosa, and their enormous glaciers—the valleys beneath our feet sinking into indistinctness—the Bernese Alps, beyond the Valais, and, more striking than any other object, the beautiful pyramid of the Mont Cervin, springing 5000 feet from its bed of glaciers—all burst upon the eye at once with unimagined effect and grandeur. In five minutes a change came o'er the scene; and all was concealed—the spot upon which we stood appeared a white circle, its outline blending at a short distance with the clouds—and we were alone, without an object visible beyond the circle.

‘I had felt severely the extreme rarity of the air in ascending, seldom advancing twenty steps without resting; the angle of ascent, too, in some places was considerable. Once, when I was gasping, the guide roused me by, “*Courage, monsieur! personne reste ici sans mourant.*” I exerted myself, stopping frequently; but when the highest point was attained, felt perfectly free in breathing. I observed a great number of flies on the snow, even at the greatest elevation, where they must have sunk in their high and long flight, for some were torpid. Many were curious in form, and beautiful in colour. I saw, also, on the snow and confines of the glaciers, large flights of snow-birds. I could not help thinking of Dr. Johnson’s comment upon the crow in the Highlands.

‘On attaining the summit, we prepared, in high spirits, to take some bread and wine and eggs, which Pension the guide had wisely brought from Val Tournanche: the new guide, Maynot, began an amusing account of the passage of Hannibal by the Mont Cervin. The remains of an old redoubt, built by the Valaisans, which it was very difficult to trace, my learned guide said was raised by the Carthaginian general, and quoted Tite Live and Polybe as authority. But before I could receive either this mental or our corporeal food, a sudden change in the weather occurred: the snow began to fall thickly, and whirl in alarming eddies round us. My guides hastily packed up, and, dreading the *tourmente*, started down the Swiss side of the mountain with great rapidity, sinking deeply in the snow at each step, but without much fatigue, and affording enjoyment enough to raise shouts of laughter as one or the other rolled over. I had put on a mask of gauze, with which I had provided myself in ascending: I was glad to employ it against the painful reflection of the snow: it was equally useful to protect the face from the fine hard particles of snow during the *tourmente*. In descending, an enormous rent in the ice was shewn to me; the consequence of the breaking of the glaciers last year, when I was prevented from proceeding this way. A merchant and his horse sunk for ever in it in crossing, and, say the guides, with 10,000 francs in his possession. We soon descended into fine weather, and, from the bottom of the glacier, after having been five hours upon it, I enjoyed a splendid view of the Cervin—it is from the

Swiss side that it is seen to the greatest advantage. I made a sketch at a fortunate moment, when it was perfectly clear; I had not removed fifty steps from the spot where I drew it, when the mountain appeared to wrap itself in clouds with such sudden concealment, that even my guide was struck with it, and called my attention to the fact.' pp. 230—234.

Among minor annoyances, was that of having violence done to all poetic associations, and the ear offended, by such sounds as these in the hospice on the summit of the Great St. Bernard: 'Miss, I'll thankee to an my Selina a bit of that 'ere.' And yet, though the vulgarity might offend, an Englishman might be proud that even his cockney countrymen should conceive the wish, and be able to gratify it, to cross the Alps. With more reason our Traveller complains of the 'unconquerable sheepishness and restraining pride' of English travellers. They are, probably, the only people who, meeting their countrymen in a strange country, would pass without speaking to each other, or any exchange of civilities. Such anecdotes as the following, however, may tend to put the most fastidious Englishman in temper with his country. The fort of Fenestrelles, which commands the valley of the Clusone, is now employed by the Sardinian Government as a state prison.

'Several of the carbonari of Piemont are confined here: it is also the prison of that villain Mingrat, the curé of St. Quentin's, (Isère,) who, after murdering, with circumstances of horrible aggravation, a woman, one of his parishoners, fled from justice, and escaping across the frontiers, felt himself safe in Piemont, where the clergy never suffer publicly for their crimes: he is now kept in the fort of Fenestrelles, rather for protection than punishment. Our guide, upon hearing me relate the affair of St. Quentin's, confirmed the report of the practice of this infamous injustice. He said, that recently, near Caluso, a traveller was left for dead by a brigand who had stopped and robbed him; the poor victim was, however, taken up and cured of his wounds. On entering the church to make acknowledgment for the mercy of his life spared, he saw, in the priest officiating at mass, his murderer. He immediately went out and gave information to proper authorities, who cautioned him of the danger of charging a priest with the crime; he was positive, and stated that he had some money about him when he was robbed, curiously marked, which he described. After the service, the priest was arrested—beneath his canonicals was the very dress in which he had made the attack, and the marked money, which he had been afraid to pass, was found upon him. The priest was ordered into confinement, but neither publicly tried nor punished.' pp. 92—93.

At La Grave, on the Dauphiny side of the Col de Lautaret, 'the winters are so severe, that the inhabitants sometimes find it impossible to break the ground for burying their dead, at that season, and they suspend their bodies in the granaries until the succeeding spring.'

These specimens of the entertaining contents of our Author's journal will sufficiently commend the volume to our readers; but we must make room for the following account of a terrific catastrophe which occurred in the Valais in the year 1818; taken from a paper, by M. Escher de Lenth, in the *Bibl. Univ. de Genève*, tom. viii.

‘ In the spring of 1818, the people of the Valley of Bagnes became alarmed on observing the low state of the waters of the Drance, at a season when the melting of the snows usually enlarged the torrent; and this alarm was increased by the records of similar appearances before the dreadful inundation of 1595, which was then occasioned by the accumulation of the waters behind the débris of a glacier that formed a dam, which remained until the pressure of the water burst the dike, and it rushed through the valley, leaving desolation in its course.

‘ In April 1818, some persons went up the valley to ascertain the cause of the deficiency of water, and they discovered that vast masses of the glaciers of Getroz, and avalanches of snow, had fallen into a narrow part of the valley, between Mont Pleureur and Mont Mauvoisin, and formed a dike of ice and snow 600 feet wide and 400 feet high, on a base of 3000 feet, behind which the waters of the Drance had accumulated, and formed a lake above 7000 feet long. M. Venetz, the engineer of the Valais, was consulted, and he immediately decided upon cutting a gallery through this barrier of ice, 60 feet above the level of the water at the time of commencing, and where the dike was 600 feet thick. He calculated upon making a tunnel through this mass before the water should have risen 60 feet higher in the lake. On the 10th of May, the work was begun by gangs of fifty men, who relieved each other, and worked, without intermission, day and night, with inconceivable courage and perseverance, neither deterred by the daily occurring danger from the falling of fresh masses of the glacier, nor by the rapid increase of the water in the lake, which rose sixty-two feet in thirty-four days—on an average, nearly two feet each day; but it once rose five feet in one day, and threatened each moment to burst the dike by its increasing pressure; or, rising in a more rapid proportion than the men could proceed with their work, render their efforts abortive, by rising above them. Sometimes dreadful noises were heard, as the pressure of the water detached masses of ice from the bottom, which floating, presented so much of their bulk above the water, as led to the belief that some of them were seventy feet thick. The men persevered in their fearful duty without any serious accident; and though suffering severely from cold and wet, and surrounded by dangers which cannot be justly described, by the 4th of June they had accomplished an opening 600 feet long; but having begun their work on both sides of the dike at the same time, the place where they ought to have met was twenty feet lower on the side of the lake than on the other: it was fortunate that latterly the increase of perpendicular height of the water was less, owing to the extension of its surface. They proceeded to level the highest side of

the tunnel, and completed it just before the water reached them. On the evening of the 13th the water began to flow. At first, the opening was not large enough to carry off the supplies of water which the lake received, and it rose two feet above the tunnel; but this soon enlarged from the action of the water, as it melted the floor of the gallery, and the torrent rushed through. In thirty-two hours the lake sunk ten feet, and during the following twenty-four hours twenty feet more: in a few days it would have been emptied; for the floor melting, and being driven off as the water escaped, kept itself below the level of the water within; but the cataract which issued from the gallery melted, and broke up also a large portion of the base of the dike, which had served as its buttress; its resistance decreased faster than the pressure of the lake lessened, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th of June the dike burst, and in half an hour the water escaped through the breach, and left the lake empty.

'The greatest accumulation of water had been 800,000,000 of cubic feet; the tunnel, before the disruption, had carried off nearly 330,000,000—Escher says, 270,000,000; but he neglected to add 60,000,000 which flowed into the lake in three days. In half an hour, 530,000,000 cubic feet of water passed through the breach, or 300,000 feet per second; which is five times greater in quantity than the waters of the Rhine at Basle, where it is 1300 English feet wide. In one hour and a half the water reached Martigny, a distance of eight leagues. Through the first 70,000 feet it passed with the velocity of thirty-three feet per second—four or five times faster than the most rapid river known; yet it was charged with ice, rocks, earth, trees, houses, cattle, and men; thirty-four persons were lost, four hundred cottages swept away, and the damage done in the two hours of its desolating power exceeded a million of Swiss livres. All the people of the valley had been cautioned against the danger of a sudden irruption; yet it was fatal to so many. All the bridges in its course were swept away, and among them the bridge of Mauvoisin, which was elevated ninety feet above the ordinary height of the Drance. If the dike had remained untouched, and it could have endured the pressure until the lake had reached the level of its top, a volume of 1,700,000,000 cubic feet of water would have been accumulated there, and a devastation much more fatal and extensive must have been the consequence. From this great danger the people of the valley of the Drance were preserved by the heroism and devotion of the brave men who effected the formation of the gallery in the dike, under the direction of M. Venetz. I know no instance on record of courage equal to this: their risk of life was not for fame or for riches—they had not the usual excitements to personal risk, in a world's applause or gazetted promotion,—their devoted courage was to save the lives and property of their fellow-men, not to destroy them. They steadily and heroically persevered in their labours, amidst dangers such as a field of battle never presented, and from which some of the bravest brutes that ever lived would have shrunk in dismay. These truly brave Valaisans deserve all honour!' pp. 170—175.



**Art. VII. *The Chronology of History*, containing Tables, Calculations, and Statements indispensable for ascertaining the Dates of Historical Events, and of public and private Documents, from the earliest Periods to the present Time. By Sir Harris Nicolas, K.C.M.G. (*Lardner's Cyclopædia*, Vol. XLIV.) Fcap. 8vo. Price 6s. London, 1833.**

**T**HE manner in which the Editor and Publishers of this Cyclopædia are exerting themselves, not simply to keep faith with the public, but to render the series in all respects deserving of permanent reputation as well as extensive sale, deserves the very warmest encomium. We have been unable to keep pace with the publication, and regret exceedingly not having, before this, reviewed several of the volumes which claim an extended notice. Among these, we may particularize Mr. Stebbing's Church History, of which we hope very speedily to give an account; Sir John Herschel's elegant and valuable treatise on Astronomy; Dr. Lardner's highly entertaining evolution of 'Heat', and the sequel to the excellent history of Spain and Portugal, already noticed in our pages.

We have selected the present volume of the series, not merely as being the last in order of publication, but as it admits of a brief but emphatic notice, without being *read*; for, to us Reviewers, especially in this melting weather, the hardest part of our toil is that from which we cannot honestly discharge ourselves—the reading. But this is a book not designed to be read, any more than an Index, or a Catalogue, or the Nautical Almanack; and yet no reader ought to be without it. It is, indeed, a general index to history, a calendar of calendars, a universal chronometer by which all historical repeaters may be regulated, a glossary of all dates, and a key to all eras; in short, an apparatus for ascertaining the longitude and latitude of every important fact on the face of history. The labour which its compilation must have cost, is such as could have been submitted to, one would imagine, by no one but an amateur antiquary, or a strong lover of facts and dates, who had been annoyed beyond patience by the inaccuracies of his predecessors, and who set about the task of verification *con amore*. By how much we should have been sorry to undertake the work, by so much do we feel under personal obligation to Sir Harris Nicolas for putting us into possession of such a convenient and valuable 'hand-book of History'. The occasion and room there was for such a work, may be inferred from this curious fact among others; that 'every Table of the Regnal Tables of our Sovereigns, before printed, is erroneous, not in one or two reigns only, but in nearly every reign from the time of William the Conqueror to that of Edward IV.'; and what is more, those Tables are shewn to have been formed

upon a mistaken principle, the reigns of the early sovereigns not having actually commenced till the day of their coronation. The existing law is different, and it has become a constitutional axiom, that 'the king never dies'. But this 'is not in accordance', Sir Harris remarks, 'with that *ancient constitution* which some individuals consider as the unerring standard of political excellence !'

The plan and contents of this useful volume shall be described in the Author's own words.

'Every historical and antiquarian writer and student must have felt the want of a book of reference, which, in the last century, would have obtained the appropriate name of a "Companion" or "Vade Mecum," from its containing such information as was constantly and indispensably necessary for their pursuits. Besides explanations and Tables for calculating the different Eras and the Dates which are to be found in writers of the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, a full explanation is given of the Old and New Style ; a subject which it is no exaggeration to say is so little understood, as often to render the manner of writing the years according to both styles, thus, 167 $\frac{2}{3}$ , 168 $\frac{4}{5}$ , or 1672-3, 1684-5, &c. productive of embarrassment in persons of the profoundest and most elegant attainments. The various modes in different countries, and, indeed, in the same country, and in the same century, of commencing the year, from Christmas, from the 1st of January, from the 25th of March, or from Easter, often cause perplexity, and, like mistakes in the regnal years, if not carefully attended to, become sources of error to the extent of one entire year in computation. The Calendars of Religious Sects are frequently required ; whilst the Calendar invented during the French Revolution, and which was used in France for fourteen years, must be in the hands of those who refer to any letters or public documents written in that period ; for "the 4th Germinal in the year of the Republic 9" is as little likely to be generally comprehended by the next generation as the date of an edict of the emperor of China. The Glossary of Terms used by ecclesiastics in the middle ages, who describe a day by the "introit," or commencement of the service appointed by the church to be performed thereon, and an explanation of the Canonical Hours, Watches, &c. will frequently be found useful.

'From the constant allusion by historians to the Councils, and the great influence which the Pontiffs exercised over the affairs of Europe, Chronological and Alphabetical Lists of both were very desirable in a work of this nature. Tables of the Succession of the Saxon and Scottish Kings, and of Contemporary Sovereigns ; of the commencement and termination of the Law Terms, which varied in different centuries ; and of the three great Pestilences, which formed epochs for dating instruments in the reign of Edward III., seemed also to be among the most common subjects of historical reference. The confined limits of one volume do not admit of the introduction of various other information which is often required for this purpose ; among which a complete List of the Lord Chancellors and Bishops of England,

and of the great Officers of the Crown, the dates of the most celebrated battles, of the meetings, prorogations and dissolutions of Parliaments, and a succinct genealogical account of all the Royal families of Europe, may be considered the most desirable, and which the Author trusts to find some future opportunity of giving to the public. The delay is, however, in one respect useful, inasmuch as the national archives present many corrections for the catalogues of Bishops in Godwin and Le Neve; and a perfect series of the Chancellors has never yet been compiled. The records of the delivery of the Great Seal are most minute, and often contain interesting historical statements; which circumstance, and the obvious utility of a correct list of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers, have induced the Secretary to the Record Commission, whose zeal for the promotion of historical knowledge induces him promptly to adopt any useful suggestion, to order these entries to be transcribed for publication. Upon the authorities on which this work has been written, it is only necessary to observe, that no source of information has been neglected; and that, in most instances, those sources are pointed out. “*L’Art de vérifier les Dates*,” and “*De Vaines. Dictionnaire Raisonné de Diplomatique*,” have, as might be expected, been most frequently consulted; and no labour has been spared to render the volume, what the Germans would term, and which, if our language admitted of the expression, would have been the fittest title for it, “*THE HAND-BOOK OF HISTORY*.”

pp. xvi.—xix.

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- Art. VIII. *Report on King’s Printers’ Patents.* Reprinted by J. R. and C. Childs. 1s. 6d. 1833.

ON the third of July, 1831, a select Committee was appointed by the House of Commons, ‘to inquire into the nature and extent of the King’s Printers’ Patents in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the Authority under which they have acted and now act, and how far they have been beneficial to the Government or to the Country, and whether proper to be continued; also, to ascertain the effect of any Drawback now allowed on Paper used by the King’s Printers or in the Universities; also, to inquire whether the Printing for both Houses of Parliament can be effected with greater economy; and to report to the House their Observations and Opinion thereupon, together with the Minutes of evidence taken before them.’ On the 8th of August, 1832, the Committee made their ‘Report’ to the House, but without any recommendation of measures in correction of abuses which the examination devolved upon them might be supposed to assume as existing, and without any details of observations or opinions to shew the nature and extent of the impressions made upon the members of the Committee by the evidence laid before them. The importance of the Inquiry will, at first sight, be perceived by every one who is acquainted with the monopoly to which it relates; and there are circumstances which,

independently of its bearings on the public finances, give it an interest at the present time. Instruction should be administered to the people of a country in the most unexpensive forms; and especially should religious instruction be imparted in the freest and most unrestricted manner. The Bible is the necessary means of conveying Christian principles, and its circulation is inseparably connected with the diffusion of them. It will ever be in increasing demand as the work of religious instruction is progressive. It therefore becomes a question of great moment, whether any circumstances affecting the printing and sale of the Bible be preventive of its more extensive use; and, if there should be such, and they should be found to operate in this manner, to consider in what way the hinderances to a larger and freer circulation may be removed. Now, in whatever light we may for other purposes look at the evidence and opinions collected in this 'Report', the fact, that no persons but a very few privileged ones are allowed to print Bibles in this country, and that all persons wanting to purchase Bibles are compelled to purchase them from particular vendors, who have the exclusive privilege of preparing them, is one which, every body must be sensible, is intimately connected with the question of the circulation of the Scriptures. The Bible may, in consequence of the restriction under which it is as a book produced, be sold at a cheaper rate than otherwise it could be obtained. But it is necessary to examine the restrictive laws, and to look to their modes of operation, in order that we may learn the reasons and tendencies of them, and may not be left under such misapprehensions of them as to suspect them of mischievous working, when, by possibility, they may be the very means which we should approve as before all others, for the accomplishment of our purposes. If, on the other hand, the privilege should be favourable to nothing so much as to the interests of those who possess it, and render the advantages held by them a grievance to others, as taxing them by compelling the payment of a higher price for the Bibles which they vend, than they might be charged by other dealers competing with them, it is necessary not only that this should be known, but that the interest of the community should be regarded, and the benefit be secured to them to which they are entitled.

In this view, the 'Report' is of great importance, and should be consulted by every friend to the circulation of the Bible. The British and Foreign Bible Society have paid, during the last three years, for Bibles and Testaments in the languages of Great Britain and Ireland, 158,858*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In this amount, the price of binding is included, which may probably be reckoned at about 28,000*l.*; and on this calculation, the outlay of the Society will be more than 130,000*l.* for the three years, in purchase of Bibles and Testaments, from printers in possession of exclusive privileges.

If the monopoly enhances the price of Bibles and Testaments beyond the value which an unrestricted competition would be the means of fixing upon them, the funds of the Society are necessarily depressed to the extent of the difference. If we suppose this difference to be 10 per cent., (some estimates make it twice, and others three times as much,) we shall then have 13,000*l.* paid by the Society for Bibles and Testaments in three years, over and above the sums which may be described as necessary for the purchase of copies of the Scriptures. The existence and operation of the King's Printers' patents, are thus shewn to be subjects, not only of proper, but of important and necessary attention. We are anxious that they should come under the consideration of the public, because we feel quite confident that a beneficial result will be the consequence of a fair inquiry into their merits. King's Printers, indeed, hold their office as derived from the royal prerogative; but that they are public functionaries, cannot be doubted. In this light the House of Commons have considered them, in instructing and empowering their Committee to inquire 'how far they have been beneficial to the Government or to the Country.' We shall therefore calmly and patiently look into the subject. On such a question, declamatory invective could answer no good purpose.

*Andrew Spottiswoode, Esq.,* a member of the House, examined.

'516. Are you one of the King's Printers in England at the present moment?—I am.

'517. Will you state to the Committee what are the different duties you claim to do under the Patent which you hold?—I cannot clearly do that; I cannot define the prerogative of the Crown; the whole of the prerogative of the Crown, as far as conveyed by the Patent, we claim: I beg to refer the Committee to the Patent.'

An examination of the Patent will shew the very extensive and extraordinary privileges granted by this instrument to the favoured parties. It confers the exclusive right, for the whole period of its continuance, of printing 'all and singular statutes, books, small books, Acts of Parliament, proclamations and injunctions, Bibles and Testaments whatsoever, in the English tongue, or in any other tongue whatsoever, of any translation with notes or without notes; and also, of all Books of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacrament, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland, in any volumes whatsoever heretofore printed by the royal typographers for the time being, or hereafter to be printed by the command, privilege, or authority of us, our heirs or successors; and also, of all other books whatsoever which we have commanded, or shall command, to be used for the service of God in the churches of that part of our said United Kingdom of Great

‘ Britain and Ireland called England ; and of all other books, volumes, and things whatsoever, by whatsoever name, term, title, or meaning, or by whatsoever names, terms, titles, or meanings they are named, called, or distinguished, or any of them is named, called, or distinguished, or hereafter shall be named, called, or distinguished, heretofore printed by the royal typographers for the time being, or by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the English tongue, or in any other mixed tongue, already printed, published, worked off, or hereafter to be published, worked off, or put to the press, by the command, privilege, or authority, of us, our heirs or successors.’

We have extracted so much of the Patent, for the purpose of enabling so many of our readers as are unacquainted with the terms of it, to understand the nature and extent of the powers possessed by the parties holding the office of King’s printer in this country. We can scarcely be surprised that Mr. Spottiswoode should declare that he could not clearly define the different duties arising from the privilege. It is not easy to settle the import of such expressions as those which we have copied from the Patent. ‘ The whole of the prerogative of the Crown,’ as far as conveyed by the Patent,’ would authorize the possessors of it to adopt measures in favour of their own interests which they probably have never contemplated. Not only are all other persons prohibited from printing any of the works intended, but the grant positively declares, that ‘ no others shall import or cause to be imported, that no one shall sell, or cause to be sold, any of the foresaid works, and that no others shall on any account reprint any of these works.’ It may surprise some of our readers to learn, that an instrument of this character should be in existence and use at the present time ; and they may be disposed to regard it as a relic, dated in less enlightened times than these, when the arbitrary will of the monarch was the origin of the advantages which belonged to exclusive monopolists. A supposition of this kind, however, would be altogether erroneous. The Patent of King’s printer in England is dated the 21st of January, 1830, in the tenth year of George IV., and was then granted for thirty years. The office is therefore secured to the present patentees till 1860. Powers of a similar kind were conferred on the King’s printer for Scotland by the grant of 1785, for forty-one years, commencing at the expiration of the former in 1798 ; and on the King’s printer for Ireland in 1811, to continue during the next forty years ensuing.

It will be seen from the terms of the Patent already cited, that the Legislature of the United Kingdom do not so much as possess the right of printing the statutes which they enact, ‘ Acts of Parliament’ being expressly named in the exclusive grant, as to be printed only by the royal typographer. Such a circumstance



as this does seem a strange anomaly. ‘The omnipotence of Parliament’ is a phrase which we sometimes see: that the right of publishing its own acts should not be among the demonstrations of its power, but be exercised by persons not deriving the authority by which they claim to print them from Parliament itself, is a curious position, to be a true one. Neither the House of Lords, nor the House of Commons, it appears, can employ any other press than that of the Patentees, no part of whose authority is derived from the Legislature; they owe it entirely to the exercise of the Prerogative. And in like manner, they claim the sole power to print and sell Bibles and Testaments, deriving the exclusive right from the Patent. In this country, the two Universities claim a perpetual right of printing Bibles and Testaments. On what ground this claim rests, we are not told; but nothing can be more certain than that, together with the King’s printers, the printing of the Scriptures is engrossed by them.

At what time the Universities first exercised this privilege, it would perhaps be difficult to determine. The University of Oxford appears not to have printed any Bibles before the time of Charles the Second. From the Cambridge press, Bibles were previously issued; but whether Field, who calls himself in the title-page of some of his editions, ‘Printer to the Parliament’, supported the privilege of the University independently of that sanction, we have not the present means of ascertaining. There are Bibles, however, of a considerably earlier date, we believe, issued from the Cambridge press. The privilege is enjoyed by the two Universities in perpetuity, not being renewed from time to time by instrument, as in the case of King’s printer; but, though there is this difference, we should attribute the possession of the privilege in both cases to the exercise of the royal prerogative. But can any such authority or power belong of right to the King of Great Britain, as that which the exclusive privilege of printing the Bible, professedly derived from him, imports? No substantial reason has ever been assigned for such an assumption, nor can any be adduced which will bear examination. It is altogether frivolous to allege the pretences which, in the absence of every intelligible principle, have been brought forward to sustain a most irrational and mischievous position, that to the Executive it belongs to direct and control the use of the Bible. ‘I cannot conceive that the King has any prerogative to grant a monopoly as to Bibles for the instruction of mankind in revealed religion.’ Every one who looks to the case without prejudice, and without the bias which interest gives to the judgements of the mind, must have the same view of it as that which was taken by the high authority whose *dictum* we have thus quoted. In Scotland, where the Confession of Faith is the law of the ecclesiastical establishment, there is no acknowledgement of a visible head of the

Church; it cannot then be as head of the Church that the King in Scotland confers the privilege of printing Bibles. If, in Scotland, the King does not grant as head of the Church, he does not in England, as head of the Church, invest the patentees with the privilege; the prerogative is in both cases the same. But, indeed, it is not necessary to discuss this matter minutely. The case, we think, is plain. The exclusive privilege is nothing else, in every case, than a surviving remainder of the arbitrary power once claimed and most extravagantly exercised by the British sovereigns, of conferring monopolies according to their will and pleasure, and of controlling the press for the purpose of preventing the free expression of opinion. Time was, when the use of the Bible was penally prohibited, and both printers and readers of it were denounced as evil-doers. It was then considered as a dangerous book, not proper for every one's use; and who should read it, and who print it, were matters which the royal will assumed to itself to declare. Other times have succeeded. No prohibition of the Bible now restrains its use. Why is not the change as complete in the one case as in the other, and the printing of the Bible left as open and free as the reading of it? There is no allegation now, that the Bible is a dangerous book; and provided only that the book is purchased of certain persons, all may circulate it, and men may, if they please, fill the world with Bibles. But why should Bibles be bought of those persons only? The patent is shewn, and no person must invade it.

It must, however, be allowed, that the monopoly of Bible-printing is not rested altogether on the arbitrary ground of undefined prerogative. To reasonable considerations we cannot refuse our attention; and we shall therefore examine the only allegations in favour of the monopoly which are at all of this character. The Bible monopoly, it is said, is necessary to protect the text from alteration, and to preserve its purity; 'and if it cannot be proved that this has been upon the whole the result, there can be no pretence for preserving the monopolies.' It is altogether a fallacy to conceive of the monopolies as public trusts for the protection of the text. The patents are quite silent in respect to such object, and the original granters had no such end in contemplation. But, as this is ground taken in favour of the monopolies, we must examine it; and if it should appear that the exclusive privilege is necessary to ensure correctness, that accuracy is not by other means to be obtained, something will have been done towards vindicating the propriety of the grant to the patentees. Whether such be the alternative, may be ascertained from the evidence, and from facts which are open to every one's consideration.

There is *prima facie* evidence that the correct printing of the Bible, and the securing of the purity of the text, could not be

in the contemplation of the grantors of the patent. In Scotland, the patentees of King's printer are not printers. Sir David Hunter Blair, who succeeded to the patent in 1800, is not a printer. His father who preceded him, was not a printer, nor was Mr. Bruce, who was succeeded by his niece in 1826. Mr. Eyre, one of the patentees in England, was not brought up to the business of a printer, nor was the late Mr. Reeves, another of the patentees. Now if the exclusive privilege of printing Bibles were a trust in reference to the protection of the text, the absurdity of conferring it upon persons who know nothing of the details of printing, must at once be seen. Other reasons than the competency of the persons to furnish correct copies of the Scriptures, have led to the appointment of the patentees.

Mr. William Waddel, manager for the King's Printer's Patentees in Scotland, in answer to Question 452, Do you mean to say that you ever print an edition without an error in it?—says: 'No, I think errors will occur to the quickest eye.' And in reply to 457, How much more frequent are the revises of the Bible than revises of the ordinary printing in your establishment? he states, that such revises are three times more at least. Afterwards (Q. 459), he remarks, that the present system secures the purity of the text, which would, he thinks, infallibly be corrupted if the printing were open to every irresponsible person. Owen Rees, Esq., a partner in Longman's house, is asked, (Q. 703), Do you suppose that the text is kept more correct by the patent?—and gives his answer: 'I know that great attention has been paid to the text; it is not impossible that other people might do it as well.' Q. 704. 'You were understood to say that if that printing was open to competition, that accuracy might be obtained?—I think that they would become much less accurate than they are at present.' Mr. Robert Besley, in answer to the question, No. 1346, As a person bred to printing, do you apprehend there would be any difficulty in preserving the text accurate? replies: 'Certainly not; I believe there are few, even among the country printers, that would not be capable of printing good common Bibles and Testaments, and who would be perfectly competent to protect the text from error.' We should not pronounce it 'utterly impossible' to print the Bible without an error, because an immaculate Bible might *possibly* be obtained, and the question of accuracy does not require us to look to opinions involving extreme cases. The point on which we have to form our judgment is, the measure of protection against errors, which any one system, in preference to other arrangements, may include. If the value of the King's Printer's Patent, in respect to the public, is to be estimated by the standard of perfect accuracy in the Bibles which it covers, its insufficiency must be admitted in every instance in which an error is detected, and no faultless copy can, we

believe, be produced. Our demand, therefore, must not be so high as to require faultless copies of the Scriptures, either in this case or in any other. We must measure our expectations and our opinions by the knowledge which we derive from our experience and our observation; and though these will not justify us in requiring proofs of entire exemption from error in any description of works issuing from the press, they may be regarded as authorities for our claiming an almost perfect text in our printed Bibles. But what shall be regarded as errors in the text of our printed English Bibles? It may seem to be an inquiry of easy and ready determination which is here proposed; but the minutes of evidence comprehended in the 'Report,' present many instances of verbal differences exhibited as *errata*, which we can no otherwise consider than as proofs of a very defective acquaintance with the text of the English Bibles, and as examples of the application of a very questionable criticism in its emendation. Some of the witnesses produce passages not to be found by the guidance of their references; others cite as errors integral portions of the genuine Scriptures; and in other cases, we meet with quotations which perplex us with their irrelevancy and their ambiguity. As the question of correctness is one of the most important in the whole range of the inquiry, we shall furnish from the 'Report' some of the passages to which we have thus alluded.

Mr. Robert Child is asked, Question 1221, Have you had an opportunity of examining any Bibles or Testaments, to state how far they are accurately printed?—and in his answer, he refers to a brevier Testament, printed by Eyre and Strahan, as containing in the four Gospels only, thirty-seven errors.

' 1224. What are the errors?—In Matthew, ch. 12. v. 39. for "to" read "unto"; Mark 9. v. 41. for "*cold* water" read "cold"; Luke 4. v. 5. for "shewed" read "shewed unto"; 19 Luke, v. 9. for "forasmuch" read "forsomuch"; John 10. v. 28. for "*any*" read "*any man*"; same chapter v. 29. for "*none*" read "*no man*"; John 14. v. 20. for "the" read "my"; John 14. v. 20. for "*the Father*" read "my Father"; &c. &c.'

♣ Mr. Child has not very particularly referred us to the book from which he has extracted these alleged errors; nor is it at all necessary that we should have it before us in order to shew the extreme carelessness with which he must have examined the text of the New Testament in preparing the specimens thus laid before the Committee. In the preceding list, there are eight examples of error produced. Let us consider them. Matt. 12. 39. for 'to' read 'unto.' But 'to' is not an error: it appears in the earliest copies of the authorised Translation, and in many of the modern editions, 'said to them.' In a brevier Testament printed by Eyre and Strahan, 1830, now before us, the reading

is 'unto.' Mark 9. 41. for 'cold water' read 'cold.' But 'cold' is not, in any form, read in this passage; neither in the original, nor in any copy of an English Testament that we have seen: all the editions read 'a cup of water', and the Greek is, *ποτήριον ὕδατος*. In John 10. 28. 'any' is a correct reading, and so is 'none', v. 29. These words are indeed instances of deviation from the reading of many editions; but they are found in many copies, and they fully express the meaning of the Greek *τις* and *οὐδεὶς*. Mr. Child's last two instances, John 14. 20. can refer only to one and the same variation. In these eight examples, then, of alleged error, there are at most but three that can be sustained, and if the rest of the thirty-seven be at all like them, a very large deduction must be made from his list.

Mr. Parker, Question 1893, refers to a Bible with Henry's Commentary, published by Messrs. Child, as containing many errors; and in his subsequent examination, in answer to Question 2306, Will you refer the Committee to a few of these errors?— produces the following examples, which are certainly of a more serious character than those attributed by Mr. R. Child to the London brevier Testament.

'The first of all is "thou *will* prepare," instead of "thou *wilt* prepare," in the 10th Psalm and the 17th verse. Again, in the 27th Psalm and the 9th verse, the Committee will find it is "far from *me*," whereas in Henry's Bible it is "far from *thee*." In Psalm 127, and the 4th verse, "as *arrows*," it is printed "as *sarrows*." Then here is in the 90th Psalm and the 16th verse, "Glory unto *their* children," and it is here, "Glory unto *thy* children."

Mr. Parker, Question 1894, adduces as an error of importance, 'And' for 'Or' in Psalm 24. 3. 'And who shall stand in his holy place?' instead of 'Or who shall stand in his holy place?' 'And,' there can be no doubt, is the proper reading. It appears in all the early impressions, and is King James's Translators' rendering of the Hebrew *vau*. Mr. Parker refers to Blayney's edition as the standard one, and the text is read with 'Or,' in Blayney's revision; but that can be no reason for representing 'And,' the original and genuine reading, as 'an error of some importance.' In his answer to Question 1989, Mr. John Child produces 'sycamore with an o, sycomore, and not sycamore,' as an error. 'Sycomore,' however, is the form in which the early copies read the word. He very properly remarks, that many of the examples produced as errors, are only variations between the different editions, and that 'the mentioning of errors is only of use to show that the Patentees are not immaculate.' But the question, Which are the proper readings? is not affected by these remarks; and the variations are by the witnesses adduced for the purpose of shewing in particular editions the inferiority of their text, compared with that of others.

We must express our surprise, that the passages produced before the Committee as containing erroneous readings, are so few, and that the supposed or real errors are so unimportant. The members of the Committee could receive, from the instances alleged to prove the defective state of the English Bible, only presumptions, or confirmations of opinion, in favour of its correctness; and must have concluded, from the evidence before them, that no material alteration had been introduced into its text. Indeed, the 'Report' must be considered as satisfactory in this respect. Such instances of error as it exhibits, are, with but few exceptions, of scarcely any moment; and we must suppose that the witnesses who alleged the incorrectness of the English Bibles, would produce the most important of the variations detected by them. We are compelled to remark in the testimonies comprised in the 'Report,' such inconsistencies as are more than sufficient to induce us to form an opinion unfavourable to the pretensions of competency, which the giving of evidence on such questions as those to which they relate, would assume. One witness describes the inaccuracy of Blayney's Bible as being very considerable, Q. 2101; another speaks of it as containing some trifling errors, 1439.

*'Eliakim Littell, called in, and examined.*

*'1026. Are you a bookseller in the United States?—I am.*

*'1027. In what Province?—In Pennsylvania.*

*'1038. Is the printing Bibles and Testaments exclusively confined to any persons in any part of the United States?—No.*

*'1032. Do you speak confidently when you say that no persons have any monopoly in any state?—I am quite certain of it.*

*'1033. Are the American editions generally correctly printed?—I never heard any doubt expressed of the correctness of any of them.*

*'1034. Have you yourself ever found errors in any of them?—I have not; but I have never read them for the purpose.*

*'1035. Have you ever heard that there was any one State in the United States in which the text was more correct than in another?—Never.*

*'1036. Are Bibles and Testaments actually printed by a variety of persons?—As many persons as choose may print them; we are continually printing them; frequently new editions are issued.*

*'1037. What is the relative price of Bibles, compared with other books in the United States; are they dearer, or cheaper?—Very much cheaper than other books.*

*'1038. Taking the same quantity of matter and equal paper, you say they are cheaper?—They are very much cheaper than other books.*

*'1039. How do you account for that?—There is a certain sale for all that are printed; there is no stock on hand, and very large editions can be printed; and of course the expense of setting up type comes to very little on each copy.*

*'1049. As every man may print Bibles, has it ever come to your knowledge, that in the United States any editions have been wilfully*



corrupted?—There never has been any suspicion of that, as I have heard.

‘ 1050. Then how is the uniformity and accuracy of the text guaranteed to the public?—As to wilful corruption, there could be no motive, I should think, for the publisher would not willingly destroy his property; and even an unintentional error would lower the value of his plates; of course he would be obliged to have them corrected as soon as it was discovered. Usually, great care is taken.’

With this evidence before us, we must express ourselves altogether satisfied that a monopoly is not necessary as a safeguard to protect the press from error, and that equal correctness in printing may be secured without any exclusive right. If the monopoly could render the workmen of the privileged press infallible, then its value might be conceded. But since it leaves them without any advantages over their brethren in other offices, it is ineffective, and indefensible. It will scarcely be pretended, that the printers in the service of the Patentees are more favoured with means of becoming skilful in their business than others. In other books, the printing is laudably correct; and the same motives which influence those from whose presses they proceed, would govern them in the issue of Bibles.

Some of the persons examined by the Committee propose, as a measure necessary or desirable for ensuring correctness in the printing of Bibles, in the event of the removal of the existing restrictions, the appointment of a public officer, or of a number of persons, who should revise the sheets issued from every press, and without whose *imprimatur* no Bibles should be allowed to be published; a penalty, in all cases of publication not sanctioned by their authority, to be levied on the offenders. We are entirely opposed to every suggestion of this kind. Such an office would be found utterly inefficient to answer the purpose of protecting the integrity of the Bible. Who should appoint the persons? Dr. Lee’s evidence is, on this point, in accordance with Mr. Littell’s, and is to us quite satisfactory.

‘ 2263. Having the knowledge that in America the trade in Bibles is entirely free, and having heard no complaints from the United States of America of the want of correctness, would not the general competition in trade, and the reputation of accuracy, be sufficient to satisfy the people of Scotland, and to preserve purity in the text?—I really do not personally feel the difficulty to the extent that I have occasion to know other persons feel it. I think we might just be as secure with regard to the preservation of the purity of the text, if the printing of a Translation were open to all, as we all know that the printing of the far more precious Originals is open to all. The Book which the Church of Scotland alone acknowledges as the standard is, the inspired Original, the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament; we find that these books are printed by all and

subdtry printers, who choose to venture upon it, and we have not found that any intentional errors are committed; and we have not found that complaints to any great extent have ever been made against the correctness of a variety of editions which have been printed, both in Scotland and elsewhere, of the Originals. On that ground, I certainly cannot personally apprehend that there is any very great risk; but I know that there are many persons with whom I converse, who do feel a difficulty upon that subject.'

We are altogether incredulous about wilful corruptions of the Bible. There is no proof of its direct falsification by any party. It is a very ancient allegation, and has often been revived by opponents against their adversaries, that alterations have been purposely introduced into the sacred text. Of such charges, there is no solid evidence; nor is there the least reason for providing against imaginary dangers like this. We do not wish to see the appointment of any official persons, civil or ecclesiastical, as inspectors of Bibles.

We cannot conceal our surprise at the part which the Committee of Dissenting Ministers have taken in reference to the English Bible. They speak of the version of King James's Translators as 'our only legal standard text;' and in the following passage of their letter to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, they avow sentiments which we must take leave to consider as very strange ones, for such persons as those whose signatures appear to it, to maintain and publish.

As the plea of improvement has been extensively acted upon, we feel bound to express our opinion of the extreme danger of its unauthorized application in this peculiar case. It is well known to have been, on other occasions, the plea of the most heretical, as it is not unfrequently that of the most incompetent critics on the Bible. We recognize as Protestants but one English authorized version, and we respectfully contend for the restoration and protection of this, until, with equal publicity, equal authority, and superior learning, another can be made.'

It is, we think, not a little extraordinary, that men whose avowed principles are in the most direct and positive opposition to every kind of secular interference with religion, and who contend for the most perfect freedom of using and interpreting the sacred writings, should refer to the version of King James's Translators as the 'only legal standard text,' and maintain the authority from which it emanated as a rightful and competent one. That they do so, is evident. The 'equal authority' to which they ascribe the preparation of an anticipated new translation of the Bible, is that of the head of the State, by whose command the Version, for the restoration and protection of which they contend, was executed. But are we to form such an estimate of the principles asserted by these Ministers, as to reckon among the

functions which belong to the head of the State, the office of determining and prescribing the form and manner in which the sacred Scriptures shall be read and circulated? It is very curious to compare with this letter of the Committee of Dissenting Ministers, the answers of Dr. Lee to the following questions.

‘2102. Is there any particular edition of the Bible to which the Scottish Patentees adhere as a standard?—They themselves can tell what they consider as a standard. I am not aware of any particular edition to which they refer as a standard.

‘2103. To what standard do the Church of Scotland refer?—The Church of Scotland recognizes no standard text except the inspired originals.

‘2104. The Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New Testament in Greek?—Yes, those are pronounced by the Confession of Faith to be authentic, and no other is acknowledged.’

What they mean by the plea of improvement having been the plea of the heretical, we are unable to understand. Do they refer to the guardianship of the Bible by the Executive Government as the true and proper safeguard of sound opinions in religion? We do not mean to offend them; nor would we put ourselves forward capriciously to find fault with their expressions. But it is impossible for us to leave unnoticed the sentiments which they have recorded. How can that be even to them ‘a legal standard text’ from which they claim and exercise, as we know they do, the liberty of departing?

In estimating the price of Bibles and Testaments as compared with other books, there are several circumstances to be taken into the account. Nothing is paid by the Patentees for copyright, nothing for advertisements; they receive on all the paper used by them, three pence per pound weight drawback; and they have a ready demand for the Bibles and Testaments printed by them, to an extent which does not exist in respect to any other description of books. These are very great advantages; and every one who considers them, and compares the circumstances as between the patentees and the printers of other works, must be prepared to expect a proportionate reduction in the price charged for Bibles and Testaments; a price so much lower as the cost of production is in the one case so much less than in the other, and as the sale is so much more ready and extensive. In looking to the monopoly, however, we must not lose sight of the circumstances which may tend to regulate it, and so to modify its powers as to prevent such effects as might follow from its unrestrained operations. There are, in England, three parties in equal possession of the privilege; the King’s printer, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It does not appear that they are in ‘combination to sustain the advantages arising from the privilege;’ since the latter are described by the King’s printer as his rivals. In some de-

gree, then, it would seem that there is competition, and the rivalry may have some effect in preventing a higher price being demanded for Bibles. In Scotland, the privilege is entirely in the hands of the King's printer.

Andrew Spottiswoode, Esq., one of the King's printers in England, states, answer to question 540. 'Upon the sale of Bibles, there is no such profit as a bookseller has on general books; the price of Bibles is less than half the price of other books of the same extent; in the Bible, the exclusive privilege enables us to sell more and to sell cheaper than any bookseller could sell another book of the same size.' Again, in reply to question 600, he explains that the comparative cheapness arises out of the exclusive right. 'The circumstances of the case render it impossible for us to ask an unreasonable price; the competition of the two Universities is so strong, and they have such advantages over us, that it was with great difficulty we could get into the market at all, some few years ago.' Owen Rees, Esq. a partner in Longman's house, who are agents to the King's Printers upon the sale of Bibles and Testaments, gives his opinion Q. 690, that if the monopoly of the King's Printer was taken away, those books could not be sold for less, and that no books are at this time sold cheaper. On the other hand; Bibles and Testaments are represented by other witnesses as most extravagantly charged to the public by the privileged printers. Mr. John Child, Quest. 1012, is of opinion, that Bibles and Testaments might be sold at from forty-five to fifty per cent. less than they now are. Mr. Lawford is quite satisfied, Q. 1255, that if a competition were permitted there would be thirty per cent. at least in favour of the public. Mr. Besley, 1343, has no doubt that in the result of throwing the trade open, the price of Bibles and Testaments would be diminished very considerably, that they would be so cheap from competition, as to entirely supersede the necessity of giving books away. Mr. Offor, 1427, estimates the reduction which would follow competition, at from twenty-five to thirty per cent. Much conflicting evidence will be found in the 'Report;' and it requires very patient attention to follow the witnesses in the estimates which they furnish of the cost of printing Bibles. Of course, in this, as in all other cases of interested feeling, the different statements will be received with caution, and the differences, probably, on a fair adjustment of them, may prove to be less remarkable than at first sight they appear. The Bibles issued from the privileged presses have, with few exceptions, been printed from moveable types, Messrs. Child's estimates are given for stereotype editions. No man in his senses, Mr. Child remarks, 1993, would set up in moveable types to keep the whole standing, any such book as the small pica Bible, the difference being as 318*l.* to 1,653*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* It would, he says, Q. 1957, be pre-

posterior to print editions of 10,000 copies of demy duodecimo Testaments from moveable types.

*‘Evidence of Owen Rees, Esq.*

‘711. Look at that Bible. [*Showing to Witness an edition of the Bible, sold by the King's Printer, and marked No. 2.*—What is the difference?—It is small pica.

‘712. Can you state whether that is sold at the same price with Robertson's Works?—No; Robertson's is 20s., and the Bible is 10s. 6d.

‘713. What proportion does the price of that edition, as to the quantity of matter and of paper, bear to the Bibles or Testaments, or to the two together?—Very nearly the same.

‘714. Is not, in fact, that edition of Robertson's Works, taking quantity of type and quality of paper into account, as cheap as that Bible?—No, Robertson's is nearly double the price of that Bible. The paper of that Bible is larger and more expensive: it is a thicker paper.’

Another version of this portion of the evidence appears in the ‘daily minutes of evidence,’ as follows.

‘711. Look at that Bible. [*Showing to Witness an edition of the Bible, sold by the King's Printer, and marked No. 2.*—What is the difference?—It is small pica.

‘712. Can you state whether that is sold at the same price with Robertson's Works?—Yes, 20s.

‘713. What proportion does the price of that edition, as to the quantity of matter and of paper, bear to the Bibles or Testaments, or to the two together?—Very nearly the same.

‘714. Is not, in fact, that edition of Robertson's Works, taking quantity of type and quality of paper into account, as cheap as that Bible?—Yes; the paper of the Bible is larger and more expensive; it is a thicker paper.’

There is certainly some confusion in the statements, as compared in the daily Minutes and in the published ‘Report.’ Do they not refer to different Bibles? The Bible under examination, Mr. Child informs us (p. 23, note,) was *not* of an edition charged 10s. 6d., but of that described in the King's Printer's ‘List,’ ‘Octavo, small pica type, fine wove royal paper, best ink, cold-pressed, stereotyped, 1l.’ But would it be proper to compare the edition of Robertson's Works, published by Messrs. Child, with a book of this description? The cost price of the British and Foreign Bible Society's small pica 8vo. Bible, binding included, is 10s. The ‘medium 8vo. small pica’ Bible, in the Oxford list, is 9s. These are very beautiful books, and are the copies, with the corresponding edition of the King's Printer, 10s. 6d., with which the Robertson's Works from Messrs. Child's press should, we suppose, be compared, for the purpose of estimating their relative cheapness. The confusion is, we think,

cleared up, and the true state of the case represented, in the following answers of Mr. Joseph Parker.

‘1870. Are you aware of the books printed by Cadell and Child, Robertson’s Works and Gibbon?—I should be glad to compare our Bible with any of Child’s books; I should be proud to be able to do it.

‘1871. Have you seen the small pica editions of Robertson’s and Gibbon’s Works?—I have not seen either. A comparison has been made between these books and the small pica Bible. [*Shewing a small pica Bible.*] That is a large paper of the small pica Bible; and the sale of it so small, that I can prove that of that book in seven years not 200 copies have been sold; it is merely a choice book. The book in the hand of the chairman, the small paper, sells for 9s., whereas that sells at 20s.; the only difference is, that one is printed upon a larger paper, and the price is put upon that, because it is a choice book; but it has little or no sale; one is a small pica Bible, the other is the same book on royal paper. I printed some years ago a book for Mr. Gaisford, who may be known to some of the members of the Committee, the price of which was two guineas; we printed a few large paper copies, and sold them at twenty pounds each.

‘1872. Then your opinion is, that the comparison made between the large paper small pica Bible, and the edition of Robertson and Gibbon, is not a fair comparison?—Certainly not.

‘1873. Is it your opinion that Bibles are cheaper than any other books now printing?—Yes, I have no doubt about it; I have no question about it; I can shew that either of these works, of Robertson and Gibbon, will be nearly double the price of the regular Oxford Bible.’

The small pica Bible at 10s. 6d. is the book to be compared; and this is unquestionably a cheaper book than the Robertson. It is sold at 1½d. and a fraction,  $\frac{3}{10}$ , per sheet, the Robertson at 3½d.

‘Mr. Robert Besley, examined.

‘1313. At what is that sold by the King’s Printers’ agents?—The agent’s price for that is 1l.; it is an octavo royal Bible, small pica type.

‘1314. At what per copy could any printer supply that?—Within a fraction of 6s. 3d.

‘1315. Do you consider that there could be any hesitation on the part of any person publishing a Bible, to print as many as 5,000 or 10,000?—Certainly not.

‘1316. In that calculation, have you made any allowance for the drawback on paper used for Bibles and Testaments, which is made to the King’s Printers?—None whatever; I have taken the paper according to the paper-maker’s price.

‘1317. If you were allowed a drawback equal to what the King’s Printer’s and the Universities are allowed, how much lower in price would each copy be?—It depends upon the weight of paper used.—On the octavo Bible the drawback would amount to about 2s.



‘ 1318. Then if the drawback were allowed to you, as it is to the King’s Printers and to the Universities, you could supply this at 2s. less than the estimate you have given in?—Certainly.

‘ 1319. In this estimate you include nothing as bookseller’s profit, but merely as printer’s profit?—Merely the printers.’

The octavo royal Bible, small pica type, charged at 1*l.*, is the book of which, Mr. Besley says, there could be no hesitation on the part of any person to print as many as 5,000 or 10,000 in one edition. We should judge this to be an erroneous opinion, and are confirmed by Mr. Parker’s evidence, who stated that, of this Bible, not so many as 200 copies have been sold in seven years. In other particulars, Mr. Besley’s evidence is questionable. He states, that a printer could supply this Bible at the price of 6*s.* 3*d.*, and, with the deduction of the drawback, at 4*s.* 3*d.* His calculations are made for moveable types. Now, Mr. John Child, Quest. 1968, gives in an estimate for the very Bible, in stereotype, deducting the drawback on the paper, and including nothing but the cost of production, which is 5*s.* 6*d.*, and which, he says, ought to be sold for 10*s.* or 11*s.* Between these two estimates, there is a most remarkable difference, Mr. Child’s being more than 25 per cent. above Mr. Besley’s. It is the same book, though Mr. Besley gives the agent’s price, 1*l.*, Mr. Child the wholesale price, 16*s.*

It is unnecessary for us to go fully into the question of cheapness, as we have expressed our opinion so decidedly in favour of an open competition. We are, however, bound to give our readers the results of the evidence and estimates furnished by Mr. Child. He states that he could supply to the trade, the Minion Bible charged by the King’s Printer to the public 5*s.* 6*d.*, and to the trade 4*s.* 5*d.*, at 3*s.* or 3*s.* 3*d.*—the Minion Testament charged 1*s.* 3*d.* and 1*s.*, at 6½*d.* or 7*d.*—the Brevier Testament charged 1*s.* 3*d.* and 10*d.*, at 7*d.* or 7½*d.*—the Small Pica Bible, 10*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* 3*d.*, at 4*s.* 3*d.* or 4*s.* 6*d.* In giving his Estimates, he calculated the cost price of each; that is, the exact cost to himself as printer, without any profit, but deducting the drawback. An edition of the Small Pica Bible of 10,000 copies, he calculates at £1,709 5*s.*, making the price of each copy 3*s.* 3*d.*, and for every additional 1,000, £139 2*s.* 6*d.*,—about 2*s.* 9½*d.* each copy. 1,000 copies of the Brevier Testament would be at the rate of 5½*d.* each. Actual cost of the Minion Testament, 4*d.* per copy; and of the Minion Bible, for the first 10,000 copies 2*s.* 3*d.*, and for every succeeding 1,000, 1*s.* 9*d.* each. Mr. Parker, for the Oxford press, also furnished Estimates, which are very different from those of Mr. Child; and in most of the instances, the discrepancies are not a little perplexing. Mr. Child’s estimates for paper sometimes seem, as in the case of the Small Pica Bible, to be erroneous. But these are

points which we cannot discuss; and we notice them only for the purpose of inviting attention to a subject of great importance, which should not be overlooked by the numerous Committees of our Bible Societies. Let the whole subject be thoroughly examined\*.

It is obvious to remark, that, taking Mr. Child's Estimates, and considering the printing of the Bible as open to all, there would even then be a kind of monopoly of that class of printed books. His Estimates are made in reference to stereotype, (the privileged printers use moveable types,) and to editions of ten thousand copies, the extreme cheapness depending upon the numbers afterwards printed from the plates. But it is very evident, that the supply of Bibles at this rate would be undertaken but by few persons. The annual demand of the British and Foreign Bible Society for all sorts of Bibles and Testaments in the languages of the United Kingdom, is somewhere about 260,000; and this number, when taken off in very large editions, would limit the competition. We should suppose that the presses now privileged, would have their full share of the printing in the event of an open trade, as they must have facilities for supplying the demand for Bibles, equal at least to those of other printers. The University Establishments pay no rent, and have ample resources at command. We have no expectation, therefore, that it would be found practicable to compete with them in an open market. Their present profits, we are assured, do not, on the average, exceed 10 per cent. on the capital employed; but should competition take place, they would, no doubt, sacrifice the whole of their profits, or submit to loss, rather than suffer themselves to be undersold. The immediate effect of abolishing the monopoly would, probably, be the reduction of the price of Bibles below the cost at which they could continue to be supplied with any advantage to the producer. This can scarcely be regarded as desirable.

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\* The subject has, we understand, occupied the attention of the Parent Committee; and they have obtained estimates, which, if to be depended upon, would warrant the conviction that Bibles and Testaments could not be permanently supplied to them on lower terms. The cost price to the Society, of the Brevier Testament (fine paper) is 10d.; of the Nonpareil Bible, 2s. 4d.; Minion Bible, 3s. 8d.; of the Brevier 8vo Bible, 4s. 4d. It is alleged, that Mr. Child, in his Evidence, estimated the cost of Bibles and Testaments to the Bible Society at about 20 per cent. more than it has actually paid.

## ART. IX. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. Brockedon has in the press a Volume containing his personal Narrative of the Journeys he made to illustrate the Passes of the Alps.

In the press, a Dictionary of Geography, Ancient and Modern. By the Author of "The Modern Traveller."

On the 1st of July was published, in demy 8vo., printed entirely with type cast expressly for the Work, the First Number of a New English Version of the Great Work of Cuvier—"Le Regne Animal," or "The Animal Kingdom." This illustrious Naturalist, shortly before his decease, put forth a final Edition of his Animal Kingdom, and in so altered and improved a form as to give it a completely new character. This publication, consequently, has had the effect of superseding the old Edition, together with all the Translations made from that Edition, including the large Work published under the superintendence of Dr. Griffiths. The Work will consist of 36 Monthly Numbers; price One Shilling each. The Plates will amount to no fewer than Five Hundred; they will be engraved on steel, and coloured. For the sum of thirty-six shillings, the Version of a celebrated standard Work, richly illustrated, will be obtained, which, in the original, with its plates, costs more than thirty-six pounds!

In the press, Theory of Pneumatology, in reply to the question What ought to be believed or disbelieved, concerning Presentiments, Visions, and Apparitions. By Dr. Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling, late Professor of the Universities of Heidelberg and Marburg, and Privy Councillor to the Grand Duke of Baden. From the German, by Samuel Jackson, Translator of the Life and Writings of Gerhard Terteegen, small 8vo.

Dr. Ayre, of Hull, has in the press, a Treatise on the Malignant Cholera, and on the Treatment of it by small and frequent Doses of Calomel.

A Memoir of Baron Cuvier, by Mrs. Lee, late Mrs. Bowdich, with Portrait, is in the press, in 1 Vol. 8vo.

Lectures on Painting, delivered at the Royal Academy, by Thomas Phillips, Esq., M.A., will shortly appear in 1 Vol. 8vo.

Preparing for publication, A Translation of the Practical Treatise of Mme. Boivin and M. Duges, on the Diseases of the Uterus and its Appendages. By G. O. Heming, of Kentish Town, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. With Additions.

A little book which has been often republished but is at present scarce, entitled "A Present for an Apprentice," is now reprinting with additions from modern authors, and will soon appear.

"Counsels and Consolations for those in trouble and affliction," by Jonathan Farr, is reprinting from the American edition, and may be expected at the beginning of September.

On August 31, will be published, Vol. III. (being the **Last**) of **The Life of the Late Dr. Adam Clarke**; (from Original Papers,) by a Member of his Family.

In the press, **An Introduction to General History and Chronology**; containing an Outline of Ancient and Modern History; Notices of the best Greek, Latin, and English Historians; and a Series of Blank Tables for the Chronological Arrangement of Historical Events, for the Use of Students. By the Rev. J. Gilderdale, M.A.

The Author of "**Selwyn**" has a new volume in the press, entitled, **Olympia Morata**; her Times, Life and Writings. This work has been arranged and compiled from contemporary and other Authorities, with the Author's usual tact and discrimination, and is looked for with corresponding interest.

The Van Diemen's Land Almanack for the Current Year has just reached this Country, and will be published in a few days. This valuable little volume is so full of useful information, that it may justly be entitled **A Complete Guide to the Emigrant**, combined with a general History of that rising Colony.

Mr. James Baillie Fraser, the Author of **Kuzzilbash**, the Highland Smugglers, &c., has contributed to the Library of Romance, a Persian Romance, entitled the **Khan's Tale**, filled with the same stirring interest and racy originality which distinguished the **Kuzzilbash**.

## ART. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

**Herodotus**, from the Text of Schweighæuser; to which is prefixed a Collation with the Text of Professor Gaisford. Edited by George Long, Esq., A.M., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1 thick vol. 12mo, 10s. 6d. cloth lettered; 8vo, 15s.

### GEOMETRY.

**Principles of Geometry** familiarly illustrated and applied to a variety of the most useful purposes, designed for the instruction of young persons. By the Rev. William Ritchie, LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution, and in the University of London. 12mo. Illustrated with upwards of 200 wood-cuts.

### HISTORY.

**Narrative of the Expedition to Portugal in 1832**, under the orders of his Imperial Majesty Don Pedro, Duke of Braganza. By G. Lloyd Hodges, Esq., late Colonel in the service of her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal. 2 vols. 8vo, 17. 1s. boards.

### NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

**An Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Astronomy**; with Plates, illustrating chiefly the Ancient System. By John Narrien, F.R.A.S. 8vo. 14s.

### POETRY.

**Rhymes and Rhapsodies**. By Robert Folkstone Williams. 12mo. 6s.

**Barbadoes, and other Poems**. By M. J. Chapman, Esq. 12mo. 6s.

**Sketches of Obscure Poets**; with Specimens of their Writings. Small 8vo. 7s. 6d.

### THEOLOGY.

**A new Translation of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans**, with a Commentary, and an Appendix of Various Dissertations. By the Rev. Moses Stuart, M.A., Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, in the State of Massachusetts. Republished, by appointment of the Author, under the care of John Pye Smith, D.D., and E. Henderson, Doct. Phil. 8vo. 14s. boards.

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1833.

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**Art. I.** *Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar ; performed in H. M. Ships Leven and Barracouta, under the Direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R. N. By Command of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. In two Volumes. 8vo. pp. xv. 854. London, 1833.*

**WE** can conceive of no description of active service more trying to both the physical and the moral constitution, than that of surveying the pestilential coast of a barbarous country. In exploring the interior of an unknown land, the traveller is stimulated by curiosity as well as by the spirit of enterprise: the strangeness and novelty of the scene, the succession of objects, the hope of lighting upon some interesting discovery, and the credit to be gained by success, all concur to keep up a salutary excitement. But, in the slow and minute process of a scientific survey, there is, under the most favourable circumstances, little to interest the imagination, or to counteract the depressing effects of constant fatigue, and of perpetual exposure to ignoble hazards, the conflict with danger being unattended by either the romance of adventure or the honour of victory. When to these circumstances are added, the relaxing influence of a tropical climate, the deleterious effects of an atmosphere loaded with miasmata, and the melancholy diminution of friends and comrades, which the sickly survivors are doomed to witness,—and all this protracted through months or even years,—we have depicted a situation demanding far more courage and energy than are required to storm a fortress, or to charge to the cannon's mouth.

The eastern coast of Southern Africa, which Captain Owen was in the first instance commissioned to survey, is one of the most insalubrious regions to Europeans in the world,—the coast of Guinea not more so. Little was known respecting it, the Portu-

guese, who lay claim to the coast from Cape Corrientes to Cape Delgado, having jealously excluded all other Europeans, and withheld all information respecting it. Mr. Salt, who visited Mozambique in 1809, had, indeed, communicated some information respecting that settlement; and the Editor of the *Modern Traveller* had availed himself of the statistical sketch of the captaincy of the Sena, by Signor Terão, translated by Captain Owen from the Portuguese, of which use is made in various parts of the present narrative\*. We regret that it is not given entire. Although a dry and somewhat meagre account, it is interesting, both as being the only description we have of a country scarcely known to geography, and from the circumstances connected with the authorship. The memoir was drawn up by Signor Terão, at Sofala, while Governor of the *Rios de Sena*, with the intention of its being published at Lisbon; but in 1810, this intelligent young governor was stabbed by one of his own officers, and in consequence of his assassination, the manuscript remained untouched until Captain Owen arrived there, and obtained possession of it; nor would it, otherwise, in all probability, have ever seen the light. The picture which it draws of the colonial system of Portugal, civil and ecclesiastical, is, indeed, such as it might well be deemed prudent to conceal. 'No wonder,' it has been remarked, 'that, under its withering influence, all the once splendid establishments reared by the lords of India and Guinea on the three coasts of Africa and the shores of the Indian Ocean, should exhibit the mere wreck and shadow of their former greatness.'

With regard to the Caffer countries lying between the Cape Colony and Delagoa Bay, the travels of Mr. Burchell in the Bechuana country†, and the valuable information contained in Mr. Thompson's Travels‡, had left not much to be supplied. Still, it was with no small interest that we anticipated the publication of Captain Owen's survey, which has been so long delayed by circumstances *not fully* explained in the advertisement to the present volume. Whatever were the causes which prevented Captain Owen from fulfilling his wishes in the first instance, the delay is unfortunate, since it has deprived part of the narrative of novelty, and rendered much of the information obsolete. Under such circumstances, it is the more to be regretted that the materials should not have been committed to the hands of a competent editor. We do not know who Mr. Heaton Bowstead Robinson may be, to whom the bringing out of these volumes has been

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\* *Mod. Traveller*, vol. xxii. pp. 320—322.

† See *Eclect. Rev.* 2d Ser. Vol. xvii. and xxi.

‡ See *Ib.* Vol. xxviii. p. 129.



entrusted ; but, most assuredly, the manner in which they are edited does small credit to his accuracy or general information. The typographical blunders in the geographical names are such as any good gazetteer would have enabled him to avoid ; and the vague, imperfect, and sometimes discrepant notes of the journals, might have been corrected by information easily accessible. To give a specimen or two of the strange carelessness with which the volumes are printed, the Zwartkops river is mis-printed repeatedly, Twarlkops. Signor Terão (as the name is properly written in the narrative) becomes Signor Ferão in the appendix. The River Manice is mentioned repeatedly, (Vol. I. p. 141,) without any intimation that it is the same river as 'the Mannees or King George river' previously referred to (p. 75). The word printed 'Sowhylese' (Vol. I. p. 385) is, we presume, put for Somaulese. It might have been expected from an Editor, that he should have attempted a summary of the geographical information scattered through the loose notes of a seaman's journal, or to be deduced from the various reports, as compared with our previous knowledge. Nothing of the kind, however, is here presented to us ; and a letter from Captain Owen himself to Mr. Thompson, which appeared six years ago, in the first volume of the latter gentleman's Travels, contains more distinct information with regard to the origin and course of the rivers which fall into Delagoa Bay, than is to be extracted from the present work ! Captain Owen has either been badly advised or not fairly dealt by. Individuals might readily have been found within the circle of his acquaintance, who would have been able to do justice to the task, and to produce a work of permanent interest. As it is, these volumes are of too slight a construction to survive the ephemeral productions of the day.

Disappointed as we are in the scientific character of the work, we have found it sufficiently entertaining, and can therefore honestly recommend it to general readers as affording abundant information of a kind far more amusing than scientific details. We shall proceed to give an abstract of the Narrative.

In January 1822, H. M. ship *Leven*, Capt. Owen, together with a new ten-gun brig, named the *Barracouta*, Capt. Cutfield, sailed from Woolwich on the commission to which Capt. Owen had been appointed by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. They touched at Lisbon, for the purpose of obtaining from the Portuguese Government letters to its colonial authorities on the coast of Africa ; and on the 8th of March, came to anchor in the Funchal road. From Madeira, they proceeded to the Canaries, and thence to the Cape de Verd islands, where the scientific party attached to the expedition landed on the islands of St. Vincent and St. Nicholas, to make their astronomical and

botanical observations. At Porto Grande, the port of the former island, a few houses at the head of the bay bear the name of a town; but 'they could find only one miserable Portuguese, the rest being all negroes': the whole population did not exceed a hundred. These islands are of volcanic formation. That of S. Antonio is the summit of an immense mountain, rising 8000 feet above the sea; 'and as the mean height of the island may be taken at 1500 feet, the base may be three or four miles deep.' No soundings could be got with 60 fathoms of cable within the bay. On the 6th of April, the ships sailed for Brazil, and on the 26th, made the rocky island of Trinidad, alias Ascension Island; for it was satisfactorily ascertained, that the two names denote the same island, and that Peyrouse's longitude is nearly 45 miles in error. The Ninepin rock on the west side of this island, appears to be a basaltic column 800 feet in height, and is remarkable from its inclination, which makes it look, from certain points, as if about to fall. On the 30th, they made Cape Frio, and the next day, arrived at Rio Janeiro, where they remained six weeks. Having completed all the objects of their stay, they again set sail on the 9th of June; and on the 7th of July, made land near the Cape of Good Hope, which, though not included in Captain Owen's orders, the *Barracouta* proceeded to survey. The insecurity of Table Bay as a port, has long been felt as a serious disadvantage to Cape Town. Yet, we are told, the evil might be almost entirely remedied by throwing out a pier, building another light-house, and placing the navigation under proper regulations. 'Of the numerous wrecks which occurred in Table Bay and its vicinity during the term of our voyage,' says Capt. Owen, 'there was not one, at least where we had the means of inquiring, which could not be traced either to extreme ignorance, negligence, or *design*.' It is astonishing that the importance of the requisite improvements both to the Colony itself and to British commerce, should not have led to their adoption by Government long since. Some valuable instructions for entering Table Bay by night, drawn up by Capt. Owen, are given in the Appendix to Mr Thompson's Travels.

The Cape Colony is now considered as extending along the coast from the mouth of Olifant river on the N. W. to the Keiskamma on the east; a distance of nearly 400 leagues. The Dutch colony extended no further eastward than the Camtoos river, which falls into the bay of St. Francis or Content bay, to the west of Cape Recife. Algoa Bay is the name applied to the tract of coast between Cape Recife and Cape Padrao. All the country to the eastward and northward of the Camtoos River, was formerly inhabited by the Caffers, who, by the encroachments of the Dutch colonists, were driven back, first beyond the Zwart-

kops \*, and at length to the Great Fish River. This latter was the limit of the colonial territory when Mr. Barrow published his *Travels in South Africa*. Since then, the country beyond that river as far as the Keiskamma, has been ceded to Great Britain by the native chiefs, who, by this cession, were acknowledged to have been previously the exclusive sovereigns. From the Keiskamma northward to Delagoa Bay, the coast is still in possession of the native tribes absurdly called Caffers, the Arabic word for pagans. Of this part of the coast, the following description is given.

‘ The sea-boundary of this country is one of the most varied and interesting that can possibly be imagined, presenting every diversity that rich hills and fertile meadows can produce. It is divided from the interior by a range of mountains of considerable elevation, some of the highest being nearly 6000 feet above the sea. One objection must, however, be remarked respecting this coast, which is, its total want of harbours ; but, to compensate for this deficiency, it has an abundance of rivers, many of which might, at trifling expense, be made to receive vessels of considerable burden. Amongst them may be mentioned the River Kye or St. John’s, which has one of the most extraordinary and picturesque entrances in the world ; forming, by its abrupt and perpendicular heights, a natural lock, wanting only a flood-gate to make it a perfect wet dock.’ Vol. I., p. 70.

At the time of the expedition, the whole of ‘ the beautiful country,’ from the River St. John to Inhamban, was being devastated by the merciless and destructive conquests of the savage Zoola chieftain so notorious under the name of Chaka †. We must transcribe the appropriate comment upon the condition of society presented by a country hitherto unvitiated by intercourse with civilized man.

‘ The state of these countries, which have scarcely had any intercourse with civilized nations, is a direct proof in refutation of the theories of poets and philosophers, who represent the ignorance of the savage as virtuous simplicity, his miserable poverty as frugality and temperance, and his stupid indolence as a laudable contempt for wealth. How different are the facts ! We ever found uncultivated man a composition of cunning, treachery, drunkenness, and gluttony.’—Vol. I., p. 71.

Captain Owen’s instructions were, to commence his survey at the mouth of the Keiskamma, and continue it as far as Delagoa Bay, and then to make a complete and accurate survey of the shores of the bay itself. Leaving the *Barracouta* to accomplish

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\* This river flows past Uitenhage, and falls into Algoa Bay. What is meant by the Sladen river, in the present work, we cannot divine.

† See Thompson’s *Travels*. Vol. II., App. 5.

the former service, the *Leven* sailed for Delagoa Bay, and, on the 27th of Sept., anchored in English River, before the Portuguese factory. The garrison found there, consisted of a major commandant, a captain, a lieutenant, an adjutant, a secretary, a priest, a surgeon, and about fifty soldiers, some of them Europeans expatriated for their crimes, and the rest negroes! The late commandant, Señor Oliva, had, a few weeks before, 'fallen on his sword, like a true Roman, on finding the golden dreams which he had cherished before his arrival, not likely to be ever realized'! Two English whalers were in the river, the masters of which reported the place very unhealthy. To this warning the expedition party, deceived by appearances, gave little credit; but they were too soon to learn 'the dreadful truth.'

The inlet which has received the name of English River, is the common estuary of three rivers, the Temby flowing from S. S. W., the Dundas from due west, and the Mattol from the north-west. Only one of the three has fresh water in the dry season. This is Dundas river, which was explored for nine miles, till its breadth was reduced to 240 feet, and the depth to ten feet. It abounds, like the others, with hippopotami, who seemed to form 'a solid phalanx.'

'As we approached, they commenced snorting and opening their terrific jaws in the most frightful and menacing manner. The Croker happening to graze a monster in a shallow part of the river, he immediately made a furious plunge, and lifted the boat with seven people half out of the water, so that the keel actually cracked; but the poor hippopotamus was so dreadfully alarmed, that he escaped with all speed before any one had time to strike him. When near the navigable summit of the river, another of these unwieldy brutes rushed from the marshy margin of reeds on the bank, and galloped towards the boat open-mouthed and bellowing most hideously. Had this been our first rencontre, it might have been alarming; but we had learned that the slightest flash of fire would turn them when in the most infuriated state. The Captain and Mr. Durnford fired together, the former with an elephant-gun and pewter bullet, when he was not more than twelve yards from the boat: but his thick hide repelled the ball, and it had only the effect of turning him back amongst the high reeds whence he had issued. Some of our party landed in pursuit, when Mr. Tudor came upon him again; but his retreat was so thick and high, that they could nowhere see five yards around, and were only able to move in the alleys made by the beasts, so that his escape from such inexperienced hunters was not difficult.

'The Captain made a night excursion, to try to kill some hippopotami, but their senses were by far too acute to admit of a near approach; and it being very dark, the numerous pitfalls that the natives prepare for catching these animals, rendered the excursion extremely hazardous, as even by day many of our people had found themselves suddenly entrapped, whilst in pursuit of their game. The sensation was described as anything but pleasant, when walking

thoughtlessly along, to be suddenly precipitated some ten or a dozen feet into the bowels of the earth, with the not distant prospect of finding a companion upon your descent in the form of an hippopotamus; such a meeting would certainly have been far from satisfactory to either of the parties.

‘We saw numerous herds of large deer, with tracks of elephants and other, but unknown, animals. Our time and duties did not, however, allow us an opportunity of pursuing the enquiry by following their footsteps.

‘The whole country seen in this excursion was most richly endowed with Nature’s gifts. It possessed an immense depth of fertile soil, but not a stone was anywhere seen, excepting at the mouth of English River, where, on the beach, some agates and other pebbles were found, and where the ruddy cliffs, formed from a mixture of sand and clay, become occasionally indurated by exposure to the sun; when immense blocks fall, and lie immoveably like small rocks at their bases—records of time—the tombstones of ages. Nothing, perhaps, calls more forcibly to the mind the unseen, the silent workings of Nature, than these parted fragments over a wild and unfrequented waste; all the animal creation near them must have been in consternation at the moment of their fall—when the lonely solitude must have rung with thundering echoes—the beasts and birds must have burst forth in terrific chorus, and the surrounding hills have trembled with the shock! It is but seldom that these events take place, perhaps not more than twice in a century, some of the enormous fragments bearing strongly the marks of time.’ Vol. I. pp. 266—269.

The natives have also an ingenious mode of taking the river-horses by means of a trap, set in the particular openings through which they are continually passing to and from the water.

‘This is formed by a young tree about twenty feet high, placed perpendicular with the side of the passage: at the top is a weighty bough, in the end of which is fixed the iron head of an *assagaye*, or spear; this is attached to the young tree by means of some climbing plant to answer the purpose of a cord, and, after being turned two or three times round, (just enough to support it,) is brought down to the ground, and carried horizontally across the animal’s path. As he never lifts his feet from the earth, he breaks the cord, and the bough, falling like a portcullis, drives the spear into his back: from this wound he bleeds profusely, and rushes with pain and fury to the water, where he shortly dies; his death sometimes hastened by the iron being poisoned. The body soon floats, when the natives, who are constantly on the look-out, tow it ashore; valuing the teeth for barter, and the flesh, of which they are particularly fond, for food.’—Vol. I., pp. 132, 3.

Sometimes, the natives venture in a body to attack these formidable animals with their spears. The method is, to waylay one of them, and hamstring him; but this mode of attack, so replete with danger, is adopted only when there is the greatest demand for the flesh or for the teeth, which have only of late been in request. Until the example of purchasing them was set

by the English, the Portuguese seldom purchased any other ivory than that of the elephant.

English River opens into the Bay on its western shore. Three or four leagues to the north of this estuary is a long island called Shefeen, between which and the coast of the bay, the Manice (named also King George river) discharges its waters. This was ascended for fifty miles, and was found to flow from nearly due north, nearly parallel to the shore, from which, in this part of its course, it is not more than three or four miles distant at any point. The water was fresh close to its mouth, the current running at about two miles and a half an hour. At its entrance, several islets have been formed by its deposits, which, as well as the banks of the river, are swampy and covered with mangroves. The exploring party 'found numerous sand-hills thrown up by the sea against the stream of the river, by which, as in many such cases, the current was turned almost parallel to the beach for more than twenty miles.' After passing these sand-hills, they came upon a more cultivated territory, thickly peopled, the soil appearing generally rich, and producing abundance of rice, in which the natives carry on a lucrative trade with the people of Temby. The source of this river is about 20° S., its direction being nearly due N. from its mouth.

At the south-western corner of the great bay, another large and navigable river empties itself; called in the chart, the Mapoota. This is the native pronunciation of the Arabic *mafoota*, the name given to a plant which is 'much cultivated in all Eastern Africa,' and which, being here found wild, probably gives its name to the territory and its river. The Portuguese call it *axaite*. The oil expressed from it is deemed 'equal to that of olives, obtaining as high a price in the Indian market.' The plant is 'as tall and rank as hemp, and is extremely productive, having numerous pods throughout the stems.' The corolla is not much unlike the fox-glove, but smaller\*. The Mapoota, 'or Oil Country,' is described as bounded by this river on the west, 'which separates it from Panegola, forming a part of Temby, the dominion of King Kapell, which extends entirely to English and Dundas Rivers on the north.' 'On

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\* To this vague description is added the very scientific piece of information, that it is '*the didynamia gymnospermia*.' From the mention of 'pods,' it would seem not even to belong to that order, but probably classes under *didynamia angiospermia*, and is, apparently, a species of *Sesamum*. The most curious vegetable production found on these shores, is a gigantic euphorbium or spurge, growing in every direction to a height of 30 feet on the precipices of Cape Reuben. 'Whenever the flowers or leaves were broken, a milky liquid flowed from the fracture in streams.'



‘ the north of English River,’ it is added, ‘ is the country of Mafoomo, in which is situated the Portuguese factory. The tract immediately northward of Mafoomo, is called Mabota, as far as the banks of the river King George or Mannees (Manice); while on the west is Mattoll, the southern boundary of which may be considered the Dundas river.’ (Vol. I. p. 75.)

This vague information amounts to very little, and that little is of a very questionable kind. We have not the slightest doubt that Mabota and Mapoota are the same word. Temby, which signifies water in the Kissi dialect of Western Africa, may probably have the same signification in this part, and, if so, denotes any river. Mattoll, we cannot help suspecting to be the same word, differently pronounced, as Natal, the designation given to the line of coast south of Delagoa Bay. It is probably a descriptive, rather than a specific appellation. In fact, it is absurd to expect to find geographical names of territories among a barbarous people. In all uncivilised countries, the rivers are called water; or, if any distinguishing epithet be added, to denote a particular stream, it is black water, or great water, or fish water. The land usually receives its name either from its productions, as oil country, gold country, &c., from its surface, as mountainous, marshy, black, white, &c., or from its native inhabitants or chieftain. If voyagers and travellers had been as careful in endeavouring to ascertain the real force of the words used by the natives, which they have mistaken for geographical names, as they have been ingenious in laying down imaginary kingdoms and territories upon the strength of them, we should much sooner have arrived at accurate notions of the nature both of country and people. It is a singular fact, that there is scarcely an appellation applied to any extensive tract of country, that does not betray ignorance on the part of those who first invented it, or involve some geographical blunder.

‘ In the countries inhabited by the Diligo people,’ we are told, ‘ the same language is spoken, from Mapoota to Inhamban.’ Diligo is, we presume, the same word that is written Delagoa, and which is apparently borrowed from the Portuguese. With regard to the language, it has been sufficiently ascertained, that all the dialects of Southern Africa, those of the Damaras of the western coast, of the Bechuana tribes of the interior, and of the Caffers of Natal, Delagoa Bay, and Mozambique, are all mere variations of a common language. That the different tribes have sprung from a common stock, their customs and mode of life sufficiently testify. The two principal nations of the region which has received the name of Caffraria, are, the Koosas, or, as they call themselves, Amakosa, and the Tembas, Tambookies, or Amatymba, in whose name we have apparently the same word as is applied to the southern branch of English river and the adjacent

territory. The language of Delagoa Bay is nearly the same as is spoken on the eastern coast as far as the Bazaneto Islands. The natives and the other Caffers understand each other with little trouble. The Zoolas or Vatwahs, who, under their savage chieftain Chaka, have possessed themselves of the country south of the Mapoota as far as Port Natal, speak a distinct dialect, but are evidently of Caffer lineage, resembling more nearly the southern Caffers; and they communicate readily with those of Delagoa Bay. The people of Mapoota are represented by Capt. Owen as speaking a mixed dialect between the language of the Caffers and that spoken about English River.

The Mapoota River is stated in Capt. Owen's letter to Mr. Thompson, above referred to, to take its rise in about lat.  $27^{\circ}$  s., long.  $31^{\circ}$  E., in a range of hills in the country of the Vatwahs or Zoolas. Mr. Brownlee, the Missionary, mentions a river Amazizi in this direction, which Mr. Thompson supposes to be either the Mapoota itself, or one of its principal branches, 'flowing through elevated plains similar to those near the sources of the river 'Kei.'\* The great range of mountains, known in the Cape Colony under the names of Nieuwveld-bergen, Sneuw-bergen, Rhinoster-bergen, Zuure-bergen, and Storm-bergen, is continued through what is called the Mambookie country, and that of the Caffer tribes beyond, as far as the vicinity of Delagoa Bay; and it seems probable that this ridge, as it extends to the north-east, maintains an elevation equal, if not superior to that of the Sneuw-berg, as the chief sources of the Gariep are now ascertained to rise in the Mambookie mountains, besides many considerable rivers flowing into the Indian Ocean. From the shortness of the course of Dundas River, the hills which form the first steps or outworks of these mountains, would appear to approach, under the parallel of  $26^{\circ}$  s. within about twenty miles of the coast. The Mapoota, however, which is stated in Mr. Thompson's map to be navigable 40 miles from its mouth, would seem to have a much more elevated source than the other waters of Delagoa Bay; and we find its rise carried much further back than Capt. Owen's authority places it; viz. in the Mantatee country, behind that of the Zoolas, in lat.  $28^{\circ}$  s., long.  $31^{\circ}$  E. If this be correct, its sources will approach to those of some of the head waters of the Gariep; and we shall have a repetition of the not unusual phenomenon of streams descending from an elevated table-land in opposite directions to the ocean. We may, in that case, look for the highest land of this region of Africa under the parallel of  $28^{\circ} 30'$  s., and between the meridians of  $29^{\circ}$  and  $30^{\circ}$  E. This seems confirmed by the following statement.

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\* Thompson's Travels, Vol. I. p. 372.

‘ A ridge of mountains takes its rise in about 29° south, at a point of the coast which we named Point Durnford ; (after the young officer who was appointed to delineate it ; ) and, striking directly to the westward, it increases in height and magnitude as it advances into the interior. It then appears to run nearly parallel with the coast to the southward, even to the confines of our colony. The mountains forming this ridge are from three to six thousand feet high, and separate that most beautiful and fertile tract usually known by the name of Natal from the surrounding countries.

‘ Through these mountains, there is said to be but one pass used by the natives going to the northward ; and by that pass the Zoolos have poured upon the people on the other side, and depopulated, laid waste, or entirely subjugated them, even as far as Inhamban.’

Vol. I. pp. 164, 5.

To the west of Delagoa Bay, the ground seems to rise rapidly. On examining English River, as far up as where the Temby and Mattoll discharge themselves into it, about five miles from the fort, they ‘ found the shores rise gradually from an extensive ‘ muddy flat to a high boundary covered with large bushes, and, ‘ in some parts, a full-grown tree towering above them.’ The muddy flat was covered with mangroves, even far below high-water mark. On ascending the Mattoll, the mangroves were soon succeeded by forest-trees, and the swamps and stagnant pools by extensive meadows. About eight miles above its junction with English River, its breadth was diminished from 960 feet to less than 80 ; and its breadth from 16 to 8 feet. According to the statement of a native, it has its rise at a very short distance above this spot, in an extensive salt-water marsh. The Temby has a broader and deeper entrance than that of the Mattol. It is ‘ skirted, on both sides, by mangrove-trees and putrid swamps, ‘ excepting when a green meadow now and then intervenes, and ‘ affords some slight relief to a country rendered more dreary and ‘ disagreeable by a consideration of its deadly climate.’ The exploring party proceeded up this river to a place where its channel ‘ branches off into two inconsiderable streams.’

‘ They proceeded up the left or southern branch, which was about 80 feet broad ; but had not advanced far, when they were stopped by a barrier of trees that had fallen from the lofty banks on either side, and rendered the further passage of the boats impossible. This completed the survey of the River Temby or Mahong, of which, although not more than 46 miles in extent, including its sinuosities, a knowledge is desirable on account of the facility which it affords for a commercial intercourse with the inhabitants of the interior. It is true, that only vessels drawing under 13 feet water could navigate it nineteen miles from the entrance ; but boats could perform the remainder, and, in the proper season, with little fear of suffering from the effects of the climate.’ Vol. I. pp. 90, 91.

We cannot help suspecting that this Temby or Mahong, the

principal stream which falls into the estuary called English River, will prove to be an arm of the Mapoota.

Upon the banks of the Temby, the party fell in with some of the warlike Zoolas, called by the Portuguese, Vatwahs.

‘The people of Delagoa call them Hollontontes, doubtless a corruption from Hottentots, as they come from the south, which is considered their country. This name they must have become acquainted with when the Dutch first settled on English River, about a hundred and twenty years back. This tribe does not appear to have long possessed power dangerous to their neighbours, but some years since subjugated Mapoota, whose king was their tributary. In one of the struggles of contending chiefs for despotism, King Chaka expelled his uncle Loon Kundava, and upwards of 5000 of his adherents. These, passing through Mapoota, Temby, and Mattoll, laid the whole country waste, and even threatened to destroy the Portuguese factory; whilst, strange to say, the commandant and soldiers of the said factory actually carried on traffic with them, through native traders, for their spoil both of cattle and slaves. The extraordinary part of this is, that the Portuguese claim the whole of this country, and yet trade with its enemies for the plunder they take in it. Among the articles bartered by these Zoolas were many of the native implements of agriculture; and we learned that they manufactured these and many other articles themselves, and that the iron implements used even by the Portuguese, were made by independent native tribes. King Chaka, in pursuit of his rebel subjects, did not allow them to rest long any where; but, whether the neighbouring countries were entered by Loon Kundava and the rebels as they fled, or by Chaka in pursuit of them, the miserable natives were equally sufferers, as they left nothing but desolation and famine in the rear.’ Vol. I. pp. 79, 80.

This would seem to be another version of the account given by Mr. Thompson, of the devastation spread by the *Mantatees*, (a word signifying invader or marauder in the Bechuana language,) expelled from their own country, and driven upon the adjacent tribes by the more warlike Zoolas. ‘The extent of the misery and destruction occasioned among the Caffer tribes, by the possession and subsequent devastations of the Mantatee hordes, it is impossible,’ says Mr. Thompson, ‘accurately to estimate; but, at the most moderate calculation, it is believed, that not fewer than 100,000 people perished by war and famine.’\* The following description of the young Zoola chief, Chinchingany, applies, with a few exceptions, to the rest of the tribe.

‘Round his head, just above the eyes, was a band of fur, somewhat resembling in size and colour a fox’s tail, neatly trimmed and smoothed: underneath this his black woolly hair was hidden; but above, it grew to its usual length, until at the top, where a circular space was shaved

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\* Travels, Vol. I. p. 383.

in the manner of the monks and Zoolos ; round this circle was a thick ring of twisted hide, fixed in its position by the curling over of the surrounding hair, which was altogether sufficiently thick to resist a considerable blow. On one side of his head was a single feather of some large bird as an emblem of his rank, and just above his eyebrows a string of small white beads, and another across the nose ; close under his chin he wore a quantity of long coarse hair, like the venerable beard of a patriarch hanging down on his breast ; his ears had large slits in their lower lobes, and were made to fall three or four inches, but without any ornaments ; these holes in the ears are often used to carry articles of value. Each arm was encircled by a quantity of hair like that tied on his chin, the ends reaching below his elbows. Round his body were tied two strings, with twisted stripes of hide with the hair on them, much resembling monkeys' tails ; the upper row was fastened close under his arms, and hung down about twelve inches, the end of each tail being cut with much precision and regularity ; the lower row resembled the upper, and commenced exactly where the latter terminated, until they reached the knees. It bore altogether a great resemblance to the Scotch kilt. On his ankles and wrists he had brass rings or bangles. His shield was of bullock's hide, about five feet long and three and-a-half broad ; down the middle was fixed a long stick, tufted with hair, by means of holes cut for the purpose, and projecting above and below beyond the shield about five inches. To this stick were attached his assagayes and spears : the only difference in these weapons is, that the former is narrow in the blade and small for throwing, the latter broad and long, with a stronger staff for the thrust.

‘The chief differed from his people only in the mock beard and feather, which they were not permitted to wear. In concluding the description of Chinchingany's costume, it is necessary to observe that this is entirely military, and used only when upon warlike expeditions ; at other times, the Hollontontes are dressed as the Kaffers.’

Vol. I. pp. 93—95.

On the 24th of October, an Admiralty midshipman on board the *Leven*, became the first victim to the dreadful complaint which speedily made such melancholy ravages among the exploring party. The unhealthy season lasts from the beginning of September till the end of April, during which time the whalers do not frequent the bay. Those who are engaged in the fishery, therefore, escape the fatal effects of the pestilential vapours that arise from the earth during the sickly months. In the first week of November, the cases of fever on board the *Leven* amounted to more than twenty, among whom was not one who had not been employed away from the ship. By the 24th, out of a crew of sixty, twenty-nine were on the sick list ; and the deadly effects of the climate were aggravated by the depressing influence which the mortality exerted on the minds of the survivors.

‘The constant operation of committing their companions to the deep, and a superstitious fancy that they were to be the next victims, preyed

upon and depressed the spirits of the men. "The fever" was their only topic; every strange sensation was looked upon as the first symptom; until the constant anxiety and apprehension produced an excitement, irritability, and nervous panic, which very soon assumed the character of the complaint they had so long been anticipating, when they sank without a struggle to the grave.' Vol. I. pp. 151, 2.

Many affecting details are given of the circumstances attending the fate of those who fell victims to the fever. Among these, were Captain Cutfield, a brave officer, commander of the *Barracouta*, Captain Lechmere, Lieutenant Henry Gibbons, several midshipmen, the boatswain of the *Barracouta*, and the ship's carpenter. Several creeks and banks received names in memory of the victims; and 'unhappily', says the Writer, 'there is not a remarkable spot from English River to "Morley's Bank," that does not record the fate of some of our departed shipmates.'

'It is usual to cover the remains of the dead with the union-jack, until consigned to the deep. This is attached to the grating on which the corpse is laid, when launched into its ocean grave. Upon the bier being again brought on board, it is usual to hoist the wet colour to dry. Consequently, this signal of death, from either vessel, bore the fatal news immediately to the other; when the imagination of every one was exercised in fancying who the last victim might have been. But our conjectures were frequently wide of the truth; so rapid was the transition from perfect health to eternity, and from apparent dissolution to recovery!' Vol. I. pp. 163, 4.

Owing to the scarcity of hands, it was found necessary to hire some of the native Delagoans as seamen; and honourable testimony is borne to the manner in which they conducted themselves.

'Previously to our sailing, they received the same provisions as our own people, and were paid at the rate of one shilling per day, which they were allowed to take either in tobacco or in clothing. For the former, as luxury, they had hitherto shewn much desire; but no sooner did they perceive that, from its relative value, it occasioned a great drawback in the receipt of the more essential article of clothing, than they almost entirely discarded its use, contenting themselves with a very limited enjoyment; thereby evincing the command that their prudence had over one of their strongest propensities, and affording a remarkable contrast in their character to that of many savages, who gratify the wants of the present moment by the sacrifice of every other consideration. The Delagoans worked well, were respectful in their behaviour, and shewed their content by the joyful chorus with which, like the Canadian boatmen, they regulated the stroke of their oars, when pulling in our boats.' Vol. I. pp. 159, 160.

It is stated elsewhere, that 'a strong predilection for fair com-



‘merce’ was found to exist among them; ‘and men never behaved better than they always did at their markets or on board our ships.’

At length, the necessity became urgent, that the *Leven* should quit the fatal shores of the Bay, and put to sea, leaving the *Cockburn*, whose crew was at the time perfectly healthy, to continue the survey. It seems surprising that, after the ample experience of the certain effects of ascending the rivers at this season, it should have been attempted to explore the Mapoota. A week was occupied in surveying the flats at its mouth, before they entered the river itself.

‘For the first twelve miles, the banks of the Mapoota are formed of a low alluvial soil, shallow, and lined with forests of mangroves: the country then becomes more open. Although the river is everywhere narrow, and its navigable channels still more so, yet we were enabled to beat up against a strong wind by the assistance of the flood-tide. During this operation, both shores of the river were covered with naked natives, in general armed with assagayes, and demonstrating by various sounds and antics their joy and astonishment; for without doubt none of this generation had ever before witnessed such a spectacle.

‘Our first communication with these people was at a village about seven leagues up the river. It was some time before they could be prevailed upon to trust their valuable persons on board; but, after all our eloquence had proved unsuccessful, curiosity prevailed over fear. Upon being shewn the wonders of the vessel, they expressed much more astonishment than usual amongst savages. Some of our companions recollected the first visit of several North American Indians to the first-rate ship of war built on the lakes of Canada, who never expressed the slightest degree of surprise or wonder at what they saw, resolving it all into an operation of the devil. These savages, on the contrary, examined and felt every thing; and the kind reception they met with induced their countrymen soon to banish both fear and reserve, much to the inconvenience of our officers and crew, who were sadly tormented by their numbers and curiosity.’ Vol. I. pp. 212, 13.

An embassy was despatched to the king of the territory. After a fatiguing march of nearly sixteen miles, the party came in sight of the royal residence.

‘On their arrival at the village, which consisted of several huts, built in a semicircle, enclosing a considerable space, King Makasany was found seated on a mat in the middle of the area, surrounded by several of his chiefs, likewise seated on their heels, and numbers of the common people of both sexes, all in the same posture. His majesty appeared about sixty years of age, very tall and stout, with a pleasing yet dignified countenance; from habit or intention he was long in answering any questions, as if giving them much deliberation and judgment.

‘Mats being spread for the officers of the embassy, Mr. Hood in-

formed Makasany, "that one of King George's little ships was come into his river; that it was sent to ask after his health, and look at his river and his country; that King George's own ships did never trade, that being done by those belonging to his people, who paid him moderate custom." Two of these ships, Mr. Hood said, were then in the river, and if the King was disposed to trade with them, and would allow his people to do the same, he might be assured of their good faith and conduct. Messrs. Retchie and Thomson were then introduced as the merchants, who informed the King, that they had brought beads, brass rings, and cloth, to exchange for ivory and ambergris.

'Makasany replied, that he had been sick a very long time, but on hearing the good news that one of King George's ships had come up his river, it made him quite well immediately; that he had received a message from the Portuguese factory, representing the English as an insignificant people, who lived only in ships by robbing countries too weak to oppose them, &c.; but he did not believe them, and should always be happy to see English ships in his river to trade with him and his people. Then, having a wine-glass presented to him, he gave a glass of rum to each of the embassy, took one himself, and distributed the remainder of the two bottles among his wives, several of whom were in attendance, and many more absent.

'When this interview was ended, the party were conducted to another village, about a quarter of a mile from the first, belonging to one of Makasany's wives, whose hut was prepared for their reception. Their good-natured landlady, who was middle-aged and fat, sat up with them the whole night; this example was followed by all the people of the village, who gratified their curiosity by the sight of white men, and asked a thousand questions.

'A goat was prepared for their supper, and in the morning they were presented with a repast of milk and cakes made of millet. This was much more sumptuous feeding than our parties generally met with on such excursions; but the country was at peace with the Zoolos, and had not been lately ravaged.

'After breakfast they were again summoned to attend the King, who was seated under the same tree with his chiefs; when, having again assured Mr. Hood of his delight at seeing English vessels in his country, he said that he was at liberty to go where he liked in it, and that he would gladly trade with the merchants. Mr. Hood and his party therefore commenced their return to the vessel, leaving Messrs. Retchie and Thompson, with English Bill as interpreter.

'Upon their return, Messrs. Hood and Tudor occupied themselves in finding stations for the survey of the river, but could meet with none sufficiently commanding for the purpose. They were, however, amply repaid by the most enchanting scenery along the whole course of the stream, as far as they could trace it; which, by their description, surpassed all that we had hitherto navigated. The view was everywhere terminated by a range of lofty hills, about thirty miles to the westward, beyond which to the natives every thing was enveloped in fable and mystery.

'The merchants having made their arrangements with Makasany, he allowed them huts in one of his own villages, not far from their

vessels, when the trade commenced, but was carried on very slowly, according to the custom of all savages.

‘The mode of bartering for elephants’ teeth is as follows:—they are brought to the place of exchange, after they have been examined and sometimes weighed; the merchant puts down a certain quantity of blue calico or dungaree, beads, brass collars, bracelets, anklets, &c. These are invariably refused in the first instance, and as the King is the only merchant for teeth, so long as he pleases, or has any to dispose of, there can be no competition; and as he sells but one at a time, the delays to which such a traffic is exposed may be easily imagined. They have sometimes stood at the gate of the Portuguese factory for fourteen days, before the natives would consent to part with them on the terms offered. To their honour be it known, that, although the goods of our merchants were left in an open hut, absolutely within their power, yet they never lost a single article; and it is but justice to the African character to record, that we never knew one instance of dishonesty, excepting by such persons as had been in the service of the Portuguese.

‘The King, Makasany, was very fond of rum, and drank it freely, but would never receive it as an article of barter; observing most philosophically, that although the pleasure arising from drinking was certainly great, yet it was too transitory an exchange for real property. Many of his chiefs and people were, however, not exactly of his opinion, and would have parted with all they possessed for the pleasure of getting drunk for a few hours. Makasany came from the trading village, which was near a mile from the vessel, to the bank of the river, but could not be persuaded to venture on board.’

Vol. I. pp. 215—219.

In front of the huts stood a large tree, of a species called by the natives *foomgoora*, which was used for their meetings and bazaars. It is described as ‘*the didynamia angiospermia*’. The flowers are spreading and elegant, and it produces a fruit larger than a melon, which is used ‘to clean metals, but not for food’. It is impossible to divine from this description, to what known genus this production can be referred.

In the mean time, two boats, furnished with ten days’ provisions, were despatched to trace the river up to its source. They made way very slowly, the tides not being felt a few miles above where the vessel was stationed; and the current, increased by the freshes, became on the second day so strong, that they were five days in ascending forty miles, which occupied only one day in returning. Their progress was, moreover, materially obstructed by hippopotami and alligators, which were extremely numerous; and they were so much annoyed by night, by innumerable mosquitoes, as well as by the howling of wild beasts, and the grunting, bellowing, and snorting of the gigantic water-herds, that they could get but little rest after their daily labour. Their camps were generally fixed on the right bank of the river, where, to make a place for their huts, they were in the practice of setting fire to

the long grass. The last evening of their ascent, they were surprised, and rather alarmed, at perceiving the flames extend to a neighbouring forest. The scene must indeed have been tremendously magnificent, and is beautifully described.

‘The burning grass was rapidly consumed, and we were about pitching our tents as usual, when the flames suddenly spread in the direction of the forest; another moment and it was on fire; first the underwood, then the branches, and lastly, the ponderous trunks, were enveloped in one sheet of flame and smoke: the noise was terrific, as the crackling embers fell to the ground, while fiery sparks and brands were spreading the devouring element in all directions. The birds and numerous animals that had so long inhabited this impenetrable solitude undisturbed, were wildly screaming forth their terror, as, in their efforts to escape, they fell suffocated by the smoke into the consuming mass. We looked at one another in silent wonder, not unmixed with dread; the wild flame was let loose; it was spreading with uncontrollable fury, and we actually shuddered as we gazed upon the destruction we had made. The earth, the sky, and the water, all seemed kindled into flame. Our little power had produced this mighty work; but who could stop it? We felt our insignificance; and knew that only *One* could arrest its burning course, and upon *Him* we inwardly called with wonder and devotion. Such an event as this is of rare occurrence, and one that few men have seen, and none have been able to describe. It is almost too much for the eye to contemplate; the feelings become subdued by the terrific grandeur of the scene. It was like a universal conflagration; all around was fire; red flames glowed from earth to heaven! I cannot describe what I suffered, for it was a painful sensation thus to gaze directly on the power of the Almighty. Both were his works; he had made the forest and the fire for the benefit of his creatures; used with the wisdom he has given them, they are their chief blessings; but, thus thrown thoughtlessly and carelessly together by impious man, they become a consuming curse, devouring all in their burning wrath. We had no opportunity of learning the extent of this conflagration, as we were that night obliged to pitch our tents on the opposite side of the river.’

Vol. I. pp. 221, 2.

Up to this time, all had seemed promising; and neither the weather, nor the country indicated any thing unhealthy. But now, first one, and then another were taken ill; and before the vessel could get out of the river, one half of the crew were attacked with the fever. In three days, Lieutenant Owen, the commander of the *Cockburn*, was the only white person able to do any thing; and ultimately, seven officers and men alone survived, out of the twenty who composed the original crew. The *Leven* returned to the Bay, just in time to receive on board the sick who survived; when it was found that the list of those who had died of the disorder, amounted to two thirds of the officers and one half of the crews of the three vessels. On the 16th of

March, they sailed for the Cape. In July, the survey of the Bay and Mapoota river were resumed and completed, by the *Leven*, with the loss of only two men, whose death was attributable to their own imprudence.

In the mean time, the *Barracouta* sailed for Quilimane, the greatest slave-mart of the Portuguese on this coast. The town, built on an unhealthy marsh, contains ten houses inhabited by Portuguese, fifteen by Creoles, seven occupied by merchants from Goa, with numerous huts for slaves belonging to the Portuguese; forming altogether a population of about 2800 souls. The houses belonging to the whites, ('as the descendants of the 'Portuguese are called, although sometimes as black as the negroes themselves,') are substantially constructed of brick, faced with tiles manufactured from the clay of the river, and surrounded with a verandah. In the best houses, the pearl oyster-shell is used in the windows as a substitute for glass. From eleven to fourteen slave vessels come annually from Rio to this place, and return with cargoes averaging from four to five hundred slaves! Quilimane was in the possession of the Arabs, when Vasco di Gama put into this river on his way to the East Indies. About the year 1585, the Portuguese under Francisco Barreta, having penetrated as far as Manica, in the Zambizi territory, exterminated every Mohammedan native in cold blood, and then took possession of their wealth.

' But the sins of the early Portuguese have been here visited upon many generations. The climate, poison, and the dagger, are constantly destroying the present race; and, although in possession of the finest country in the world, they are entirely dependent upon other nations, importing all their enjoyments, save the grossest sensuality. To protect the commerce that was eventually opened by this expedition, various settlements, forts, and strongholds were erected on the banks of the Zambizi and its dependent rivers, to keep in awe the surrounding savages, who otherwise would have retaliated upon them for encroaching upon their territory.

' In all probability Quilimane, from its commodious situation in a mercantile point of view, soon became a place of some importance to the Portuguese, and a thoroughfare for the produce of their inland possessions along the Zambizi, which was formerly shipped from thence to Mozambique. The riches of Quilimane consisted, in a trifling degree, of gold and silver, but principally of grain, which was produced in such quantities as to supply Mozambique. But the introduction of the slave-trade stopped the pursuits of industry, and changed those places where peace and agriculture had formerly reigned, into the seat of war and bloodshed. Contending tribes are now constantly striving to obtain by mutual conflict, prisoners as slaves for sale to the Portuguese, who excite these wars and fatten on the blood and wretchedness they produce. The slave-trade has been a blight on its prosperity; for at present, Quilimane and the Portuguese possessions in the whole

colony of the Rios de Senna do not supply themselves with sufficient corn for their own consumption.' Vol. I. pp. 286, 7.

The captaincy of the Rios de Sena, in which Quilimane is included, is now the only territory that the Portuguese really possess on the eastern coast of Africa. The northern boundary is formed by the Zambizi and the Lupata chain, which separate the colony from the territory of the Maravi Caffers. On the south, it is bounded by the mountains of Sofala. Westward, the border passes along the territories of Quiteve and Baroe, and afterwards skirts the kingdom of Monopota to the vicinity of Chicova. It extends along the coast about 30 leagues, and inland about 120 leagues, its square area being computed at 3600 square leagues. The European and Mulatto population of the whole colony, in 1806, scarcely exceeded 500 souls, the adults between fifteen and sixty years of age numbering only 194. This included all the capitated inhabitants of both sexes in the three towns of Quilimane, Sena, and Tata, and the river ports of Zumbo and Manica\*. Manica is the great gold-mart, twenty days inland, where an annual market is held, at which gold and ivory are bartered for Surat cloths, coarse silks, and iron. Tata, or Têté, is a settlement about sixty leagues above Sena; and Zumbo is a journey of fifteen days beyond Tata, and can be reached only by a difficult and circuitous route.

Having obtained permission of the governor of Mozambique, an exploring party was detached from the Barracouta, with directions to ascend the Zambizi as high as Tata; but at Sena, which they reached on the 25th day from Quilimane, all further progress was rendered impracticable by the fatal effects of the climate. Mr. Forbes, the botanist, was the first victim: he did not live to reach Sena. Lieutenant Browne sank next. Mr. Kilpatrick, the only survivor, expired at Chaponga, on the return route. Two faithful African servants, who had been attached to the expedition, attended their masters successively to the grave they had done their best in preparing, with the help of negroes hired for the sad occasion; and 'a prayer in the best English ' that poor Adonis could command, was said over the last remains, ' before they were for ever consigned to the earth.'

From a small note-book kept by Mr. Browne, together with the statements of the two black servants, a distinct narrative of this ill-fated expedition has been gathered; but the geographical information is of course scanty and vague. The Zambizi forms by its several branches an immense delta, of which the Quilimane branch appears to be the northern, and the Savey or Sabia the southern boundary. The banks of the Quilimane were found to be marshy, and covered with mangroves to low-water

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\* Mod. Traveller, Vol. XXII. p. 320.



mark, for about eight miles above the town, the stream continuing about a mile in width, and abounding with hippopotami. Above the negro village of Nasongo, picturesquely situated amid groves of cocoa, palm, and orange-trees, the river began to be divided by innumerable islands, between which the channels were so narrow, that the large canoe was abandoned for smaller ones; and at the Boca do Rio, forty-seven miles above Quilimane by the river, but only thirty-two in a straight line, the navigation, even by small canoes, becomes in the dry season impracticable. The river was there from twenty to thirty yards in breadth, perfectly fresh, but much impregnated with decayed vegetable matter. The party had now to travel for some miles by land, through a flat, well cultivated country, abounding in villages. At times, they came upon the course of the river, the breadth of which, in some places, was reduced to sixteen feet, with high banks that served, in the rainy season, to restrain the floods. They at length reached, on the 11th day, a spot where the river Zambizi 'divides, 'and forms the noble river of Luabo'; meaning, we suppose, where the Quilimane branches off from the main river, which falls into the ocean by several mouths, called the Luabo\*. During the rainy season, from November to March, the country in this part is inundated for miles, the deep water-channel then extending upwards of a mile and a half in breadth; and notwithstanding the rapidity of the current, boats can ascend over the inundated lands. In the dry season, the land is covered with rushes and bamboos, interspersed with noxious swamps, and a few palms only relieve the desolateness of the barren and unwholesome waste. Notwithstanding the breadth of the river, the numerous sand-banks rendered the current so strong, that the canoes were not able to make more than a mile and a half an hour; and the same dull and monotonous scenery continued till the party reached the place called Chaponga. Above this, the country begins to rise.

'The river was at first about a mile broad, with rocky banks rising perpendicularly about twenty feet from the water. As they advanced, the picturesque but distant mountains of Yemale near Senna, were seen and admired as a pleasing novelty, when compared with the general flatness of the country. As the travellers contemplated their bold and extensive outline, they fondly fancied that a more propitious climate there awaited them, where their sick companion could be again restored to health.' Vol. II. p. 57.

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\* It is afterwards stated, that several streams branch off from the Luabo, one of which bisects the country between that river and the Quilimane, and discharges itself into the sea at a place called Melambey. This branch affords 'a spacious and clear entrance, with a much greater depth of water than the Quilimane.'

The hope was but too delusive. Five days more of tedious navigation, through which the general appearance of the river was unvarying, brought them to Sena, where their first sad task was, to commit to the earth the remains of Mr. Forbes, who had died the day before.

The town of Sena stands, according to the observation of Lieutenant Browne, in lat.  $17^{\circ} 30'$  s., long.  $35^{\circ} 15'$  E. It appears to be in no respect superior to Quilimane. Ten houses occupied by Portuguese, are the only ones that make any pretensions to European structure; the remainder being mere huts, 'interspersed with filthy, stagnant pools, a demonstration of the 'unhealthiness of the place, as of the idleness and sloth of the 'inhabitants.' The town is built in a plain, amid a forest of tamarind, mango, and cocoa-nut trees. Two small hills about 150 feet in height, command the town, of which a diminutive mud redoubt, surmounted with two small field-pieces, forms the only defence. From the heights, the river was seen majestically winding through the plain; towards the north, the country presented a mountainous aspect, while to the south, two or three small hills alone broke the parched and dreary level.

Such is the present capital of the colony! Tata is said to be superior, both in size and situation, being built on high ground, in a mountainous district, with the Zambizi flowing beneath; and the inhabitants are of a more industrious and enterprising character. But this rests upon hearsay.

Considerable curiosity was felt by the party to whom was committed the tracing of the coast of Sofala, with regard to a site supposed to have been the Ophir of Solomon, its Arabic name being Zofar or Zofaal;—'the spot whither the early but venturesome 'Phenician navigators steered their cumbrous barks; and where, 'in later years, Albuquerque and the last heroes of the Portuguese race had distinguished themselves.' The disappointment of every romantic expectation was never more complete.

'Instead of what the fancy pictured, remains of past grandeur and opulence, frowning in decay, and falling gradually to dust, we found but a paltry fort and a few miserable mud-huts, the almost deserted abode of poverty and vice. Not only here; every place in Africa and India, subject to the Portuguese, has withered beneath the iron hand of oppression.'—Vol. I. p. 319.

Immediately to the northward of Sofala, the estuary of the river Boozy opens into a large, shallow bay called Massangzany; but the fort and village of Sofala are near the mouth of the Savey or Sabia, another arm of the Zambizi. The mouth is narrow, with very little water in the dry season. In fact, the whole of this part of the coast is rendered very dangerous, and almost inaccessible, by the mud brought down by the rivers, which has

nearly filled up the bays, and blocked up the mouths of the rivers. To the south of Sofala, the Gawooro empties itself into the great bay of Maroonone. This river, which was reported to be a branch of the Manice, is hardly navigable by boats at its entrance, although it becomes 'a superb river' higher up. About five leagues to the south of the Savey, is Chuluwan, or Holy Island, where are remains of stone buildings, said to be Arabic edifices erected before the Portuguese conquests; and five leagues from this is a small, well-wooded, but uninhabited island called Boene, separated from the main by a mud creek, which is now covered only at high water, but must anciently have formed a useful harbour. To the south of this, is the mouth of the Inhamban, which affords 'a superb harbour,' easy of access, but is scarcely navigable for a ship above the town, eight miles from its entrance; and five miles higher, it ceases to be navigable by boats. The Portuguese inhabitants of the town, exclusive of the military, amounted to only 25; but the coloured population is numerous. The Portuguese have no territory on this part of the coast, and are not even allowed to advance any distance into the interior. The trade of Inhamban consists chiefly in ivory and bees' wax, obtained of the natives by barter, and exported to Mozambique.

The most interesting part of the survey was that of the almost unknown tract of coast between Zanzibar and Cape Gardafui; respecting which so little modern information exists, that M. Malte Brun exclaims, 'What has become of the famous city of Melinda and the twenty churches of Mombas? Do they exist?'—Well may this question be asked. The territories of the ancient kingdom of Melinda are at present totally occupied by the Galla, who are much dreaded by the Arabs in their coast navigation. But we find that we must devote another article to these interesting volumes, which, though not what they ought to have been, have very materially extended our knowledge of Eastern Africa.

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Art. II. 1. *Letters on the Divine Origin and Authority of the Holy Scriptures.* By the Rev. James Carlile, junior Minister of the Scots Church in Mary's Abbey, Dublin. In two Volumes, 12mo. pp. xi. 771. London, 1833.

2. *The Evidences of Christianity, in their external Division;* exhibited in a Course of Lectures delivered in Clinton Hall in the winter of 1831–2, under the Appointment of the University of the City of New York. By Charles P. M'Ilvaine, D.D., Bishop of Ohio, and President of Ohio College. 12mo., pp. xii. 424. Price 6s. (*Fisher's Select Library*, Vol. IX.) London, 1833.

3. *A Portraiture of Modern Scepticism;* or a Caveat against Infidelity: including a brief Statement of the Evidences of Revealed Truth, and a Defence of the Canon and of Inspiration. Intended as a Present for the Young. By John Morison, D.D. Author of "An

Exposition of the Book of Psalms," &c. 12mo. pp. viii. 262. Price 4s. London, 1832.

4. *The Truth of Christianity.* By J. F. Gyles, Esq., A.M., Barrister at Law. 8vo, pp. 239. Price 6s. London, 1832.

**WE** class these publications under a common head, which allows of our properly noticing them together, although the specific character of each is somewhat different.

Mr. Carlile's 'Letters' were originally addressed to the Author's sisters; and the epistolary form of composition has been retained, 'chiefly for the sake of the freedom and ease of expression which letter-writing warrants and suggests.' The design of the work is, to prove the truth of Christianity from the internal evidence attaching to the inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, contemplated as a whole. The Author thus explains his plan.

'In the following letters, I shall view the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as one book, consisting of an historical narrative, commencing with the creation of the world, and ending with the arrival and residence of the Apostle Paul in Rome, having certain doctrines respecting spiritual things connected with it; these doctrines being conveyed partly in the course of the narrative, and partly by certain other books which are appended to the narrative: and my object will be, to prove that this whole book, as it stands, is of God. In consequence of the much pains that have been bestowed by many able men to set forth the testimonies of uninspired writers to the truth of the New Testament, I shall not dwell at much length on that part of the argument, but content myself with referring to those authors who have handled it fully. I would not however be understood as by any means undervaluing such testimonies. I wish merely to assign to them the station that properly belongs to them in the general argument. God has provided for us confirmations of the truth, sometimes from the lips of his enemies, and, therefore, we are not to overlook them; but we are to take care to keep them in their proper place. The just light in which they ought to be viewed is simply, phenomena to be accounted for. We find certain passages in ancient writings; we ask how these passages came to be in such writings. We give our solution,—that they are the natural consequences of the truth of the Scripture narrative; and we challenge the world to furnish any other reasonable solution. And, indeed, the whole argument may be viewed in this light,—adducing phenomena to be accounted for. We present the Bible, with all its internal and external evidences of truth and of divine workmanship; we shew that the very existence of such a book, so circumstanced, indicates the interposition of divine wisdom and power to bring it into existence; and we call upon those who are not satisfied with our account of the phenomena which we adduce, to furnish some other account of them.

'If any man deny that the earth, or the sun, was created by an omnipotent, omniscient God, the question is instantly put to him, "How, then, did they come into existence?" And the answer which he feels himself constrained to give to this question, at once exposes the ab-

surdity of his imaginations. Now, why should not the argument for the divine inspiration of the Bible be placed on the same footing? We would say to the infidel, "Here is the Bible; a book thus and thus constructed, and accompanied by such and such confirmations; we hold that such a book could not have existed without the special, miraculous interposition of the Deity; and we challenge you to shew how it could have come into existence without that interposition. Take the range of the whole world, and the history of all ages, and say, if you can, when, or by whom, such a book could have been contrived or executed." I am persuaded that a few attempts to answer this plain question, would do more to expose the fallacies upon which the infidel rests his rejection of the Scriptures, than the most elaborate arguments in defence of them.' *Carlile*, Vol. I. p. 9—11.

In the second Letter, the peculiarity of the Scripture method of teaching and confirming religious doctrines by means of an historical narrative, is placed in a very striking light, as bearing upon it the distinctive marks of the Divine wisdom, and furnishing an infallible test of its truth.

' This feature, then, of the sacred Scripture, of teaching religion by means of a historical narrative, distinguishes it from all other books in the world that are held forth as sacred by any people. It is very obvious, that nothing but true religion can be taught by a history of facts; for facts can proceed only from God, and must be a manifestation of his character. A narrative might be contrived, which would teach falsehood respecting God, the moral condition of man, and his prospects after death; but it would necessarily be a fictitious narrative, such as Mahommed's journey to heaven, for no falsehood could be taught on these subjects by means of a narrative of truth. Or an attempt might be made to deduce erroneous doctrine from a true narrative, but then it would be manifest that the deductions were unfairly drawn. This Mahommed attempted to do, when he inferred that his religion was from God, because on one or two occasions he obtained victories over superior numbers of his enemies; which was manifestly no legitimate inference.

' Let us suppose that any one should attempt to build a new system of religion on the history of England. He has but one alternative: he must either disguise and distort the facts of the history, concealing some that would militate against him, and inventing others subservient to his object; in which case the fallacy of it would be instantly detected, and no one would receive his religion: or, retaining the facts of the history, he must draw false inferences from them, in which case again, the fallacy of his new religion would be apparent to every one who was capable of exercising his reason on the inferences drawn by him. If he at once retained the facts of the history, and drew just and legitimate inferences from them, he could teach nothing by means of the history but some portion of the religion of the Bible: such, for example, as the existence, and power, and superintending providence of God.

' Accordingly, you will not find any false religion, or any additions

to true religion, founded on a historical narrative. The Koran or Islamism contains no such narrative. The only historical facts on which it founds any of its doctrines, are those of the Bible. The sacred books of the Hindoos, called the Vedas, or Shasters, have no connexion with authentic history. The only statements which they make in the form of facts, are statements respecting the genealogies and incarnations of their gods, and the creation of the world, of which, in the statutes of Menu, there are obscure, distorted, but yet sufficiently evident references to the Mosaic narrative. The Zendavesta, or sacred book of the followers of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, has in like manner no historical narrative, on which its religious doctrines are founded, or with which they are necessarily connected. Like the Koran of Mahommed, it refers to the facts of the Mosaic history, and contains quotations from the book of Psalms and other parts of Scripture; and the only portion of truth which it contains is drawn from this source. The sacred books of Confucius, the Chinese reformer, are rather to be regarded as books of philosophy and morals than of religion. They contain no history, the truth or falsehood of which would involve the truth or falsehood of his doctrines. They are rather an appeal to the reason and common sense of mankind, than the authoritative promulgation of a religion in the name of a superior being. These are the chief forms of religion that occur to me as having sacred books. The greater portion of the false systems of religion that are practised among men are communicated and conveyed downward by tradition. Such was the mythology of the Egyptians, and of the Greeks and Romans;—such is the religion of Boodha or Fo that is prevalent in China, Ceylon, and some other parts of the east; and which at one time prevailed in India;—and such was the mythology and idolatries of our ancestors—the religion of the Druids, and of the Scandinavian invaders of Europe on the decline of the Roman empire—the Goths, Vandals, Danes, Normans, and other tribes of northern origin.

‘ When we inquire into the statements made in any of the supposed sacred books to which I have alluded, or into the mythology of any of their popular superstitions, we find ourselves instantly in the midst of vague, uncertain, monstrous fictions.

‘ When we pass from this pedantic, crude, metaphysical history of the creation of the world, without date or precision of any kind, but, like a vague, incoherent dream, founded upon some indistinct impression of real events, to the precision and simplicity of the Bible, it seems impossible not to feel that we are passing from the region of falsehood into the region of truth. And so it is in passing from the details of any other books given out as sacred, or from the consideration of any false religion, to the Bible. In the one, all is enveloped in doubt, uncertainty, vagueness, incoherency; no connexion with authentic history, no means furnished of confirming truth or detecting falsehood; all is darkness; and the images which it presents before the mind indistinct and monstrous. In the other, all is precision and clearness; human nature in its usual form; a perpetual connexion kept up with the great events in the history of the world, and abundant means furnished either of confirmation or detection. We feel ourselves instantly in the light of day, surrounded with natural objects, and furnished with



the power of examining them; touching, tasting, handling them, and satisfying ourselves that it is no delusion but a reality.

‘ This view of the structure of the Bible brings us at once to two questions. First, Is the history which the Bible contains authentic history? And, secondly, Is the religion of the Bible necessarily connected with its history, or fairly deduced from it? If these two questions can be answered in the affirmative, then the religion of the Bible must be divine, for it is self evident that God alone could bring to pass the events recorded in the Bible.

‘ The answers to these questions, however, do by no means contain the whole of the argument. For if the doctrine respecting spiritual and eternal things connected with the history be really of God, it may be expected to bear upon it the evidences of its own divine original, both in its own structure and in its adaptation to the circumstances and necessities of mankind. This, then, is the general plan which I propose to follow in these letters: I. To examine the Scripture history viewed as a whole: II. The Scripture doctrine respecting spiritual and eternal things, which is built upon the history or indissolubly connected with it: and, III. Notice and answer a few of the objections usually brought against the divine origin of the Scripture, whether drawn from the historical facts or the religious doctrine. An explanation of the means which the Bible furnishes for determining the canon of Scripture, that is, for determining whether any book is or is not a genuine portion of it, with a *summary* and *application* of the argument, will finish our disquisitions.’ *Carlile*, Vol. I. pp. 30—37.

We have cited this passage at length, which is complete in itself, both as an able statement of a very striking argument, and as affording, at the same time, a view of the general plan of the Letters. The series is arranged under the following heads. Part I., Preliminary Statement. Part II., On the Truth of Scripture History. Sect. 1, Internal Evidences of its Truth. Sect. 2, External Confirmations of its Truth. Sect. 3, On the Prophecies and Types interwoven with the History. Part III., On the System of Doctrines contained in the Bible, and the principles upon which it is connected with its History. Part IV. On the Adaptation of the Religious System of Scripture to Human Nature and the Exigencies of Mankind. Part V. On the Wisdom manifested in the outward Religious Ordinances of the Bible. Part VI. Objections briefly considered. Part VII. On the Principles on which the Canon of Scripture is determined.—Summary and application of the Argument.

From the extensive range of investigation which these subjects comprise, Mr. Carlile has found himself compelled to treat them, for the most part, briefly, referring to such writers as have entered into the several topics more at length. This was the most desirable plan in such a work; and the familiar, and sometimes miscellaneous character of the Letters, will render them the more adapted to keep up the attention and to interest the feelings of

young persons, to whom they are more peculiarly suited. It is, in our judgement, a strong recommendation of the work, that it does not presuppose the reader to be an infidel or a sceptic; but, while it supplies an answer to the plausible sophistry of unbelievers, it is more especially designed and calculated to ‘unfold’ to those who already revere and love the Bible as the book of ‘God, a portion of the surpassing wisdom which has been employed in its formation.’ The tendency of the work to produce, not simply conviction, but the fruit of genuine conviction, piety, is much more direct, than that of many valuable works which seem to concede that the truth of Christianity is questionable, by starting, as it were, in the course of argument, from infidelity. If Christianity be true, it must be Divine; and yet, some persons who have admitted its truth, to a certain extent, upon the strength of the historic evidence, have not bowed to its Divine authority. But shew it to be Divine, and you have established not merely its truth, but its authority also; with this advantage, that, at every step, the genuine claims of the Religion are brought distinctly in view; not simply its credibility, but its moral credentials. By one method, you first testify a fact, and then prove it. By the other, you suppose the fact to be deducible only as a conclusion from the process of argument. We will not venture to say that the latter method has not its use, and may not prove successful; but we feel warranted in affirming that common experience is in favour of the superior efficiency of the former. It is a law of human nature, let sceptical philosophers say what they please, that testimony should be more convincing than logic. The language of doubt breeds doubt: that of conviction has at least a tendency to convince. Christianity is placed in a false position, when, even for the sake of establishing its truth, it is made to rank among hypotheses.

Little is gained by extorting an assent that Christianity is true. Multitudes of nominal believers have no conception, as Dr. M‘Ilvaine remarks, ‘what a truth that is, which they so carelessly acknowledge; *how impressively it is true*; with what awful authority it is invested; what a wonder is involved in professing to believe, and refusing to obey it.’ On the other hand, multitudes of real believers have no adequate conceptions of the majestic evidence by which their faith is attested and authenticated. In the admirable volume which we have next to notice, the learned Writer thus urges upon all who are experimentally convinced of the preciousness of the Gospel, the duty and advantage of studying the various arguments which illustrate the divinity of its original.

‘I would urge it on considerations of *personal pleasure and spiritual improvement*. There is a rich feast of knowledge and of devout contemplation to be found in this study. The serious believer who has

not pursued it, has yet to learn with what wonderful and impressive light, the God of the Gospel has manifested its truth. Its evidences are not only convincing, but delightfully plain; astonishingly accumulated, and of immense variety as well as strength. He who will take the pains not only to pursue the single line of argument which may seem enough to satisfy his own mind; but devoutly to follow up, in succession, all those great avenues which lead to the gospel as the central fountain of truth, will be presented, at every step, with such evident marks of the finger of God; he will hear from every quarter such reiterated assurances of, "this is the way; walk thou in it"; he will find himself so enclosed on every hand by insurmountable evidences shutting him up into the faith of Christ, that new views will open upon him of the real cause and guilt and danger of all unbelief; new emotions of gratitude and admiration will arise in his heart, for a revelation so divinely attested; his zeal will receive a new impulse to follow and promote such heavenly light.

'But I would urge this study on all serious believers, who have the means of pursuing it, *as a matter of duty*. It is not enough that *they* are well satisfied. They have a cause to defend and promote, as well as a faith to love and enjoy. It is enjoined on them by the authority of their Divine Master, that they be ready to give to every man that asketh them, a reason of the hope that is in them. They must be able to answer intelligently the question, *Why do you believe in Christianity?* For this purpose, it is not enough to be able to speak of a sense of the truth arising from an inward experience of its power and blessedness. This is excellent evidence for one's own mind; but it cannot be felt or understood by an unbeliever. The Christian advocate must have a knowledge of the arguments by which infidelity may be confounded, as well as an experience of the benefits for which the gospel should be loved. To obtain this in proportion to his abilities, he is bound by the all-important consideration, that the religion of Jesus cannot be content while one soul remains in the rejection of her light and life. She seeks not only to be maintained, but to bring all mankind to her blessings. The *benevolence* of a Christian should stimulate him to be well armed for the controversy with unbelievers. Benevolence, while it should constrain the infidel most carefully to conceal his opinions, lest others be so unhappy as to feel their ague and catch their blight, should invigorate the believer with the liveliest zeal to bring over his fellow-creatures to the adoption of a faith so glorious in its hopes and so ennobling in its influence.' *M'Ilvaine*, pp. 11—13.

We must not, however, part with Mr. Carlile, before we have given a specimen or two of the contents of the Letters, and of the very pleasing style in which they are written. The Letter 'On the Sublimity and Spirituality of the Doctrines of Scripture', is a very beautiful and striking one: we do not recollect to have seen 'the Temptation of Our Lord' placed in so just and vivid a light.

'We find in the New Testament a contest between the principal character of the Scripture narrative and his adversary, which was to decide the fate of millions of rational immortal creatures for eternity.

Had any uninspired writer undertaken to invent such a contest, we should have seen two gigantic antagonists confronted with one another, armed from head to foot, and using such weapons as were calculated to destroy material bodies, as swords, javelins, thunderbolts, or rocks torn from their bases. But in Scripture we have nothing of all this. When Jesus and Satan are brought into collision, there is indeed a deadly contest, but it is purely of a spiritual kind. Satan employs all his artifice to introduce sin into the soul of our Lord, and Jesus repels it by the word of God, which is the proper "sword of the Spirit". And the contest is ended, not by Satan's being felled to the ground, or driven from the verge of a precipice into a gulf of fire—incidents which would have left his spirit untouched; but by his being repulsed with a look and expression of abhorrence like a detected felon, carrying with him the agony of remorse and shame, mortified pride, baffled ambition, disappointed revenge, and unquenchable but fruitless rage. These were wounds that entered more directly and more deeply into his spirit, than any pain that could be occasioned to him by a wounded body.

' The circumstances that seem to me to prove most satisfactorily the reality of this transaction, are its extreme simplicity, combined with its unspeakable importance. It appears in the narrative of the Evangelist, as one of the most common-place ordinary transactions; yet it was a contest for the precious life. The aim of Satan was most deadly; and, had it succeeded, would have spread destruction and horror to an inconceivable extent.

' The apparent simplicity of the contest necessarily arises from the high intellectual powers of the parties engaged in it. It appears a simple thing to us, because we do not fully understand it. When two generals of consummate skill are opposed to one another, their operations are unintelligible to persons unacquainted with military tactics: and some apparently insignificant movement—such as crossing a river, or taking possession of a road, or placing a few men on the summit of a hill many miles from either of the hostile armies—to which unskilled spectators would attach no importance, may, in the eyes of the generals themselves, who can look forward to consequences, decide the fate of the campaign, nay, it may be, of the contending empires. A child witnessing a game at chess, or any other competition of mature intellect, would see nothing of the skill displayed by the antagonists; and a game on which much property might depend, might be decided by some little movement which, to an unskilled spectator, would seem to be of no particular importance. So the contest between Jesus and Satan was in some measure above our comprehension; and therefore the victory was decided by an act which, without some reflection, may seem to us to be trivial.

' Another cause of the apparent simplicity of this transaction, is, that the object of Satan necessarily led him to adopt a studied simplicity. His manifest aim was to betray our Lord into sin, and therefore it was necessary that he should endeavour to make sin appear as light and as trifling a thing as possible. If a villain of superior address and intellect get an unsuspecting youth under his influence, and endeavour to train him up to theft and robbery and murder, he does

not at once put a knife into his hands and urge him to plunge it into the bosom of a fellow-creature. His very purpose leads him to disguise his aim as much as possible. The first crime that he suggests to him, may be apparently a very trivial one, that will be more a subject of laughter than of serious thought ; but that very act, light and trifling as it was made to appear, may be the commencement of a career of crime and of wretchedness ; and may be by much the most important event in the life of the unfortunate youth that was betrayed into it.

‘ Thus it was that Satan is represented in Scripture to have introduced sin into the world. The act which he suggested to our first parents, was apparently a very ordinary act—the eating of the fruit of a certain tree : yet when analysed, we can detect in it the seeds of every vice,—ingratitude, dishonesty, intemperance, rejection of God’s word, rebellion against his authority, disobedience of his commands, and a charge of falsehood against God—of falsehood employed for the meanest and most unworthy purposes. It is thus that Satan still tempts men to sin. He reconciles and inures them to it by little and little, till they can commit, with the utmost coolness, crimes from which they would, at an earlier period, have started back with terror.

‘ But simple as this contest appears, we can comprehend enough of it to see in it a fearful importance. The thrust which Satan made at our Lord, was directed against the only point in which it was possible to injure a pure and holy spirit. We can form no conception of spiritual suffering, but as the effect of sin. All those internal passions and feelings which give us pain are either themselves sinful—as hatred, envy, revenge, rage, jealousy, disappointed pride or vanity ; or they are the consequences of our being sinners—as fear, sorrow, remorse, shame, and despair. No perfectly holy being who reposes with full confidence in God, can be accessible to any of these passions, or to any others that are calculated to give him pain. The only suffering that we can conceive of, that does not seem immediately to flow from sin, is simple bodily pain ; but even that suffering the Scripture teaches us to trace to the effects of sin, by which we became mortal. The aim of Satan, therefore, was the most deadly that can be imagined. It was by succeeding in a similar aim, that, according to the Scripture, he brought upon our original progenitors and their race, all the anguish that they experienced, and all the anguish that has filled the world since their day. And although we cannot trace the full extent of the mischief which Satan would have perpetrated had he succeeded in his attempt on the Lord Jesus ; yet we can see, that, besides his own personal injury, it would have ruined the plan of mercy, on which he came into the world. Our sky would instantly have overcast ; the earth would have shaken under our feet ; and the countless myriads of the human race would have been consigned to the blackness of everlasting despair.

‘ Viewing, then, this transaction in all its bearings, I conceive myself warranted in asserting, that it is quite above the reach of human invention, and bears upon it evident marks of being a great and awful reality.’ *Carlile*, Vol. I. pp. 344—348.

In the concluding Letter, comprising the summary and appli-



cation of the whole argument, we find another very striking passage, which will appropriately follow up the preceding extract. Mr. Carlile, in summing up the evidences of inspiration, is pointing out the absurdities which are involved in the infidel's scheme; and he is led to notice 'the depth of metaphysical 'knowledge' which the sacred writers exhibit.

' The system of religion taught in the Scripture is itself, in substance, a spiritual history, reaching from everlasting to everlasting. Characters, such as we have no specimens of in our intercourse with the world, are introduced: purely spiritual characters—some of the most exalted holiness—others of the most debased and malignant depravity. Events suited to such a history—a rebellion of spirits against a spiritual government—the measures adopted by the spiritual sovereign—the spiritual warfare that is waged—the partial successes obtained by the rebels—the manner in which they are controlled—and the final issue of the warfare, are all detailed without any mixture of materialism. Let any man compare the spiritual history of the Scripture with the numberless attempts that have been made in various ages of the world to invent transactions suitable to spiritual beings, and he will at once see that the spiritual history of the Scripture is not an invention of men, (for they never could have so entirely disengaged themselves from all ideas of matter and worldly interests,) but a revelation of the realities of a spiritual world.

' This is not all: this spiritual history must be so contrived, as to produce certain effects on the human mind and character. The Scripture declares the dispositions and character to which it is its object to bring men; and it employs this, its spiritual history, for that purpose. Man, therefore, must be so involved and interested in that history, as to give it a powerful influence over him; while, at the same time, its events must be so contrived, as to produce the intended effects on his affections and general character. Nay, still further, part of the history of outward events must so perfectly correspond to the spiritual history which it is employed to convey, as in some measure to supply the place of the spiritual history before it was fully disclosed, and to form among one particular people, characters perfectly similar to those which the spiritual history is calculated to form among mankind in general. And the whole of this system of religion, of the ordinances connected with it, of its laws and ceremonies, must be so contrived, as to contain in them nothing inconsistent with ascertained facts in any department of science, with any region or climate of the world, with any situation in which men may be placed; but must be universally applicable to men in all circumstances, and of every variety of character: to bring down the lofty, to elevate the lowly, to stimulate the indolent, to check the impetuous; and, in short, to form the human character after a certain model, and that the purest and loveliest that has ever been embodied even in imagination.

' But I have said enough. Any man who could attempt to persuade himself, or others, that all this might have been accomplished by the unaided powers of human intellect, is really not a person to be reasoned with. For my part, I repeat, that I think it altogether as reasonable



to believe that men were capable of creating the universe, as that they could have planned and executed so stupendous and glorious a work as the Holy Bible.' Vol. II., pp. 397—400.

We have not much to offer upon these Letters, in the shape of criticism. In those which treat of the Canon, we find some very sensible and valuable remarks; but we cannot extend this encomium to the note at p. 374 of Vol. II., which states that, 'although Paul has not prefixed his name to the Epistle to the Hebrews, he has appended to it his signature: see 2 Thess. iii. 17, 18, compared with Heb. xiii. 25.' The same argument would prove the 1st Epistle of Peter to bear the signature of Paul. See 1 Pet. v. 14.\* Nor can we subscribe to the mystical position, that the Canticles are 'the record of the fulfilment and completion of the Abrahamic covenant in its literal sense; as the book of the Lamentations of Jeremiah is the record of the completion of the Mosaic covenant.' Such fancies as these are a sorry substitute for argument; and the Author's reasoning at pp. 356—360, can satisfy only those who are unacquainted with the real difficulties of the question. Like most writers on the subject, Mr. C. confounds, in his argument, authenticity and genuineness with inspiration. We know of no respectable writer who has maintained that any book of the Old Testament 'ought to be rejected.' One of the Author's criteria would, however, exclude from the canon, the anonymous Book of Job! We concur with Mr. Carlile in his conclusions, but not in his way of arriving at them. Closeness and severity of reasoning are not, indeed, his forte; and in the second volume, more particularly, he lapses occasionally into a diffuseness and looseness of statement, which might be advantageously *pruned* in another edition. The exemplification of the effects of the Bible upon the national character of the Swedes, (Vol. II. pp. 170—176,) involves much that is questionable in statement; and we should strongly recommend that the Letter should close at line 23 of p. 169. Upon the whole, however, the volumes are abundantly indicative of sound judgement, correct taste, and respectable acquirements. The style is easy, perspicuous, and well suited to a popular work. We cordially recommend the publication, as excellently adapted for its purpose, and a valuable addition to the library of any young person.

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\* It may be remarked, that the salutation, εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, comes almost as near to the usual Pauline salutation as ἡ χάρις μετὰ παντὸν ὑμῶν, which, in that precise form, occurs only at Tit. iii. 15; although Col. iv. 18, and 2 Tim. iv. 22. are similar. But the salutation was obviously a current one; and St. Paul adhered to no one formula.

Our readers will be already prepared to find, in Dr. M'Ilvaine's Lectures, a volume of no ordinary merit. The circumstances in which it originated, enhance the interest, as well as the value of the work.

'In the autumn of 1831, when the University of the city of New York had not yet organized its classes nor appointed its instructors, it was represented to the council, that a course of lectures on the evidences of Christianity was exceedingly needed, and would probably be well attended by young men of intelligence and education. On the strength of such representation, the Author of this volume was requested by the Chancellor of the University to undertake the work desired . . . . The next thing was the honour of an appointment, by the Council of the University, to the office of Lecturer on the Evidences of Christianity. . . . Thus, in the midst of exhausting duties as a parish minister, and in a state of health by no means well established, he was unexpectedly committed to an amount of labour which, had it been all foreseen, he would not have dared to undertake. Meanwhile, a class of many hundreds, from among the most intelligent in the community, and composed to a considerable extent of members of the "New York Young Men's Society for Intellectual and Moral Improvement", had been formed, and was waiting the commencement of the course. A more interesting, important, or attentive assemblage of mind and character, no one need wish to address. The burden of preparation was delightfully compensated by the pleasure of speaking to such an audience. The Lecturer could not but feel an engrossing impression of the privilege, as well as responsibility of such an opportunity of usefulness. He would thankfully acknowledge the kindness of Divine Providence, in his having been permitted and persuaded to embrace it, and for a measure of health in the prosecution of its duties, far beyond what he had reason to expect. His debt of gratitude is inexpressibly increased by the cheering information, that much spiritual benefit was derived from these Lectures by some whose minds, at the outset of the course, were far from the belief of the blessed Gospel, as a revelation from God.'

To this success, the spirit of humble piety and fervid benevolence which breathes and glows in these Lectures, must greatly have contributed. A more interesting office than the one which Dr. M'Ilvaine was selected to discharge, we cannot conceive of; and were the honourable example of the Council of the New York university to be followed by the Council of another university in our own metropolis, we should covet the office of 'Lecturer on the Evidences of Christianity', far more than the see of Canterbury, although the duties of the latter would come more within the compass of moderate abilities. Should it be deemed desirable, however, to select a bishop for the office, the Council would do well to look out for one as nearly resembling in character 'the Bishop of Ohio,' as the Bench would furnish. How honourable would it be in an English prelate, instead of ca-

balling against Government, and mingling in the sordid strife of political factions, to be seen lecturing to the young of the metropolis on the Divine authority of Christianity and the Book of God! Would not Bishop Bird Sumner feel it to be so?

The Lectures before us are thirteen in number. The first is introductory. The subjects of the twelve others are as follows:—II., III. Authenticity and Integrity of the New Testament. IV. Credibility of the Gospel History. V., VI. Divine Authority of Christianity, proved from Miracles. VII., VIII. Argument from Prophecy. IX. Divine Authority of Christianity proved from its Propagation. X., XI. Argument from the Fruits of Christianity. XII. Summary and Application of the Argument. XIII. Inspiration and Divine Authority of the Scriptures.

The plan of these Lectures, we cannot say that we regard as the best that could have been adopted. It seems scarcely a natural or judicious arrangement which separates so widely the consideration of the Inspiration of the Scriptures, from that of their Authenticity. The former, which is the subject of the concluding Lecture, is fully admitted to be a fundamental point.

‘We have proved’, says the Author, ‘that the books of Scripture are authentic and credible; the works of the authors whose names they bear, and correct narratives of such matters of fact as they profess to relate. But, were we to stop here, we should leave the Bible on a level, in point of authority, with many other books of the Christian religion, which contain the truth, and, so far as we can judge, contain nothing else, and yet, have no pretension to any other than a human origin. In this case, we should have no ultimate and sure appeal for either doctrine or duty; a door would be open for all manner of interference on the part of “man’s wisdom”, for the perversion and corruption of the truth; the most essential features of the Gospel, on the easy plea that the apostles, being men, may sometimes have misunderstood their Master, would be accessible to the most ruinous suspicions of over-statement or misconception. We have need, not only of a Divine system of religion, but of a Divine teacher of that system.’ pp. 407, 408.

Does not this correct representation supply a strong reason why the subject should not have been left till the close of the series, or have been despatched in a perfunctory manner? This Lecture is the least satisfactory of any; and we are glad to notice a recommendation of Dr. Woods’s valuable treatise on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, as containing a more competent view of the subject.

We have already intimated our doubts as to the advantages of what is termed (we think improperly) the inductive method of argument, in advocating the truth of Christianity. Dr. M’Ilvaine is, however, of a different opinion; and we are bound to extract the passage in which he insists upon what he regards as

‘ an important feature of the evidence ’ comprised in the preceding Lectures, that ‘ it is strictly philosophical.’

‘ By this I mean, that the process by which we have arrived at the truth of Christianity, is precisely similar to that by which the astronomer arrives at the most certain truths of the celestial bodies ; or the chemist determines the most fundamental doctrines of his important science. The grand characteristic of the philosophy that Bacon illustrated, and Newton so nobly applied, and to which all science is so deeply indebted, is, that it discards speculation ; places no dependence upon theory ; demands fact for every thing, and in every thing submits implicitly to the decision of fact, no matter how incomprehensible, or how opposed by all the speculations of the world. This is called *inductive* philosophy, in distinction from that of theory and conjecture. It collects its facts either by personal experiment and observation ; or by the testimony of those whose experiments and observations, and whose fidelity in recording them, are worthy of reliance. From these it makes its careful inductions, and determines the laws of science, with a degree of plain, unpresuming authority, to which every enlightened mind feels it ought to bow. The great principle of all Newton’s *Principia*, and that on which he set the ladder that raised him to the stars, was this simple axiom : “ Whatever is collected from this induction ought to be received, notwithstanding any conjectural hypothesis to the contrary, till such time as it shall be contradicted or limited by further observations.” But why is not this self-evident truth as fundamental in religion, as in astronomy ? If Reid and Stewart have been permitted, with universal consent and approbation, to apply the simple principles of induction to the philosophy of the mind ; on what possible ground can they be excluded from the philosophy of the soul—the religion of the heart ? We beg as a favour, what is also demanded by right, that Christianity may be tried by the strictest application of these principles. You are called upon for no greater effort of credulity, no more implicit reliance on testimony, in order to receive the whole system of Christianity as a divine relation, than you are obliged daily to exercise in believing those innumerable facts in natural science, which you have not the opportunity of testing by your own experiments. In regard to these, you simply ask, what is the statement ? Is it accurate ? Is it honest ? However it may contradict your previous ideas, or seem at variance with previous phenomena, or even with well-established laws, you only investigate the testimony with the more carefulness. This confirmed, you receive the facts ; and, instead of squaring them by any of your old theories or speculations, you proceed to measure the latter by their line, with as much submission as if every mystery involved in them were perfectly explained. Only behave thus reasonably in the investigation of the great question we have been considering. Apply to it the measuring rod of sound philosophy. Let every speculation as to its truth be blotted out. Let all conjectural hypothesis, for and against it, be set aside. Let the infidel and the Christian sit together in the chairs of Bacon and of Newton ; and with all that stern rejection of mere theory, and that lowly deference to fact, which so eminently distinguished

those venerable patriarchs of modern science, let the New Testament be brought to the bar. It professes to be the authentic and credible record of the life and doctrine of Christ. In it, he professes to have been sent of God. Let the question be put. Not, however, Is this religion consistent with our notions of what man wanted, and God might have been expected to reveal? Not, Does it contain any thing strange, or mysterious, or apparently contradictory to what we have been accustomed to believe? But let it be a plain question of inductive philosophy. Is it supported by a competent number of well-certified facts? Is there so much credible testimony, that we are warranted in determining that the New Testament is authentic; that its history is true; that Jesus did work miracles: that his prophecies have been fulfilled? that no human power, unaided by that of God, can account for the propagation of his Gospel; that no corrupt imposture could ever produce the fruit with which its influence has blessed mankind? If there be, then all true philosophy says, "*Christianity ought to be believed, notwithstanding any conjectural hypothesis to the contrary.*" Only confine yourselves to this mode of investigation, and submit yourselves to this simple law of evidence, and, like Newton, you may mount a ladder set on a rock, and reaching to the right hand of the throne of God. Proceed on any other principle, and, like the heavenly vortices and the immense currents of ethereal matter in the philosophy of Des Cartes, it can only lead you into inextricable confusion. But, if you adopt the true principles, what becomes of the writings of infidels? Buried amidst the rubbish of vain speculations, and ingenious absurdities, and scholastic trifling, of the dark ages, when to get wealth by the hypothesis of a philosopher's stone, instead of the homely, experimental realities of diligence and common sense, was the great effort of scientific ambition! Infidelity is all speculation. Reduce it to a residuum of inductive reasoning, and you bring it to nothingness. Strip it of its several envelopes of ingenious hypothesis, and bold assertion, and scoffing declamation, and you find nothing left but a man of straw—an ugly shape to keep the hungry from the bread of life, which you need only approach to discover that it is made of rags, and stuffed with rottenness.

‘ The argument for the divine authority of the Gospel is all composed of statements of undeniable facts, and of direct inferences legitimately drawn from them. I defy the ingenuity of the keenest critic to take up the course of reasoning to which you have listened, and point out a single theory, or speculation—any thing, depended on for proof, but plain statements of facts, established as perfectly, and bearing as directly upon the point in question, as any of the observations of Newton's telescope, or of Davy's crucible. Not a word have we said as to what might be supposed or conjectured; what is likely or unlikely; what might have been expected, or the contrary; but have simply inquired, *what is historically true.* Let our opponents do likewise. Whether any thing in Christianity appears to them probable or improbable; consistent or inconsistent; agreeable to what they should have expected, or the contrary; wise and good, or ridiculous and useless; is perfectly irrelevant. We can by no means consent to make their judgements the standard in such matters. Infidels are thought to entertain very absurd

and inconsistent ideas of absurdity and inconsistency, and of what should be esteemed as both good and wise. We ask them to come down from their flights of fancy and speculation, and condescend, in matters of religion, to do what, in those of science, public opinion would force them to, or laugh them out of countenance; to sit down to the plain investigation, on principles of common evidence, of the *facts* which support Christianity, determined to believe what may be collected therefrom, notwithstanding any of their conjectural hypotheses to the contrary. Such was once the honest demand of astronomy and chemistry upon all the tribes of theorists and conjecturalists in those departments of science. It is but a short time since our present fundamental doctrines, on those subjects, were opposed by philosophers whose speculations they rooted up, precisely as the great doctrines of the Gospel are still opposed by infidels whose lives they condemn. By and by, it became irresistibly evident that there is no way to science but by the slow and humble path of experiment, obtained either by personal observation, or by the credible testimony of others. As soon as men of scientific minds shall learn to be consistent with their own principles, and to reason philosophically, as well when a law of religion as when a law of nature is concerned; then the contradiction will no longer appear, of one loving to investigate the works of God, but rejecting His word.

‘In truth, the evidence of Christianity rests upon a basis which cannot be condemned, without the downfall of many of the most important works of science. The main facts and reasonings of chemistry are considered undeniable, because experimental. But who feels it necessary to make all the experiments, or to see them made, before he will believe? Many of the most important, he receives, and must receive, upon the testimony of others. Thus it is also in astronomical calculations. Seldom are the facts obtained from our own observations. Many of them we believe, because they are reported by credible witnesses. We come to a certain result, by means of a number taken from a table of calculations made to our hands, with as much assurance, and base our reasonings upon it as confidently, as if we had obtained all the elements by our own labour; and yet the very corner-stone of our computation is a mere matter of testimony. On such reliance are eclipses predicted, and nautical observations founded; and yet a man of science, who should evince any scepticism with regard to events thus ascertained, would render himself no less an object of ridicule, than if he should cavil about the sun’s rising to-morrow. What is a page of logarithms, but a page of assertions, the whole value of which is the faith of testimony? and yet upon such data, the most momentous calculations in the exact sciences are based without a question.’

pp. 389—394.

This passage forcibly exhibits the unreasonableness of scepticism; but that very unreasonableness shews that scepticism must have a cause which is overlooked by the philosophical reasoner. In matters of science, there lies no moral difficulty in the way of believing, and therefore belief regularly follows upon the perception of the facts, which perception requires a simple effort of the



understanding. But is this the case in matters of religious knowledge? Is there any analogy between the discovery of physical laws by means of an induction from particular facts, susceptible, at every step, of verification, and the determination of a matter of belief by a legal induction from concurrent testimony? Are the truths of astronomy and the truths of theology arrived at by a process at all similar, or are they assented to by any similar act of the mind? If so, the apostle would not have said, that it is “through *faith* we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God.” We cannot but think the terms induction, inductive philosophy, mathematical demonstration, &c., totally misapplied, when employed in reference to moral evidence. In attempting to adapt the apparatus of natural philosophy to morals, the theologian is acting unphilosophically, and in forgetfulness of half his creed. It is like attempting to discover the nature of God through Herschel’s telescope, or the nature of virtue by chemical analysis. A small degree of evidence is requisite to convince a man who is disposed to believe. But how to produce that disposition where it does not exist, is the main difficulty. In the matter of religion, you have not merely to satisfy an unbeliever, as to the reasonableness of believing, but to *induce him to choose to believe*; and those inducements which are alone capable of acting upon the moral nature, are not to be found in the shape of philosophical arguments. The will does not yield to the logic of induction.

A conviction of the unreasonableness of infidelity is, indeed, a great point gained, especially in the ingenuous mind of a youth not as yet fortified in infidelity by the powerful reasoning of a bad life. The process of argument which seems to approximate nearest to induction, may be successful in producing this salutary conviction, as well as in strengthening the faith of the believer. We are not denying its utility, although we think that its utility does not lie in its supposed scientific accuracy, and that its efficiency has been over-rated, through inattention to those laws of our nature which govern the operations of belief. The evidence which establishes the truth of Christianity is cumulative, and consists of arguments multiplied by the produce of other arguments, till their collective force becomes all but irresistible. Physical facts do not require this description of evidence to become credible, or to ensure reception as true; nor do they, in most cases, admit of it. This circumstance might teach us to discriminate between the different processes confounded under the name of induction. All but irresistible, however, as is the evidence for Christianity, it is actually resisted by individuals who are not deemed, on that account, insane or irrational: nay, they pass for philosophers, and smile at the attempt to prove belief to be philosophi-

cal. Well is it for the poor peasant, the simple and illiterate, that it is *not* so,—that it is arrived at by a more excellent way.

Another important distinction requires to be borne in mind. In matters of science or philosophical discovery, what is ascertained passes at once into current knowledge, and becomes a fixed part of the common belief, transmitted entire to the next generation, who are thus enabled to ‘stand on the shoulders of their fathers.’ But, although this, in one important respect, is true of the evidences of Religion,—and we may rejoice that such a mass of proof has been collected as may defy all the possible assaults of infidelity ;—yet, in another point of view, all that has been done leaves as large an amount of unbelief to be subdued as ever ; because belief has to be built up, as it were, in each individual, from its first elements. Faith cannot be transmitted as mere knowledge. This kind of knowledge does not amalgamate with that which forms the common intellectual stock of civilized society. There is a something which must be begotten in us by the truth, before we are capable of truly understanding and believing it. Were it otherwise, it were impossible that infidelity could exist, where the evidences of Christianity have been so triumphantly established and so powerfully illustrated.

Let it not be supposed that we intend these remarks by way of stricture on Dr. M’Ilvaine’s lectures, for he would himself coincide, we are fully persuaded, in our views of the real source of infidelity. In the introductory lecture, he thus forcibly expatiates upon ‘the high importance of the investigation on which they were about to enter ;’ a consideration which a lecturer on natural philosophy would find no occasion to urge, with a view to conciliate the disposition of his pupil to acquiesce in his announcements.

‘ You are to unite with me in examining the grounds on which the religion of the gospel claims to be received, to the exclusion of every other religion in the world, as containing the only way of duty and the only foundation of a sinner’s hope of salvation ; so that you may be enabled to answer, satisfactorily to your own consciences, and to all who may ask a reason of your belief, this great question: *Is the religion of Jesus Christ, as exhibited in the New Testament, a revelation from God, and consequently possessed of a sovereign right to universal faith and obedience ?*

‘ There are considerations intrinsically belonging to this question, which place it in an aspect of unrivalled importance.

‘ *We must have the religion of Christ, or none.* A very little reflection will make it apparent, that the question as to the truth of Christianity is not one of preference between two rival systems of doctrine, having conflicting claims, and nearly balanced arguments and benefits : it is not whether the gospel is more true and salutary than some other

mode of religion, which, though inferior, would still secure many of the most essential and substantial benefits for which religion is desirable. But it is no other than the plain and solemn question, Shall we believe in the faith of Christ, or in none? Shall we receive and be comforted by the light which the gospel has thrown over all our present interests and future prospects; or shall our condition in this life—our relation to the future—what we are to be, and what we are to receive hereafter and for ever, be left in appalling, impenetrable darkness? Such is the real question, when we inquire whether Christianity is a revelation from God. Do any ask the reason? Because, if such be the divine origin and authority of the religion of Christ, there can be no other religion. It claims not only to stand, but to stand alone. It demands not only that we believe it, but that, in doing so, we consider ourselves as denying the truth of every other system of faith. Like the one living and true God, whose seal and character it bears, it is *jealous*, and will not share its honour with another; but requires us to believe that, as there is but one Lord, so there is but one faith, *the truth as it is in Jesus*. On the other hand, if Christianity be not of divine origin, it is no religion; its essential doctrines must be false; its whole structure baseless. Suppose then, for a moment, that such were the case, what could we substitute for the gospel? We must either plunge into the abyss of atheism, or find something in the regions of paganism that would answer; or be content with the religion of Mohammed; or else find what our nature wants, in that which is unjustly distinguished as *the religion of Nature*; in other words, we must *become Deists*. But is there a creed among the countless absurdities of pagan belief and worship, which any of us could be persuaded to adopt? Could we be convinced of the prophetic character of the Arabian impostor, and receive as of divine authority the professed revelations and unrighteous features of the Koran, after having rejected such a book as the New Testament, and such evidences as those of Jesus? Where else could we flee? To atheism? But that is the gulf in which all religions are lost. Darkness is on the face of the deep. Nothing remains that does not acknowledge the divine revelation of Christianity, but the self-styled religion of nature, *deism*. And what shall be said of this? I am unable to give an account of it more definite, than that it is the denial of Christianity, on the one hand, and of atheism on the other, and is to be found somewhere between these two infinitely distant extremes; but is never stationary, changing place with the times; accommodating its character to the disposition of every disciple, and permitting any one to assume the name of Deist, who will only believe these two articles of faith, *that there is a God, and that Christianity is untrue*. Such is the religion which, according to Paine, “teaches us, without the possibility of being mistaken, all that is necessary or proper to be known.” And yet, notwithstanding this boasted fulness and infallibility of instruction, there is no agreement among Deists as to what their natural religion consists in, or as to the truth of what some of them consider its most fundamental doctrines. Their chief writers are altogether at variance as to whether there is any distinction between right and wrong, other than in the law of the land, or the cus-

toms of society ; whether there is a Providence ; whether God is to be worshipped in prayer and praise, or the practice of virtue is not the only worship required ; whether the practice of virtue forbids or encourages deceit, suicide, revenge, adultery, and all uncleanness ; whether the soul is mortal or immortal ; whether God has any concern with human conduct. Now, without spending a moment upon the question as to what evidence or what adaptation to the wants of men and of sinners, deism could pretend to, after the rejection of evidence and excellence such as those of the gospel ; let me ask whether deism can with any propriety be called religion ? Does that deserve the name of a system of religious faith, which has no settled doctrine upon the most essential points of belief and practice ? which may acknowledge as many contradictory forms, at the same moment, as it has disciples, and never could remain long enough in one position or under one countenance, for the most skilful pencil to take its portrait ? But, aside from all this, it is too notorious to be argued, that whatever pretensions may have been advanced by Deists to something like a theory of religious belief, it is at best a mere theory ; utterly powerless in practice, except to liberate its disciples from all conscientious restraint upon their passions, and promote in the public mind the wildest licentiousness as to all moral obligation. Substitute deism for Christianity, and none acquainted with the nature or history of man can help acknowledging, that, as to all the beneficial influence of religion upon heart and life, in promoting either the moral purity of individuals, or the happiness of society, we shall have no religion at all.

*M'Ilvaine, pp. 3—6.*

We must make room for one more specimen of the able and impressive character of these Lectures, which we trust will prove as extensively useful on this side of the Atlantic, as they have been in the other hemisphere. In the following passage, a very prevalent infidel objection is completely demolished.

‘ It is a favourite manœuvre with infidels, to charge Christianity with all the persecutions on account of religion, and, at the same time, to speak in high terms of “ the mild toleration of the ancient heathens ” ; of “ *the universal toleration of polytheism* ” ; of “ the Roman princes beholding without concern a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway ”. Better information on this subject is greatly needed in the community. Heathen toleration was any thing but virtuous, and much less universal than its modern eulogists would represent. It allowed all nations to establish whatever description of religion they pleased, provided each would acknowledge that all, in their several spheres, were equally good. But pagan nations required of every citizen conformity to the national idolatries. This yielded, he might believe, and be, whatever he pleased. This denied, immediately toleration ceased. Take a few examples. Stilpo was banished Athens, for affirming that the statue of Minerva, in the citadel, was no divinity, but only the work of the chisel of Phidias. Protagoras received a similar punishment for this single sentence : “ Whether there be gods or not, I have nothing to offer.” Prodicus and his pupil, Socrates,

suffered death for opinions at variance with the established idolatry of Athens. Alcibiades and Æschylus narrowly escaped a like end for a similar cause. Plato dissembled his opinions; and Aristotle fled his country, under the lash of *the mild and universal toleration of the Grecian mythology*. Cicero lays it down as a principle of legislation entirely conformable to the rights of the Roman state, that “no man shall have separate gods for himself; and no man shall worship by himself new or foreign gods, unless they have been publicly acknowledged by the laws of the state.” The speech, in Dion Cassius, which Mæcenæ is said to have made to Augustus, may be considered a fair index of the prevailing sentiment of that polished age. “Honour the gods”, says Mæcenæ, “by all means, according to the customs of your country, and force others so to honour them. But those who are for ever introducing something foreign in these matters, hate and punish, not only for the sake of the gods, but also because they who introduce new divinities mislead many others into receiving foreign laws also. Suffer no man either to deny the gods, or to practise sorcery.” Julius Paulus, the Roman civilian, gives the following as a leading feature of Roman law: “Those who introduced new religions, or such as were unknown in their tendency and nature, by which the minds of men might be agitated, were degraded, if they belonged to the higher ranks, and, if they were in a lower state, were punished with death.” Under this legislation, many of the governors endeavoured to compromise with Christians, by allowing them to believe and honour what they pleased in their hearts, provided they would observe outwardly the religious ceremonies ordained by the state.

‘ Examples to the same effect, might be greatly multiplied. I have furnished enough to shew in what sense the heathen princes “*beheld, without concern, a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway*”; and how far Voltaire was accurately informed, or honestly disposed, when boasting that the ancient Romans “never persecuted a single philosopher for his opinions, from the time of Romulus till the popes got possession of their power.”

‘ It is willingly conceded, that persecutions on account of religion were enormously increased immediately after the promulgation of Christianity; inasmuch as nothing had ever before attacked the superstitions and vices of the heathen with her undaunted, uncompromising spirit. But did Christianity persecute; or was she the object of persecution? Was Jesus the persecutor of Pilate? Did Paul persecute the worshippers of the Ephesian Diana, or the heathen of Iconium, or those who stoned him at Lystra? By whose intolerance was it, that, for three hundred years, the Christian church was continually overflowed with the blood of her martyrs? Did the multitudes who perished for Christ’s sake, under the paw of the lion, and the sword of the gladiator, and the screws of the rack—did they persecute the heathen priests, and people, and magistrates—Nero, and Trajan, and Diocletian—with their proconsuls, and governors, and executioners? I grant, that in the lapse of centuries the guilt of persecution did attach to the church. Christian powers, and ministers, and people have, in various ages, been justly liable to this lamentable charge. But who does not know that the church, before ever she began to persecute, had



manifestly degenerated from the purity of the Gospel, and become deeply poisoned with the spirit of the world, having her chief places occupied by such men as infidels know were not influenced by vital Christianity? Who is so blind as not to see, that wherever such evils have existed among any people called Christians, they have been because those people had so little of the spirit of the Gospel, and not because they had any of it? They have been directly the reverse of the religion professed by such persons; the fruits of their own native dispositions, combined with the character of the ages they lived in, assimilating them thus far to infidels, who have always been persecutors in proportion to their power. True Christianity desires and needs no effort of secular power to advance her cause. She asks but one favour: *liberty to preach the word*. Her whole dependence is on "the demonstration of the Spirit." "*God giveth the increase.*"

*M'Ilvaine, pp. 317—320.*

We have been much pleased with Dr. Morison's far less elaborate, but yet, adroit and able 'caveat against infidelity.' It is skilfully adapted to strike and fix attention, where a more copious and laboured argument would not be suited to the habits of thought, or to the frivolity of mind, generally found associated with scepticism. It is divided into two parts. The first comprises 'a portraiture of modern scepticism,' in its essential deformity and its practical effects; sketched rather too rapidly and slightly. The second part, which is the more valuable portion, comprises six chapters: I. The comparative Credit due to the Conclusions of Sceptics and of Christians. II. Experimental Test of Christianity. III. Brief Survey of, 1. The Internal Evidence; 2. The External Evidence. IV. On the uncorrupted Transmission of the Sacred Books. V. On the Inspiration of the Scriptures. VI. Popular Objections to the full Inspiration of the Scriptures considered. All these subjects are touched upon within the compass of two hundred pages, in an extremely concise, but not superficial manner: striking extracts from works of reputation are interwoven with the text; and others, as well as references to sources of fuller information, are given in the shape of notes. This 'Brief Statement' may be considered as, in fact, a judicious and popular abridgement of the Christian Evidences, which, we have no doubt, will prove effectively useful. Dr. Morison assigns the following reason for beginning with the internal evidences, which appears highly deserving of attention.

'I do not think, judging from the manner in which infidels themselves have written, that the most successful method of assailing them is to begin with a discussion of the *external* evidences of the gospel. From their general ignorance of the character of Revelation itself, and from its marked adaptation, when examined, to produce conviction of its divine origin, I rather hesitate as to the propriety of demanding the belief of a sceptic upon the mere presentation of its *external* credentials. Besides, there is scarcely any object to be achieved by this mode



of procedure, which is not equally well answered by the method of arguing the truth of Scripture from an examination of its own contents. Assuredly the divine authority of the heavenly messengers may be verified as much by what they say, as by any other circumstance whatsoever ; and if the real power of conviction lies in their message, it seems but right to try its efficacy.' pp. 69—70.

In touching upon 'the transmission of the sacred books', it is a strange omission, that the valuable work of Mr. Taylor should not be referred to. Upon the subject of Inspiration, Dr. Morrison avows himself a disciple of Mr. Haldane, the advocate of a 'verbal inspiration', which, as explained by Mr. H., involves a solecism: it would not be inspiration, but dictation. We cannot but think it was going a little out of the way, to introduce, in such a work, a mere theory as to the *mode* of inspiration. We hold the plenary inspiration of the sacred writings as firmly as Dr. M.; and we have explained on a former occasion \*, in what sense we conceive it must have been 'virtually verbal'; but we do not agree with him and his lay doctor as to the *manner* in which they are so confident that the holy men were moved to speak and to write by the Holy Ghost. The statements of Dr. Woods, and the dogmas of Mr. Haldane, are at mutual variance; and yet both writers are cited with approbation. In treating of the Experimental Evidence, Dr. M. is in his element; and we must select from this chapter, a striking citation from Baxter, and some admirable remarks with which it is followed up.

"I think," said the good and great Richard Baxter, "that in the hearing and reading of the Bible, God's spirit often so concurreth, as that the will itself should be touched with an internal gust and savour of the goodness contained in the doctrine, and at the same time the understanding with an internal irradiation, which breeds such a certain apprehension of the variety of it, as nature gives men of natural principles. And I am persuaded that this, increased by more experience and love, doth hold most Christians faster to Christ than naked reasonings could do. And were it not for this, unlearned, ignorant persons were still in danger of apostacy by every subtle caviller that assaults them. And I believe that all true Christians have this kind of internal knowledge from a suitableness of the truth and goodness of the gospel to their now quickened, illuminated, and sanctified souls."

'Let no one venture to reject Christianity, then, who has never made it the subject of intense regard, in connexion with the exigencies which press upon his own condition and prospects. It can be but ill understood by the man who has never looked at it in its adaptation to his own case. It is an individual, as well as a general remedy; and the true study of Christianity is the examination of its coincidence with the wants and wishes, the hopes and fears, which press upon every

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\* Ecl. Rev. 3d Series, Vol. VIII. p. 163.

son and daughter of Adam. For the want of this close inspection of the individual aim of Christianity, it is to be feared that thousands either reject it, or are utterly indifferent to it. But how contrary is all this to the spirit of true science, which rejects nothing, and admits nothing, but upon actual experiment.

‘ Let Christianity be fairly put to the test—let it be taken home with unhesitating confidence to the heart—let its divine remedies be applied to the distempered mind—let its proffered influence be implored—let its true character as a restorative system be fully and impartially tried ; and then, should it after all fail to impart peace, to heal the malady of the soul, to answer its own professed designs, let it be held up to that obloquy which it deserves.

‘ But where is the man who ever betook himself to Christianity without finding it to be the refuge of his weary mind? Who could ever, upon actual trial, charge it with a lack of faithfulness to its own pretensions? Who ever embraced its animating hopes without finding them productive of peace, and purity, and joy? Who ever became a true Christian without feeling the self-evidencing power of the gospel? Who ever believed on the Son of God without having proof, in his own mind, that the Bible is true? Who ever made actual trial of Christianity without finding it to be the “wisdom of God, and the power of God,” to the salvation of his soul? Who ever knew the truth as it is in Jesus without being made free by it from the thralldom of sin and the bondage of corruption? The man who is a genuine believer, is as fully conscious as he is of existence, that Christianity is no cunningly devised fable. It has established its throne in the deep-seated convictions of his heart. He has felt the transformation it has wrought: “old things are passed away; behold all things are become new.” His entire character has been favourably affected by it. Upon his once gloomy path it hath shed the light of immortality,—it has taught him to “rejoice even in tribulation,”—it has changed all the aspects of life, by throwing over them the hues of eternity,—it has conferred on him a reality of happiness which the whole creation had no power of imparting. In his own person he beholds a monument of the truth and excellence of Christianity, which forbids him for ever to doubt. By other evidences, indeed, his faith is confirmed; but in his peace of mind, in that “hope which is full of immortality,” and in the heavenward bearing of his once earthly character, he is enabled to feel that Christianity is no “cunningly devised fable.”’ pp. 64—68.

The last work we have to notice, is the production of a learned layman, the author of a Hebrew Grammar. It is an ‘attempt to state clearly and concisely the leading evidences for the truth of Christianity’, by fixing the attention upon a few strong arguments, and placing these in the most striking point of view; and it is offered ‘more especially to the notice of those who, though well acquainted with secular affairs and scientific truth, have not given the subject of Revelation that attention which its paramount importance demands.’ The general plan will be seen from the Contents.

‘Ch. I. Preliminary Observations on the Principles of Natural Religion. Ch. II. On the Authenticity of the New Testament: 1. Statement of the Argument. 2. Of the Ancient Versions. 3. Of the Manuscripts of the Greek Testament. 4. Testimony of Celsus. 5. Testimony of Porphyry. 6. Testimony of Julian. 7. Testimony of the Fathers. 8. Internal Evidence for the Authenticity of the New Testament. Ch. III. Of Prophecy. Ch. IV. Of the Life and Writings of St. Paul, as affording a satisfactory proof of the Christian Religion. Ch. V. Of the Truth of the Gospel History. Notes.’

Some of the strong points of evidence to which prominence is here given, are such as are not usually dwelled upon; but different individuals are more forcibly impressed, some with this, others with that argument; and Mr. Gyles has probably been guided in his selection, either by what he has found most conducive to the establishment of his own faith, or by what he deems best adapted to satisfy the doubts of the class of persons for whom the volume is designed. A large proportion of the text is occupied with judicious citations, which, if they detract from the originality, do not lessen the value of the book. It may serve, indeed, to suggest, what we think would be found a highly instructive exercise, and which we would take this opportunity of earnestly enforcing upon all young students; namely, a compilation, for their private use, of those arguments for the truth of Christianity which appear the most striking and conclusive to their own minds, with references to authorities. The order is immaterial: if each extract were headed, an index would serve the purpose of arrangement.

In the notes to Mr. Gyles’s volume, we find a very remarkable passage extracted from Adam Smith’s “Theory of Moral Sentiments,” edition of 1759; which is rendered still more remarkable by its *suppression* in the subsequent editions. The explanation of this circumstance suggested by Mr. G. is, that ‘the Author ‘probably thought he was approaching too nearly the confines of ‘theological discussion.’ He adds: ‘That it expressed his real ‘sentiments, there cannot be the slightest doubt.’ The apology is ingenious, but far from satisfactory. The passage, for whatever reason suppressed, is well deserving of being preserved; and as it is probably new to most of our readers, we shall transfer it to our pages.

“If we consult our natural sentiments, we are apt to fear, lest before the holiness of God, vice should appear to be more worthy of punishment, than the weakness and imperfection of human virtue can ever seem to be of reward. Man, when about to appear before a Being of infinite perfection, can feel but little confidence in his own merit, or in the imperfect propriety of his own conduct. In the presence of his fellow-creatures, he may often justly elevate himself, and may often have reason to think highly of his own character and conduct,

compared to the still greater imperfection of theirs. But the case is quite different when about to appear before his infinite Creator. To such a Being, he can scarce imagine, that his littleness and weakness should ever seem to be the proper object, either of esteem or of reward. But he can easily conceive, how the numberless violations of duty, of which he has been guilty, should render him the proper object of aversion and punishment; neither can he see any reason why the divine indignation should not be let loose without any restraint, upon so vile an insect, as he is sensible that he himself must appear to be. If he would still hope for happiness, he is conscious that he cannot demand it from the justice, but that he must entreat it from the mercy of God. Repentance, sorrow, humiliation, contrition at the thought of his past conduct, are, upon this account, the sentiments which become him, and seem to be the only means which he has left for appeasing that wrath which, he knows, he has justly provoked. He even distrusts the efficacy of all these, and naturally fears, lest the wisdom of God should not, like the weakness of man, be prevailed upon to spare the crime, by the most importunate lamentations of the criminal. *Some other intercession, some other sacrifice, some other atonement, he imagines, must be made for him,* beyond what he himself is capable of making, before the purity of the divine justice can be reconciled to his manifold offences. *The doctrines of revelation coincide, in every respect, with those original anticipations of nature;* and, as they teach us how little we can depend upon the imperfection of our own virtue, so they shew us, at the same time, that the most powerful intercession has been made, and that the most dreadful atonement has been paid for our manifold transgressions and iniquities." Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. 1759. P. 204, et seq.'

At page 213, we meet with a note which our readers will, we think, thank us for transcribing.

'The Centurion and the soldiers must unavoidably have heard the titles which our Lord assumed, mentioned by way of mockery or accusation; especially the title, "Son of God." We read (Matt. xxvii. 40) that they cried out, "If thou be *the Son of God*, come down from the cross." And again (v. 43.) "He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him: *for he said, I am the Son of God.*" And the force of the exclamation is this: Truly he is that august person, "the Son of God," which he declared himself to be. I am not aware that any commentator has put this obvious construction on the passage.'

Art. III. *Memoirs of the Baron Cuvier*. By Mrs. R. Lee (formerly Mrs. T. Ed. Bowdich). 8vo. pp. 352. Portrait. London, 1833.

**I**F we were disposed to wish that the task of writing the life of 'this illustrious *savant*' had fallen into other hands, the unpresuming manner in which Mrs. Lee explains the circumstances that, in a manner, devolved upon her the honourable office of the

biographer, would render it alike ungenerous and unjust to impute presumption to her for undertaking it, or to criticise with fastidiousness her performance. On the contrary, we feel under obligation to her for bringing before the English public this interesting and authentic account of her distinguished friend.

Cuvier is a name which has become identified with science, and, like those of Linnæus, Buffon, and Davy, must share in the immortality of the knowledge which he contributed so greatly to advance. But Cuvier was not only distinguished as a man of science : his accomplished mind and estimable character rendered him an ornament of society, the centre of the social circle in which he moved, and the object of affectionate regret and veneration.

George Leopold Christian Frederic Dagobert Cuvier was born, Aug. 23, 1769, at Montbéliard, a small town in Alsace, which then formed part of the territory of the Duke of Wirtemberg. His family came originally from a village of the Jura, which still bears the name of Cuvier, and settled at Montbéliard at the era of the Reformation. The father of Cuvier served with distinction in a Swiss regiment in the employ of France, and retired, after forty years' service, with a small pension, to Montbéliard, where he was made commandant of artillery. At fifty years of age, he married a young lady, by whom he had three sons. The eldest died an infant, before the birth of George, the second son, whose feeble constitution in infancy is ascribed to the shock sustained by his mother. To the watchful tenderness of this excellent woman, he was indebted both for the preservation of his life, and for the formation of his mind and character ; and to his latest years, amid the absorbing occupations of his active career, he cherished every circumstance connected with her memory. Among other traits, it is mentioned, that he delighted in being surrounded with the flowers she had preferred ; 'and whoever placed a bouquet of red 'stocks in his study, was sure to be rewarded by his most affectionate thanks for bringing him the *favourite flower*.' His early education appears to have devolved wholly upon his mother.

'She guided him in his religious duties ; taught him to read fluently at the age of four years ; took him every morning to an elementary school, and, although herself ignorant of Latin, so scrupulously made him repeat his lessons to her, that he was always better prepared with his tasks than any other boy at the school. She made him draw under her own inspection, and, by constantly furnishing him with the best works on history and general literature, nurtured that passion for reading, that ardent desire for knowledge, which became the principal spring of his intellectual existence.'

At ten years of age, young Cuvier was placed in a gymnasium,

where he spent four years in acquiring Latin and Greek, and in pursuing the study of history, geography, and mathematics. While in this school, his taste for natural history was elicited by the sight of a Gesner with coloured plates, in the library of the school, and by a complete copy of Buffon in the possession of a relative whom he frequently visited. When twelve years old, he had made himself as familiar with the forms of quadrupeds and birds as a first-rate naturalist, by copying the prints, and colouring them. He was never without a volume of Buffon in his pocket; and his youthful admiration of this elegant Naturalist seems to have had a powerful influence in determining his pursuits. At the age of fourteen, he formed among his schoolfellows a juvenile academy, of which he was of course chosen president; and upon the occasion of an anniversary *fête*, he composed and delivered an oration in verse, to the astonishment of his auditory. Informed of his promising abilities, Duke Charles of Wirtemberg, when on a visit to Montbéliard, sent for him, and after examining his drawings, announced his intention of taking him under his patronage, and of sending him free of expense to the university of Stuttgard. He accordingly entered that university in May 1784, and spent four years in studying all that was taught in the highest classes, carrying off various prizes, and obtaining the honour of *chevalerie*\*. The narrow circumstances of his parents rendering it necessary that he should now maintain himself, on leaving Stuttgard, he engaged himself as tutor in a Protestant family at Caen in Normandy, although at that time under nineteen years of age.

‘ While with the family of the Count d’Hericy, M. Cuvier saw all the nobility of the surrounding country; he acquired the forms and manners of the best society, and became acquainted with some of the most remarkable men of his time. Nor was his favourite study followed with less ardour in consequence of finding himself surrounded by new friends and new duties. A long sojourn on the borders of the sea, first induced him to study marine animals; but, without books, and in complete retirement, he confined himself to the objects more immediately within his reach. It was at this period also, (June 1791, to 1794,) that some *Terebratulæ* having been dug up near Fécamp, the thought struck him of comparing fossil with recent species; and the casual

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\* ‘ At the moment of entering the academy, he was ignorant of German; but, in less than a year, he secured the prize for that tongue. He always retained the faculty of speaking this language, to which he added Italian, in both of which he conversed fluently. He read several others, and, among them, English; his inability to speak which, I have often heard him regret.’ p. 271.



dissection of a Calmar led him to study the anatomy of the Mollusca, which afterwards conducted him to the development of his great views on the whole of the animal kingdom.

The class called Vermes by Linnæus, included all the inferior animals, and was left by him in a state of the greatest confusion. It was by these, the lowest beings in creation, that the young naturalist first distinguished himself: he examined their organisation, classed them into different groupes, and arranged them according to their natural affinities. He committed his observations and thoughts to paper, and, unknown to himself at that time, laid the basis of that beautiful fabric which he afterwards raised on zoology. He wrote concerning them, to a friend: "These manuscripts are solely for my own use, and, doubtless, contain nothing but what has been done elsewhere, and better established by the naturalists of the capital, for they have been made without the aid of books or collections." Nevertheless, almost every page of these precious manuscripts was full of new facts and enlightened views, which were superior to almost all that had yet appeared. A little society met every evening in the town of Valmont, near the château de Fiquainville, belonging to the Count d'Hericy, for the purpose of discussing agricultural topics. M. Tessier was often present at these meetings, who had fled from the reign of terror in Paris, and who was concealed under the title and office of surgeon to a regiment, then quartered at Valmont. He spoke so well, and seemed so entirely master of the subject, that the young secretary of the society, M. Cuvier, recognised him as the author of the articles on agriculture in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*.

On saluting him as such, M. Tessier, whose title of Abbé had rendered him suspected at Paris, exclaimed, "I am known, then, and consequently lost."—"Lost!" replied M. Cuvier; "no; you are henceforth the object of our most anxious care." This circumstance led to an intimacy between the two; and by means of M. Tessier, M. Cuvier entered into correspondence with several savans, to whom he sent his observations, especially Laméthrie, Olivier, De la Cépède, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, and Millin de Grand Maison. Through their influence, and from the memoirs published in several learned journals, he was called to Paris, where endeavours were making to re-establish the literary institutions overthrown by the Revolution, and where it was reasonable to suppose that he would find the means of placing himself. In the spring of 1795, he obeyed the invitation of his Parisian friends, and, by the influence of M. Millin, was appointed membre de la Commission des Arts, and, a short time after, professor at the central school of the Panthéon. For this school he composed his "*Tableau élémentaire de l'Histoire naturelle des Animaux*;" which work contained the first methodical writing on the class Vermes that had been given to the world. His great desire, however, was to be attached to the Museum of Natural History, the collections in which could enable him to realise his scientific views. A short time after his arrival in the capital, M. Mertrud was appointed to the newly-created chair of comparative anatomy at the Jardin des Plantes, and, finding himself too far advanced in years to follow a study which had hitherto been foreign to his pursuits, consented, at the request of his colleagues, particularly MM. de

Jussieu, Geoffroy, and De la Cépède, to associate M. Cuvier with him in his duties. This association was exactly what M. Cuvier was desirous of obtaining; and no sooner was he settled in the Jardin des Plantes, as the assistant of M. Mertrud, July, 1795, than he sent for his father, then nearly eighty years of age, and his brother, M. Frederic Cuvier; his mother he had unfortunately lost in 1793. From the moment of his installation in this new office, M. Cuvier commenced the magnificent collection of comparative anatomy which is now so generally celebrated. In the lumber-room of the museum were four or five old skeletons, collected by M. Daubenton, and piled up there by M. de Buffon. Taking these, as it were, for the foundation, he unceasingly pursued his object; and, aided by some professors, opposed by others, he soon gave it such a degree of importance that no further obstacle could be raised against its progress. No other pursuit, no relaxation, no absence, no legislative duties, no sorrow, no illness, ever turned him from this great purpose; and created by him, it now remains one of the noblest monuments to his memory.' pp. 19—24.

The absurd manner (begging Mrs. Lee's pardon) in which the materials of this memoir are distributed into four portions, not consecutive, but synchronical, has separated from the notice of these leading events of his life, some interesting details and illustrative anecdotes which ought to have been incorporated with it. The following additional particulars relating to that part of his life which was spent in Normandy, are supplied by the funeral eulogium delivered by Dr. Pariset.

“ A citizen of Caen, who was a great amateur of natural history, possessed a magnificent collection of the fishes of the Mediterranean: the instant M. Cuvier heard of it, he flew to inspect the treasures, and, after several visits, he, by means of his pencil, that precious instrument of observation and memory, became in his turn the possessor of the collection; for, in natural history, the faithful representation of an object is the object itself. Nearly six years passed in this manner, terribly, indeed, to France and Europe, but calmly and profitably to M. Cuvier. Nevertheless, the Revolution insinuated its jealousies and suspicions even as far as his abode; and, the impulse having been given from the capital, one of those societies, or unions, was about to be formed at Fécamp, which armed the people against themselves, and were attended with the most injurious consequences. M. Cuvier saw the danger, and represented to the owner of Fiquainville, and the neighbouring landholders, that it was to their interest to constitute the society themselves. This wise counsel was adopted; the society was formed; M. Cuvier was appointed secretary; and, instead of discussing sanguinary politics at its meeting, it devoted itself solely to agriculture.” I have already related how M. Tessier happened to have taken refuge in the neighbourhood, and how he was detected and accosted by M. Cuvier; I have now to add, from M. Pariset's éloge, that, after this greeting, they became the greatest friends; and that the perfect confidence which existed between them, in a measure, rendered them necessary to each other. “ M. Tessier daily discovered

in his young friend new talents and perfections, and was astonished at the sight of his numerous productions. On the 11th of February, he wrote as follows to M. de Jussieu:—‘At the sight of this young man, I felt the same delight as the philosopher who, when cast upon an unknown shore, there saw tracings of geometrical figures. M. Cuvier is a violet which has hidden itself under the grass; he has great acquirements, he makes plates for your work, and I have urged him to give us lectures this year on botany. He has promised to do so, and I congratulate my pupils at the Hospital on his compliance. I question if you could find a better comparative anatomist, and he is a pearl worth your picking up. I assisted in drawing M. Délambre from his retreat, and I beg you to help me in taking M. Cuvier from his, for he is made for science and the world.’”” pp. 272—274.

Cuvier's first printed work was a memoir “*sur l'Anatomie de la Patelle*,” published in 1792. In 1795, he began to contribute a series of valuable papers to the “*Magazin Encyclopédique*.” On the formation of the National Institute in 1796, although known only by his scientific papers, he was made one of its first members, and became its third secretary in rotation. In 1798, he was invited to form one of the *corps de savans* appointed by Bonaparte to attend the expedition to Egypt, but wisely preferred the prosecution of his scientific labours at home.

In 1800, he was appointed professor in the ‘*Collège de France*,’ where he taught natural philosophy, while he continued to lecture on comparative anatomy at the *Jardin*. In 1802, Napoleon, who, as President of the Institute, was brought into direct communication with Cuvier, named him one of the six inspectors-general ordered to establish public schools (*lycées*) in thirty towns of France. During his absence on this commission, he was made perpetual secretary to the Class of Physical Sciences of the Institute. In the following year, he married the widow of M. Duvaucel, a receiver-general who had perished on the scaffold in the year 1794.

‘This,’ remarks his Biographer, ‘was no match of interest; for Madame Duvaucel had been wholly deprived of fortune by the Revolution, and brought four children to M. Cuvier, whom she had borne to M. Duvaucel. But well had M. Cuvier judged of the best means of securing domestic enjoyment; for this lady, who is a rare combination of mind, manners, and disposition, threw a bright halo of happiness round him, which was his support in suffering, his refuge in trouble, and a powerful auxiliary, when his heavy and important duties allowed him to steal an hour of rational and unrestrained conversation. By this marriage he had four children, the first of whom, a son, died a few weeks after his birth, and who were all successively taken from him.’ pp. 29—30.

In 1812, he lost a daughter, four years of age, and in the following year, a son at the age of seven. This second loss made a

deep impression upon him, which was never entirely effaced; and even after the lapse of years, he never saw a boy of that age without considerable emotion. But the last loss which he had to sustain must have been the most agonizing,—that of a daughter, a beautiful and accomplished young woman on the eve of her bridal, in 1827.

‘Lovely in every action, lovely in person and manner, and rich in her attainments, no question ever arose as to who did or did not admire Clementine Cuvier; she unconsciously commanded universal homage, and secured its continuance by her lowliness of heart and her unfailing charity. The daughter was worthy of the father: it may be imagined, then, how that father loved her, and how heavy was the visitation. But M. Cuvier, with that high sense of duty which had always distinguished him, felt that he lived for others, and that he had no right to sink under the heavy load of grief imposed on him. With the energy that might be expected from such a character, he sought relief in his duties; and although many a new furrow appeared on his cheek; although his beautiful hair rapidly changed to silvery whiteness; though the attentive observer might catch the suppressed sigh, and the melancholy expression of the uplifted eye, no one of his important offices remained neglected: his scientific devotion even increased; his numerous protégés received the same fostering care, and he welcomed strangers to his house with his wonted urbanity. It has been related by an eye-witness, that, at the first sitting of the Comité de l’Intérieur at which M. Cuvier presided after this event, and from which he had absented himself two months, he resumed the chair with a firm and placid expression of countenance; he listened attentively to all the discussions of those present; but when it became his turn to speak, and sum up all that had passed, his firmness abandoned him, and his first words were interrupted by tears; the great legislator gave way to the bereaved father; he bowed his head, covered his face with his hands, and was heard to sob bitterly. A respectful and profound silence reigned through the whole assembly; all present had known Clementine, and therefore all could understand and excuse this deep emotion. At length M. Cuvier raised his head, and uttered these few simple words:—“Pardon me, gentlemen; I was a father, and I have lost all;” then, with a violent effort, he resumed the business of the day with his usual perspicuity, and pronounced judgement with his ordinary calmness and justice.’ pp. 43, 44.

Cuvier appears to have been a favourite with Napoleon, who, in 1814, named him a Counsellor of State. Louis XVIII. confirmed him in this high dignity, and employed him in the temporary office of commissary to the king.

‘The return of Napoleon for a while banished the new counsellor from his dignity, but he was retained by the Emperor in the Imperial University. After the hurricane of the Hundred Days, it became necessary to remodel both the Royal and Imperial Universities, and a provisional superintendence was deemed necessary. A committee of

public instruction was created to exercise the powers formerly belonging to the grand master, the council, the chancellor, and the treasurer of the University. M. Cuvier made a part of this committee, and was at once appointed to the chancellorship, which office he retained till his death, under the most difficult circumstances, in the midst of the most opposite prejudices, and notwithstanding the most inveterate resistance offered to him as a Protestant.

‘ From this period, he took a very active part, not precisely in political measures, properly so called, from which he by choice withdrew himself as much as possible, but in projects for laws, and every sort of administration, which especially belonged to the Committee of the Interior attached to the Council of State. He was also, generally speaking, the Commissaire du Roi, appointed for defending the new or ameliorated laws before the two Chambers.

‘ In 1819, M. Cuvier was appointed President of the Comité de l’Intérieur, belonging to the Council of State; an office which he held under all changes of ministry; because, notwithstanding its importance, it is beyond the reach of political intrigue, and only demands order, unremitting activity, strict impartiality, and an exact knowledge of the laws and principles of administration. In this same year, Louis XVIII., as a mark of personal esteem, created him a Baron, and repeatedly summoned him to assist in the cabinet councils.

‘ Twice had M. Cuvier held the office of Grand Master of the University, when the place could not be conveniently filled up, but he never received the emoluments of it; and, in 1822, when a Catholic bishop was raised to this dignity, he accepted the Grand Mastership of the Faculties of Protestant Theology; on assuming which, he made conditions, that he should not receive any pecuniary reward. This appointment associated him with the ministry, and gave him the superintendence, not only of the religious, but of the civil and political rights of his own creed, and ceased only with his life, although the Grand Masters were afterwards laymen.

‘ In 1824, M. Cuvier officiated, as one of the Presidents of the Council of State, at the coronation of Charles X.; and, in 1826, received from that monarch the decoration of Grand Officer de la Légion d’Honneur. On the Saturday he knew nothing of this compliment; and on Sunday it arrived, without, however, disturbing him from the delighted survey he was taking, with his daughter-in-law, of some alterations just made in his house. At this time also, his former sovereign, the King of Würtemberg, appointed him Commander of his Order of the Crown.

‘ In 1827, to M. Cuvier’s Protestant Grand Mastership was added the management of all the affairs belonging to the different religions in France, except the Catholic, in the Cabinet of the Interior; for which increase of his duties he also refused to accept any emolument.’

pp. 35, 6; 41, 2.

From another part of the work, we gather the following further details, truly honourable to his character.

‘ All the minor schools of France were likewise the objects of M. Cuvier’s earnest solicitude; and, notwithstanding the frustration of

many of his plans, from an obstinate attachment to old methods, he succeeded, by reiterated appeals to the Government, in establishing among them professors of history, living languages, and natural history. In order to further primary instruction, he caused the institution of provincial committees for superintending the schools of their own departments; thinking that emulation would thus be excited among those called to the office, consequently their zeal redoubled, and their endeavours carried to a greater extent. In some provinces, this plan was attended with the greatest success; but in others, party spirit and consequent dissension paralysed even the most active.'

' During M. Cuvier's direction of the Protestant Faculties, he became one of the Vice-Presidents of the Bible Society, and caused the creation of fifty new cures, which had very long been wanting. The protestant churches required fresh regulation and discipline, and for this purpose he collected the opinions of the different pastors of these churches, placing in this matter, as well as in all others, great confidence in the counsels of experience; and he had, in consequence, drawn up the plan of a new law, which was to have been laid before that session in which he did not live to take his seat. The feeling with which the ministers of his own religion generally viewed him, will be proved by the following extracts from the discourse delivered at his funeral by M. Boissard, minister of the protestant church in the Rue des Billettes. " Let us not forget those long abandoned chapels reopened to our youth in the royal colleges; let us not forget the abundant distribution of religious and moral books under his superintendence. Now that his voice is extinct, let us fervently ask of our God, let us ask in the name of our dearest moral interests, in the name of our eternal welfare, to raise up other voices, which may speak with the same eloquence, the same wisdom, and the same authority. We have lost him who, with inviolable attachment, honoured the creed of our forefathers; whose great name, whose immortal labours, shed so much lustre over our churches; who burdened himself with our ecclesiastical rights in perfect disinterestedness of spirit, and with the purest and most extensive benevolence. What do we not owe to that penetrating glance which revealed to him all that was wanting in our institutions, and under which privations we had so long groaned! How many ameliorations took place in a few years; with what wisdom and charity he examined our requests; and what a new order of things would have arisen at his bidding, had the Almighty suffered him to continue among us!" ' pp. 250; 253—255.

M. Cuvier twice visited this country; the first time in 1818, when he spent about six weeks chiefly in the metropolis and at Oxford. With the attentions he received, he always expressed himself highly gratified. His second visit was in 1830. He was on the road to Calais at the moment that the last revolution of the three days took place. To return immediately, would have been imprudent, if not impracticable; but, instead of making a stay of six weeks, as he had intended, he hastened back in a fortnight; and ' to the happiness of those around him, found ' himself, under the government of the Citizen-King, in pos-



‘ session of all his honours, his dignities, and his important functions.’

In 1832, Baron Cuvier was created, by order of Louis Philippe, a peer of France ; and his appointment to the presidency of the Council of State waited only for the royal signature, when he was seized with a paralytic affection, which gradually spread through the whole system, till the action of the lungs was stopped ; and on the sixth day (May 13th), he expired without a struggle, in the 64th year of his age.

Of the merit and value of Cuvier's contributions to science, we shall not here affect to speak. We have already noticed his earliest publication. Three years afterwards, he published his *Elementary View of the Natural History of Animals*, comprising an outline of the lectures he delivered at the Pantheon, in which he introduced a new arrangement of the animal kingdom, founded on more exact investigation and comparison of the varieties which exist in anatomical structure. In 1802, he published, with the assistance of his friends Dumeril and Duvernay, his *Lessons on Comparative Anatomy*, in two volumes octavo : these were afterwards extended to five. In 1812, first appeared, in four quarto volumes, his most important work, and that which will form the most imperishable monument of his fame ; entitled, “ *Recherches sur les Ossements Fossiles*.” In this work, he has imbodyed the results of very extensive researches in a very interesting field of inquiry, relating to the remains of extinct species of animals, found in rocky or alluvial formations. It is seldom that an entire skeleton is found in a fossil state ; but Cuvier's profound skill in comparative anatomy, enabled him to detect the particular species to which the fragment must have belonged, and to re-construct, or restore, as it were, the whole animal. In this way, he is considered to have made us acquainted with upwards of seventy species previously unknown. The preliminary discourse is a masterly exposition of the revolutions which the crust of the earth is supposed to have undergone. This has been translated into most of the European languages ; and the English translation by Professor Jameson, published under the title of “ *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*”, has gone through several editions.

In 1817 appeared the first edition of the “ *Regne Animal*”, in four octavo volumes, one of which was furnished by the celebrated naturalist Latreille. In the same year, was published a new edition of the ‘ *Researches*’, enlarged to five volumes ; and in 1824, the work was extended to seven volumes, illustrated by 200 engravings. In conjunction with M. Valenciennes, Cuvier had projected a general work on Fishes, which it was calculated would extend to twenty volumes. Eight only have appeared, owing to the embarrassments among the Parisian booksellers in

1830, which suspended the publication ; but a great mass of materials for its continuation has been collected. In addition to these great undertakings, M. Cuvier had been for years collecting materials for a complete system of Comparative Anatomy, to be illustrated by drawings from nature, above a thousand of which have been executed, many by his own hand. Besides these works, and many memoirs in the Transactions of scientific societies, he published a History of the Progress of the Physical Sciences from 1789 to 1827, in four volumes octavo, which evince both original genius and extensive erudition. As Perpetual Secretary of the Institute for two and thirty years, it devolved upon him to pronounce the customary elogium upon deceased members of that body. These are collected in three octavo volumes, and bear witness to the versatility of his talents, as well as to the wide range of his attainments. When to these literary labours we add the immense quantity of business which passed through his hands as Chairman of the Committee of the Council of State, and in his other legislative and official capacities, his industry appears scarcely less astonishing than his versatility of talent. His manner as a speaker was very impressive ; and his ready and natural eloquence, together with the rich stores of his mind, commanded attention. Yet, in council, he was a patient listener, never forward with his opinion ; in conversation, instructive, unaffected, and accessible to all. He was a rigid economist of his own time, and so considerate of the time of others, that he would never send away a person who called to transact business with him at an unexpected or inconvenient hour ; saying, that one who lived so far off (he resided at the *Jardin*) had no right to deny himself.

‘ The benevolence of M. Cuvier was evinced in every form by which it could be serviceable to others ; and students themselves have told me, that he has found them out in their retreats, where advice, protection, and pecuniary assistance were all freely bestowed. Frequently did his friends tax him with his generosity, as a sort of imprudence ; but his reply would be,—“ Do not scold me, I will not buy so many books this year.” Many anecdotes have been told me of his purse being made a resource, not only for the advantage of science, but for those who had fled to France to avoid ruin in their own country ; but even my anxiety to make known all M. Cuvier’s good qualities ought not to interfere with the sacredness of private misfortune. In his endeavours to do good, he was always most ably seconded by the females of his family, whose active benevolence has called upon them many a blessing from the hearts they have cheered by their kindness and bounty.

‘ A very remarkable and a very prominent feature in M. Cuvier’s character, was a decided aversion to ridicule or severity when speaking of others : he not only wholly abstained from satire himself, but wholly discouraged it in those around him, whoever they might be ; and was

never for one instant cheated into a toleration of it, however brilliant the wit, or however droll the light in which it was placed; and the only sharpness of expression which he allowed to himself, was a rebuke to those who indulged in sarcasm. On hearing me repeat some malicious observations made by a person celebrated for his wit and talent—not being aware of the hidden meaning of the words I quoted, and having been very much amused with the conversation—M. Cuvier instantly assumed a gravity and seriousness which almost alarmed me, and then solemnly bade me beware of the false colouring which I was but too apt to receive from the person in question; but fearing I should feel hurt, he instantly resumed his kindness of manner, and lamented that the real goodness of heart, the great abilities, and power of divesting himself of partiality, in my friend, should so often be obscured by the desire of saying what was clever or brilliant.' pp. 296—298.

It is pleasing to dwell upon these amiable and virtuous traits in the character of this accomplished philosopher. To these we wish that it was in our power to add more distinct and satisfactory information than can be gathered from the present volume, as to his religious sentiments. He was a Protestant, not merely from education, but from principle; and of his enlightened philanthropy he gave abundant evidence in the unwearied attention he bestowed on promoting the extension and improvement of education among the Protestants of France. He has been charged with a facility of political principle; yet, his disinterestedness is unimpeachable; and the truth seems to be, that, devoted to science, he excused himself from being a politician.

Art. IV. *The Incarnation, and other Poems*. By Thomas Ragg. 12mo. pp. 48. Price 1s. London, 1833.

IF the following stanzas had met the eye of any person of taste and feeling, without the name of its author, no small curiosity would, we think, have been awakened, to know to what poet of the day to ascribe so happy and striking an effusion.

‘Adam, where art thou? monarch, where?  
 It is thy maker calls;  
 What means that look of wild despair?  
 What anguish now enthralls?  
 Why, in the wood’s embowering shade,  
 Dost thou attempt to hide,  
 From him whose hand thy kingdom made,  
 And all thy wants supplied?  
 Go hide again, thou fallen one!  
 The crown has left thy brow;  
 Thy robe of purity is gone,  
 And thou art naked now.

' Adam, where art thou? monarch, where?

Assert thy high command;  
 Call forth the tiger from his lair,  
 To lick thy kingly hand;  
 Control the air, control the earth,  
 Control the foaming sea;  
 They own no more thy heavenly birth,  
 Or heaven-stamp'd royalty.  
 The brutes no longer will caress,  
 But share with thee thy reign;  
 For the sceptre of thy righteousness,  
 Thy hands have snapped in twain.

' Adam, where art thou? monarch, where?

Thou wondrous thing of clay;  
 Ah! let the earth-worm now declare,  
 Who claims thee as his prey.  
 Thy mother, oh thou mighty one,  
 For thee re-opes her womb;  
 Thou to the narrow-house art gone,  
 Thy kingdom is thy tomb.  
 The truth from Godhead's lips that came,  
 There in thy darkness learn:  
 Of dust was formed thy beauteous frame,  
 And shall to dust return.

' Adam, where art thou? where! ah where?

Behold him raised above,  
 An everlasting life to share,  
 In the bright world of love.  
 The hand he once 'gainst heaven could raise,  
 Another sceptre holds;  
 His brows where new-born glories blaze,  
 Another crown enfolds.  
 Another robe's flung over him,  
 More fair than was his own;  
 And with the fire-tongued seraphim,  
 He dwells before the throne.

' But whence could such a change proceed?

What power could raise him there?  
 So late by God's own voice decreed  
 Transgression's curse to bear.  
 Hark! hark! he tells—a harp well strung  
 His grateful arms embrace:  
 Salvation is his deathless song,  
 And grace, abounding grace;  
 And sounds through all the upper sky  
 A strain with wonders rife,  
 That Life hath given itself to die,  
 To bring death back to life.'

And who is Thomas Ragg? A most unpoetical name truly; but he did not choose it. Nor is it quite so prosaic as that of the Ettrick Shepherd. If, however, a rose by any other name would smell as sweet, a poet must not be deemed less a poet because he does not bear a well-sounding name. And assuredly, there is stamped upon these stanzas, the marks of nature's nobility; although *her hidalgos*, like those of the pure Biscayan blood, are often found in very humble occupations\*. And such we find to be the case with the individual who has put forth this modest shilling's worth of verse. Presuming that our readers wish to know something more respecting him, we shall venture to confide to them the account we have received of his history. Speaking of the principal poem, our Correspondent says: 'It is the production of a young man residing near me, who has written 9000 lines in six months, working the whole time *fourteen hours a day in a twist-machine*. He was an infidel, but is now a humble, decided Christian. His circumstances are very contracted; a wife and two small children to support by the hard earnings of manual labour. He wishes to get out his large poem; but his means allow it not. The present is his first appearance before the public, except single pieces. If the present effort succeed, and pecuniary means are provided, he will publish his whole poem.'

Alas! what success can accrue from the sale of a shilling publication? But we trust that such a man will not be left without the means of gratifying his honourable ambition to publish a poem so creditable alike to his talents and to his pious motives. The present specimen can scarcely fail to procure him the assistance he so modestly expresses his hope of obtaining.

'This little poem on "The Incarnation", though in itself perfectly entire, is but in reality the tenth book of a poem in twelve books on "The Deity", which the author had written as the testimony of a converted infidel, against the abounding infidelity of the age, in all its specious and alluring forms. The publication of that work, a task far beyond his present means to accomplish, (his situation in life being that of a working mechanic,) was the ultimate object he had in view in presenting this trifle to the world; and from the unexpected approbation which the manuscript has met with, he is led confidently to hope that that object will ere long be attained.'

There is something unpromising in the announcement of twelve books of blank verse; and we should recommend a careful and severe revision of the manuscript, with a view to prune it of any redundant portions. The poem, however, our readers will, we think, agree with us in deeming far better worth publishing,

\* "I can read and write and am a Biscayner."

DON QUIXOTE.

than some flashy volumes of religious poetry that have been puffed into third and fourth editions. This, in fact, is much fainter praise than is due to such really beautiful writing as the following specimen.

‘ Incarnate God !

Oh mystery of mysteries ! what tongue  
Shall tell thy wonders ? who can tell th’ extent  
Of love divine, that brought the Eternal down,  
To creature bounds, to bleed and die for man ?  
Who tell th’ extent of love in him whose name  
Is Love ? Unceasing, everlasting songs  
Shall raise their voice mellifluent, and harps,  
Immortal harps, shall wake the high response  
In vain. The Deity in Christ, and Christ  
Barr’d in the dungeon of mortality,  
Shall furnish still for song height above height,  
Depth beneath depth, expanse beyond expanse.

‘ The setting sun behind Judea’s hills  
Hid his fair face ; and veiled his golden beams  
With crimson clouds, as blushing, that a light  
Without his aid would soon shine brightly there,  
Passing his own rich lustre ; and yet seemed  
Slowly to move as though he longed to stay,  
And view that sight, most marvellous of all  
Duration’s lengthful records can unfold,  
A Deity’s nativity ; and wept  
Electric fluid on the heaving breast  
Of Atalantis, as it rose to greet  
His near approach, that this their meeting hour  
Was come ere young Messiah’s birth.

‘ ’Twas night ;

Jordan was rolling his black waves along,  
And pouring forth a vesper hymn of praise ;  
And darkness o’er the towers of Bethlehem  
Hung like a mossy covering.—It was night ;  
The hopeful shepherds tended in the fields  
Their fleecy charge ; when sudden o’er the heaven  
A blaze of radiance spread ; not such a light  
As flings itself athwart the northern sky,  
When half year winter-night exulting sits  
On his dark throne, and freezes with his frown  
The very vitals of the earth and sea ;  
But such as shone between the cherubim  
Ere Salem was forsaken of her God.  
They stood affrighted ; when before their eyes  
The glorious angel of the Lord appeared,  
And thus exclaimed, “ Fear not, I bring you news  
Of lasting joy to all the tribes of earth,  
For unto you in David’s city now  
Is born a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord ;



And in a manger wrapt in swaddling clothes,  
The young Redeemer rests." He ceased ; and now,  
Quick as the marshalling of night's bright host  
Succeeds the appearance of the evening star,  
A countless multitude of shining ones  
Stood round about him ; and attuned their harps  
To raise an anthem in Jehovah's praise.  
" Glory to God " rang through the upper heaven ;  
" Glory to God," the middle skies replied ;  
" Glory to God," the earth responded loud ;  
And thunder'd, like an organ's deepest notes,  
The swelling bass of the exstatic song,  
" Peace and good will towards man."

' The vision past ;

To Bethlehem hied the rustic train to greet  
The Virgin's Son, where eastern priests appeared  
With gifts and homage, (by a meteor led,)  
To hail the new-born King. But what a throne,  
And what a palace ! Wonder, oh my soul,  
Now lose thyself in wonder !—Ah ! is this  
The best reception that a God in flesh  
Can find from man he comes to save ? Is this  
The gorgeous cradle of th' Eternal One,  
Before whom angels bow ? A manger, where  
The oxen feed ! Oh love divine ! he stoops  
To vanquish ; 'tis the chariot in which  
HE first to battle flies, who on a cross  
Shall raise the shout of victory.' pp. 4—6.

The Crucifixion has often been attempted by the artist ; but how impossible is it for the pencil to express to the eye of Faith the reality of the scene ! The sublimest conception of art is here outdone by the verse of a humble mechanic, who has studied evidently in a higher than Roman school.

' See, 'tis he ! condemned ;

He climbs the rugged brow of Calvary,  
With heavy, weary steps ; he's stretch'd upon  
The cross ! Hark ! hark ! those strokes ; they nail him there ;  
And hangs the Saviour with extended arms—  
Emblem of love's right willingness t' receive  
With open arms the trembling penitent,  
Who feels undone, and flies for refuge there.  
Now triumph, hell ! unkennel all thy swarm,  
King of the deep ! to beard the Mighty One,  
' Thus impotent. The astonish'd heavens grow black ;  
The sun has, weeping, turned his face away ;  
Deep horror seizes the angelic hosts ;  
And e'en the Uncreated Father hides ;  
Man only is unmoved, or joins the fiends  
In mocking his Redeemer and his Lord.

Hark ! hark again ! what sound is that I hear ?  
 'Tis the pierced Lamb, in agony intense,  
 While horror of thick darkness makes his soul  
 A chaos, crying loud, " My God ! my God !  
 Why, why hast thou forsaken me ? " 'Tis he !  
 It is Messiah ! Patiently he bears  
 The insults of the railing crowd ; pours forth,  
 While yet 'tis reeking, his atoning blood  
 Into that dying culprit's broken heart,  
 Who hangs beside him ; and in such a voice  
 As shakes the adamantine rocks of hell,  
 Shouting, "'TIS FINISHED," lets his spirit go.

' Amazing scene ! well might the sun, abash'd,  
 Veil his bright face in darkness ! Well might earth  
 Shake to her centre ! well the rending rocks  
 Speak out their wonder ! and convulsions tear  
 The universal frame ! oh love divine !  
 Oh miracle of love ! oh love of God !  
 How vast ! how wondrous ! passing human thought !  
 Scoffer, away to Calvary ! Sceptic,  
 Away to Calvary ! there behold a sight  
 Surpassing all beside, t' reveal to man  
 The Deity's chief attributes ; there see  
 WISDOM unbounded, manifested, fair,  
 In the redemption of a ruin'd world ;  
 Wisdom that counted up the cost—that sealed  
 The bill before creation, and now pays  
 The full price down from the Eternal's veins.  
 See MERCY, robed in crimson, smiling sweet,  
 That now heaven's gates are ope'd to her ; and she  
 Can, unobstructed, to the human race,  
 Descend with welcome messages of peace ;  
 While JUSTICE shines more radiantly than where  
 Its name is character'd in living flame,  
 In the dread realms of everlasting woe ;  
 While HONOUR lifts unstained its lofty head ;  
 While PURITY beholds the law fulfill'd  
 By the fond bridegroom, for the hapless bride ;  
 And TRUTH sees there the dreadful curse endured,  
 Pronounced in Eden, " Dying, thou shalt die."  
 And see immense, immeasurable LOVE,  
 The crowning attribute, the link of all,  
 The cement that has thus united them,  
 The life-blood of redemption, that flows on  
 Through every vein of all the wondrous scheme,  
 Shine through the death-wounds of Incarnate God.  
 Scoffer, away to Calvary ! Sceptic,  
 Away to Calvary ! there, there behold  
 How RIGHTEOUSNESS has kiss'd the lips of peace ;  
 And TRUTH and MERCY have in union met,  
 Embracing in the Saviour's bleeding heart.

*Marvel!*—but marvel not in such degree,  
 As to conceive the act impossible.  
 Ponder it, analyze it, weigh it well,  
 And weigh again, consider all its points,  
 With all thy skilfulness ; what doth it, save  
 Exalt the moral o'er the physical,  
 And shew the *moral being* of a God  
 Perfection, that, for sin, creation meets  
 Inevitable death ; and to redeem  
 From that dread curse, the Maker should assume  
 A mortal form, and taste death's bitterest pangs,  
 Rather than let one moral attribute  
 Give way ! Oh sin ! how dreadful thy effects !  
 Oh love divine ! how wonderful art thou !  
 Had universal nature backward slunk  
 Into the barren womb of nothingness ;  
 Had light turned darkness, matter chaos wild,  
 And order rank confusion, it were nought  
 To that stupendous scene, where Godhead died  
 "For man, the creature's sin." Oh love divine !  
 Unchanging, lasting, EVERlasting love !  
 Wounded and bleeding—triumphing in blood,  
*Dying*—endowed with stronger life in death,  
 What shall exhaust thy fulness ? Deity  
 Itself, in person of th' Eternal Son,  
 Was emptied of all else but thee, that thou  
 Might'st triumph ; but thy fountain still remained,  
 And still remains, exhaustless. Love divine !  
 Boundless, immense, immeasurable love !  
 Duration's ceaseless ages still shall own  
 Thy heights, thy depths, thy wonders, half untold ;  
 Though all the songs of man, from death redeemed,  
 And all the symphonies of angels' harps,  
 Be raised to thy unfailing source and thee.' pp. 16—19.

If our recommendation has any weight with our readers, they will lose no time in purchasing a copy of these poems. But we cannot refrain from indulging the hope, that our notice may lead to some generous effort to rescue the Author from the cruel necessity of working fourteen hours a day to earn a bare subsistence for his family. That such a man should be found in such a grade of society, we know not whether to rejoice or to deplore. One is tempted to feel proud that England can produce such mechanics ;—to blush or grieve for our country, that such should be the hard terms of their condition.

- Art. V. 1. *Christian Experience*; or, a Guide to the Perplexed. By Robert Philip, of Maberley Chapel. Second Edition. 18mo., pp. 206. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1830.
2. *Communion with God*; or, a Guide to the Devotional. By Robert Philip. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d. 18mo. London, 1832.
3. *Eternity Realized*; or, a Guide to the Thoughtful. By Robert Philip. 18mo., pp. 207. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1832.
4. *Pleasing God*; or, a Guide to the Conscientious. By Robert Philip. 18mo. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1832.
5. *The God of Glory*; or, a Guide to the Doubting. By Robert Philip. 18mo., pp. 216. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1833.

WE owe perhaps an apology to the Author of these excellent publications for not sooner introducing them to the notice of our readers. Although hitherto silent, we have by no means been inattentive to their successive appearance, nor insensible to their claims on our commendation. It is with great pleasure that we now proceed to the discharge of a duty which will be accompanied with almost unmingled satisfaction.

To come forth in the character of a Guide,—publicly to claim the confidence of mankind,—to profess ability to direct their judgements, and to assist their decisions in relation to subjects on which their everlasting interests depend, may appear, at first sight, to involve something like arrogance or temerity. That man would seem little to be envied, who, by such high pretensions, should place himself in a point of observation so likely to produce extravagant expectations, and so adapted to provoke the severity of criticism. To claim to be a ‘Guide’ to even *one* class of persons, is assuming much responsibility; especially if the subjects on which they require assistance, involve many questions of difficult solution; but to profess a readiness to discharge this office at once to ‘The Perplexed,’ ‘The Devotional,’ ‘The Thoughtful,’ ‘The Conscientious,’ and ‘The Doubting,’ might seem to betray either an inadequate idea of the magnitude of the task, and the qualifications it requires, or an excessively high estimate of personal ability.

And yet, every man who sustains the ministerial office, professes to be *this—all this!* Alas! how few are adequately aware of what they covet, and of what they become, when they desire, or enter the sacred profession! And how happy would it be for the church, if all who are officially the guides of others, were as worthy of being heard by those whom they address, as the books before us are of being read by each and all of the classes whose attention they solicit.

With the first and the second of the volumes in the above list, we may suppose many of our readers to be already acquainted, as they

have been published some time. That on "Christian Experience" consists of essays which, we are told in the preface, 'are the substance of actual conversations with the perplexed.' They embrace a variety of subjects, and, we have reason to know, have often been of much service, when placed by ministers in the hands of that class of persons for whom they are intended. The "Guide to the Devotional," is a delightful production. Many, we doubt not, who will read this brief notice of its excellence, have not now to learn its character from us; they have already been led by it to that divine communion which it describes, enforces, and assists with such admirable skill. Were we noticing it as a separate publication, or on its first appearance, we should give both a sketch of its contents and extended quotations: as it is, we shall confine ourselves to one short extract.

'Hearers have it in their power, to make both a good man and good preaching much better. For, if both are worthy of esteem, even whilst his people are not very prayerful, or whilst only a few of them are so, what would his spirit and sermons be, were he sure that the great body of his charge came from their closets to the sanctuary?

'You have perhaps said, when you heard of the preaching of Whitfield, Romaine, and Spencer, why do not our ministers preach with their unction and energy? One reason is, that far fewer pray for us, than the number who prayed for them. Whitfield was borne up, and borne through, by the high and sweet consciousness that, underneath him, were the wings of the secret and family prayers of thousands. He had Aarons and Hurs to hold up his hands upon every mount of Amalek, where he unfurled the standard of the cross. Under such circumstances, he could not, and no good man could, be cold or tame in his preaching. It may be said in answer to this, "that Whitfield, by his own devotional spirit and example, created the prayerfulness which thus inspired and sustained him." And to a great extent, this is true. But "prayer was made for him," not only by his own converts, but by all who loved and longed for the conversion of souls. He knew this,—and "watched for souls", as one who must give account. Now something, yea much of this, you may promote by a prayerful regard to your own profiting: for if you consult your own spiritual benefit, your minister is sure to be benefited. A praying people will make a preaching minister, as much by their prayers for *themselves*, as by what they offer for him. And in this obvious way: whilst the consciousness that he is not forgotten at the mercy-seat, will soothe his spirit, the consciousness that you have been *alone* with God, and are come from communing with God and the Lamb, will rouse his spirit to meet your spirit, so as to *minge* with it in all its holy aspirations. He will feel, through all his soul, that a devotional people cannot be edified by an undevotional minister;—that a sermon unbaptized by prayer will betray itself and him too, amongst the prayerful; and that no dexterity in speaking will mask heartlessness in thinking. Thus he will have in your devotional character, a check upon his own; and his own, thus kept on the alert, will re-act upon yours in a similar way.

‘ Besides, if your errand to the house of God be a *spiritual* one, you cannot expect to succeed without trying, at least, to be, “in the spirit” on the Lord’s day, before you go out. It should not depend upon the morning prayer, or the morning sermon, of the minister, whether you shall be in a good or a bad frame during the sabbath. They may, indeed, have occasionally broken up a bad frame of mind, and been, unexpectedly, the means of restoring your soul from its wanderings; but, whenever they have been instrumental in this way, you have been made to feel deeply, at the time, that such sovereign *lifts* were fraught with reproof, as well as with revival. You never were unexpectedly quickened in the sanctuary, without being cut to the heart, by the consciousness that you might have been restored sooner, if you had not restrained prayer before God. Accordingly, your first resolution, when thus brought again to your “right mind”, was, that you would not let things go wrong again between you and God, by coming prayerless or heartless to the house of God. I remind you of this fact, that you may feel that you have no reason to expect to see his glory in the Sanctuary, unless you have prayed at home: “*I beseech thee, shew me thy glory.*” Whatever is worth *finding* in his house, is worth *seeking* in your own closet. It is, therefore, presumption, if not high insult, to expect the Divine presence or blessing in Zion, if we neglect to pray for them before we come to Zion. If we would feed upon its “green pastures”, or be refreshed by its “still waters”, we must, like David, pray, “*Oh, send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me, let them guide me to thy holy hill.*”’ pp. 131—135.

We might have selected from this volume many passages of more striking character, far more eloquent and original than the above; we have preferred it, however, on account of the important practical truth which it contains. It conveys a lesson which, we fear, many hearers have yet to learn. Few are aware that the success of ministers depends as much upon their people as upon themselves; that the barrenness of the pulpit is often connected with the prayerlessness of the pew; and that an indevout people would be an obstacle to the usefulness of a minister, if such could be found, who should unite to the holiness of an angel, the devotedness of an apostle or the zeal of a seraph.

If any extensive revival of religion is to take place among us, it will unquestionably be preceded and accompanied by an evident outpouring of the spirit of prayer. Christians will learn to be dissatisfied with their present habits, as it respects both their private and their social supplications. We are often disposed to question whether the usual mode of constituting and conducting the Prayer-meeting, in congregational churches, is the best that might be adopted for exciting and sustaining the devotional spirit. There being one meeting for the whole church and congregation, many evade altogether the obligation to attend, as it never reaches their personal consciousness by any distinct appeal; many attend irregularly; and, of those who ordinarily form the meeting, very



few, in proportion, ever publicly engage in the service. Of these few, some *ought* not; while others would be more happy and more acceptable in a smaller and more private society. And, even in respect to those whose exercises are the most edifying, it often happens, that they are unavoidably called upon so frequently, that they damp the spirit by their sameness, as they sometimes fatigue the body by their length. We have thought, that if, in large congregations especially, there were *several* little companies for prayer, all these evils would be avoided, and many incalculable advantages secured. Each individual would feel more strongly the duty of being in his place; the gifts and piety of a greater number would be elicited and enlarged; and several whose exercises pain the many, would edify the few. Each of these companies might be visited in turn by the minister, and all might unite occasionally in one special devotional service. Independently of the facilities which this arrangement would afford for pastoral inspection, it would diffuse the warmth of devotion and the spirit of prayer more extensively and *really* among the people, and would produce that state of things, both in the pulpit and in the pew, so forcibly described in the preceding extract. When Peter was in prison, prayer was made for him '*by the church.*' On his deliverance, he went to the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, where "many were gathered together praying:" this, however, could be but a handful of those who were interested in the fate of the apostle, and by whom prayer was made for him to God. There were, probably, *many* other companies met at the same moment, and engaged in the same exercise; and these separate and yet associated supplications constituted the prayer *of the church*.

"ETERNITY REALIZED," the next "Guide" to be noticed, we consider as one of the best, if not the very best of the series. It is intended for the 'thoughtful,' and it is calculated at once to stimulate and to direct their contemplations. It consists of ten essays, of which the first two are on the 'duty' and the 'possibility' of Realizing Eternity; the third, treats of 'the Excuses' for not doing this; the fourth and fifth are on 'Nominal Faith,' and 'Spiritual Declension,' as arising from acting on these excuses; the sixth is entitled, 'Faith, believing unto eternal life;' the seventh, eighth, and ninth are, 'Eternity Realized' in the 'sanctuary,' 'at the sacrament,' and 'at home;' the last, is entitled, 'Christ the Glory of Eternity.'

We feel a reluctance to express ourselves, in relation to the merit of this volume, as our opinion and experience would prompt, lest our language might be mistaken for compliment or extravagance. We read it with indescribable pleasure. We know of no work of its size capable of making a Christian think so much, so seriously, and so well. It abounds with pointed and pithy sen-

tences, comprising in few words a fullness of meaning, and sometimes conveying it with a quaintness which renders forgetfulness impossible. The conceptions are often original, sometimes grand and awful, always serious. It excites the dormant power of the reader, and compels him to exert for himself something of that energy which the writer so conspicuously displays,—by which he lifts the covering that lies upon “the things that are unseen,” and brings the secrets of eternity to bear on the diversified engagements of time. We could wish to see the volume in the hands of all whom we love, especially of educated youth, who, by making it their companion and imbibing its spirit, would soon feel that religion not only diffuses in the heart the calmest satisfactions, and animates virtue by the sublimest motives, but that it opens to the powers of the mind a sphere for their largest scope and loftiest exercise.

We shall give one or two extracts, but we must warn our readers, that a proper idea of the work can be obtained only from its being read and meditated on as a whole. Our first extract is taken from the opening paragraphs of the first essay, “on the duty of Realizing Eternity.”

‘ Did “Eternal Life” suggest to us only the bare idea of living for ever in an unknown world, it would deserve more attention than is usually given to heaven or hell. “The life that now is”, is such an evanescent vapour, that “everlasting life”, however deeply veiled as to its place or employments, is a contrast which ought to arrest and rivet supreme attention. The bare fact of immortality is fraught with instruction and warning. It has a commanding character, independent of its revealed character. For, as life involves thought, and feeling, and action, an eternity of thinking, an eternity of feeling, an eternity of acting, is a solemn consideration! It could not be weighed without profit. Who would not be improved, both in character and spirit, by arguing thus:—“I must *think* for ever; would an eternal train of my usual thoughts be either worthy of me, or useful to me? I must *feel* for ever; would an eternal reign of my present spirit and desires please me? I must *act* for ever; would an eternal course of my habitual conduct bring happiness, or even bear reflection?”

‘ We could not bring our tastes and tempers to this test, without improving both. The moment we realize an eternity of any vice or folly, we are shocked. To be eternally passionate, or eternally sensual, or eternally capricious, is a state of being which must be appalling and repulsive even to the victims of these vices. Thus, independent of all the light shed upon immortality by the gospel, immortality itself sheds strong and steady lights upon our personal interests and relative duties. Life involves, also, society, intercourse, and their natural results. Would, then, an eternity of the terms and temper of our present domestic and social life be altogether agreeable to us? Should we like to “live for ever”, just as we now “live together” at home? Would an eternity of our present feelings towards certain persons be either creditable or useful to us? Should we be quite sa-

tified to obtain and deserve, for ever, no more respect than we now enjoy? Would an immortality of our present relative condition please us? Here, again, by realizing an eternity of social life, we catch glimpses both of duty and interest, which compel "great searchings of heart", and suggest many valuable improvements of character.

'It would, then, be equally unwise and criminal, not to realize even a veiled eternity. It would be both moral and mental weakness not to judge of our present character and pursuits—of our present spirit and habits—by their fitness and likelihood to please and profit us in a "world without end." What attention, then, is due to an unveiled and illuminated immortality; and what an influence it might have over us, if habitually realized as it is revealed! It comes before us in the gospel, as everlasting happiness in heaven, or as everlasting misery in hell; as an eternity in the presence of God, and in the fellowship of all the god-like spirits in the universe; or as an eternity in the presence of "the devil and his angels," and in the society of all the impious and impure. Extremes, thus infinite and endless, deserve all the attention which law or gospel demands for them. Habitual remembrance of them would be imperative duty, if neither law nor gospel enforced it. Such an eternity makes many laws for itself. It is *itself* a law, and felt to be so when it is realized. For as Sinai awed the thousands of Israel, by its solemn aspect, long before the trumpet sounded, so the very aspect of eternal bliss or woe appeals to the understanding and the conscience, by its own solemnity.' pp. 1—4.

The following remarks, which close the second essay, are equally striking and just.

'I must now say distinctly, that I have a very mean opinion of all the ordinary excuses, put forward to palliate or explain the slight attention given to eternal things. I feel thus, especially, in reference to the wrath to come. When that is dwindled into a question about the *materiality* of everlasting burnings, both the head and the heart do themselves little credit. For, whatever unquenchable fire, or the deathless worm, may literally mean, they can mean nothing good,—nothing easy,—nothing temporary. Besides, to a mind rightly exercised and disposed, there is surely more than enough to awe it, and to fix its awe, in the single fact, that hell is, "the wrath of God and the Lamb."

'There can be no great soundness of judgement, nor justness of feeling, where the impression of this solemn fact is defeated or weakened by curiosity. It does, therefore, appear to me one of the deceits of the human heart, if not one of the wiles of Satan, when our thoughts entangle themselves with the minute details of future misery, and thus escape from the awful and obvious truth, that it is "everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power." Yes; hell is this, whatever else it is, and whatever else it is not. Of what consequence then is the question, what else is hell, seeing it is *this*? Oh, did we estimate things according to their real or their relative importance, there is in this one view of the wrath to come, such definite and appalling terrors, that even a momentary glance at them, if

given daily, could not fail to keep us fleeing from that wrath, and clinging with a death-grasp to the cross, as the only refuge from it.' pp. 39—40.

In the fifth Essay, 'on spiritual declension,' after noticing the *fact* of a sensible and unhappy change in a man's feelings, without any great apparent change in his habits,—a blight on the spirit, but not consciously induced by allowed misconduct,—the Author thus proceeds.

'In this dilemma, it is not uncommon to have recourse to a false principle of explanation. Some ascribe the decay to the *sovereign* withdrawment of the Divine Presence; meaning by that, the hiding of God's countenance from the soul, as an *experiment* upon the soul. Others, justly afraid of resolving into absolute sovereignty, what is but too easily explained by the weakness of human nature, ascribe the decay to that weakness. They say, "it is only what might be expected in the case of imperfect creatures, whilst in a world so imperfect." Thus they lay their account with sinking into occasional deadness and formality; and regard the declension as a matter of course, or of inevitable necessity.

'This solution is as unwise as the other is impious. Not, however, that there are no circumstances which upset the power of godliness for a time. There are: and, under them, the Christian is, perhaps, quite as much an object of pity as of blame. The shock of sudden calamity, or a severe prostration of strength and spirits, is almost sure to overpower or impair the spirituality of the mind. Neither devotional habits nor feelings, which have been formed in health and prosperity, can accommodate themselves, at once, to pain and poverty. They are both shaken and shattered for a time; and, then, it is not improper nor imprudent to take the full comfort of the gracious assurance, that our pitying Father "knoweth our frame, and remembereth that we are dust."

'It is not, however, safe nor wise to have recourse to this principle, when neither the body nor the mind is broken down by care. Any decay of spirituality that occurs, whilst we are in ordinary circumstances of character and condition, will be found to spring from inattention to—Eternity.

'This is a much more frequent and fruitful source of religious declension than we are apt to suspect or willing to believe; because we forget or overlook the degree in which the light of eternity was upon divine things, when we were first and most affected by them. This is the real *secret* of those relapses which we cannot account for, when there has been no moral defection. The light of eternity has been suffered to pass off from the objects of faith and the acts of devotion.

'If you are not fully aware of this, or did not observe how much a sense of eternity blended with all your first and strongest impressions of divine things, the consideration of it will amply repay you for both the time and thought it calls for. Now, at whatever point of truth your serious impressions began, the *force* of that point was derived from *eternity*. Even if your heart was first moved and melted by the *love*

of Christ, this is the fact of the case. You, indeed, thought of nothing, at the moment, but the glories, grace, and sacrifice of the Lamb of God. All your wonder and gratitude were concentrated upon his person and work. He was "all and in all, and altogether lovely," in the views which then captivated and conquered your heart. And, had any one said to you, at that sacred moment, that you were thinking of eternity, you would have replied, "I think, I can think, of nothing but the amazing and melting love of my Saviour; and of my own guilt and folly, in not thinking of it sooner."

' There was, however, much reference to eternity in all this process and pressure of thought and feeling. You, indeed, were not conscious of it; because, like sun-light upon flowers, the light of eternity does not divide our attention between itself and the objects it shines on. It was, however, there; blended with and beautifying every view of the Saviour and salvation. Accordingly, had you analysed your own thoughts at the time, or afterwards, you would have found that they had not only glanced alternately at the past and future eternity of the love of Christ; but, also, that its eternity was the very *crown* of its worth and glory. For, had He not loved for eternity, and redeemed for eternity, you could not have thought nor felt as you did. Had any doubt of eternity itself, or of the eternal duration of his love, mingled with your meditations, they would not have been transporting nor transforming in their influence.

' There was, however, more than an undoubting recognition of eternity, in your adoring views of the Saviour. They were based upon, and blended with, a settled and solemn persuasion of the immortality of the soul. Your spirit, although unconscious of its own transitions between eternity and the cross, was yet, and all the while, glancing from the one to the other, and linking both together. Its movements were too numerous and rapid to be felt as transitions of thought or feeling, at the moment; but, now that you begin to analyze them, you perceive that you were employing the glories of the cross to soften eternity, and the glories of eternity to enshrine the cross. Thus, all your most realizing and influential views of the Lamb slain, were full of immortality. Eternity was all around the cross, as the flood around the ark; and though your eye, in its intended and intense gaze, was fixed, like the dove's, on the refuge; like her's also, it darted sidelong and swift and perpetual glances on the surrounding waters.

' Now, as this was the real character of your fixed and finest views of the Saviour and salvation, and as they derived so much of their power and glory from their connection with eternity; it is not wonderful that both their power and their glory should decay, whenever you lose sight of eternity, or cease to look at the cross in the light of it.

' In like manner, if your personal piety began in a deep sense of the value of your *soul*, that solemn conviction derived its chief solemnity from eternity. It was more than based on, or blended with, the consciousness of immortality: it was "full" of immortality. It would have been powerless, yea, been nothing, but for eternity. For, whatever you thought or felt, in regard to any or all, the powers of the mind, it was the fact of their being eternal powers, that arrested and riveted your attention. It was memory, as remembering for ever;

it was imagination, as creative for ever; it was reason, as reasoning for ever; it was conscience, as judging for ever; that awed and amazed you. Eternal consciousness! eternal thought! eternal feeling! was the absorbing consideration. It was not mental power, as mental; nor moral sense, as moral; but the eternity of mind and conscience, that impressed you. It was not the degree in which the soul was capable of enjoying or suffering; but the "everlasting" *duration* of future joy or woe, that determined you to care for your soul. Accordingly, had its faculties been both fewer and feebler, and even incapable of any improvement, here or hereafter, their eternity would have stamped and sustained them as infinitely valuable in your estimation. And, as they must advance for ever, as well as endure for ever, you certainly did not overrate their value, when you resolved not to lose your soul.

'Now, if these solemn views of the immortality of your spirit have been allowed to pass away, or to languish into cold and heartless forms of thought, it is not surprising that you should kneel at the mercy-seat without enjoyment, and at the cross without feeling. For how can the soul, when it has become almost insensible to its own immortal nature, and immense value, and amazing faculties, feel alive in prayer and meditation? How can the throne of grace be attractive, or the cross dear, "as in the days of old," when you no longer come to them under a deep or distinct consciousness of your immortality?

'The want, or the weakness, of this, is just as incompatible with a devotional spirit, as the want or weakness of humility, penitence, or faith. Now, you are fully aware, that a self-righteous, or a self-sufficient spirit does not, and cannot, find communion with God, nor comfort from the promises. You know well, that if you forget your guilt or weakness, you are neither successful nor urgent in prayer. Accordingly, you find it necessary, and make it convenient, to keep up a habitual sense of your sinfulness and unworthiness, that thus you may be humble before God, whenever you appear before him in the sanctuary or the closet. All this is as it should be. The habitual consciousness of immortality is, however, as necessary as humility. Indeed, humility will not be very deep, when the sense of immortality is dim. The latter is not, indeed, like the former, one of the "graces" of the Spirit; but it is the element in which they were all born, and out of which none of them thrive well. We are not repenting well, when we are not repenting for eternity; nor praying well, when we are not praying with an express reference to eternity.' pp. 86—94.

We shall only add two short extracts from this volume. Our readers will perceive in both an originality of thought and illustration, which, though *bordering*, perhaps, on the fanciful, is admirably adapted to rouse and rivet the attention, and, what is still better, to cause a deep and devotional seriousness to gather on the spirit. The first is from the essay on realizing eternity 'at the sacrament'; and the second is the closing paragraph of the book.

'It is not difficult to realize the *purpose* for which we should keep



the feast in heaven. For, were it possible to pass within the vail of that temple "once every year," or even once in the course of our life, and to remain as long as the high-priest did in the holy of holies; and then to return to the earth, not at all unfitted for the ordinary duties of life, nor at all insensible to the real worth and claims of human affairs; we see, at a glance, that we should make all the enjoyment of this visit to the "third heavens," bear upon practical holiness for ever after. We feel, that, if it were put to us, whilst within the vail, what we should choose to bring down from heaven, as most useful on earth, and most conducive to promote our final meetness for "eternal inheritance," we should fix upon the grace which would enable us "to pass unspotted through the world." This, after having seen God's "holy hill," we should prefer to a crown of glory or a harp of gold, when we had to *return* to the work and warfare of faith, in this world. Indeed, no fruit "of the tree of life which is in the midst of the paradise of God," would be preferred to that which would fortify us to do and endure the will of God well. Or, if we did feel any longing to bring down something which should attract public notice by its splendour, or feed self-complacency by its singularity, we should blush for ourselves, and flee from the vain desire, "as from a serpent."

'Now, even by this brief look at "eternal things," we have caught a glimpse of the practical purpose of sacramental communion, which is just as *sober*, as the point from which it is gained is fanciful. That which we would thus bring from the table in heaven, we ought to *seek*, chiefly, at the table on earth;—firmness to resist temptation, and fortitude to bear our trials.' pp. 161—2.

'Having thus endeavoured to realize some of the chief joys of being with the Lord, it will not be imprudent nor unprofitable to glance at the pleasures which must spring from witnessing his present *offices* in heaven. We now think of his INTERCESSION with delight. We shall soon *see* how it is conducted. And, whatever be the manner or the spirit in which he intercedes, both will throw back our thoughts upon the lowness of our past and present estimate of it. Nothing, perhaps, will deepen our humility in heaven, more than the remembrance of our reluctance to pray, when we see how the Father "waiteth to be gracious", and how the Son "ever liveth to intercede". We shall judge impartially then, how they ought to pray whom we have left on earth; and, in thus judging of their duty, we shall, with all the reason and conscience of our perfected spirits, condemn the formality and coldness which so often marked our devotion. Only think!—what we must feel when we first see the Saviour rise before the throne to intercede for those whom we have left? It is not necessary, in order to realize the effect of this act on our minds, that we should assist our thoughts now by the material imagery of a "golden censer", or of "much incense". No; the bare idea, that he "appears in the presence of God for" his people, is quite sufficient to lift up our spirits to something of that holy amazement which they must feel, when they see and hear how he pleads for his church. Such will and must be the effect of witnessing his actual intercession, that no witness of it

could be unwilling to return to the earth for a time, (were a return proper in all other respects,) just to pay *due honour* to that intercession.' pp. 206, 7.

"PLEASING GOD, or, a Guide to the Conscientious," is hardly inferior, in any respect, to its immediate predecessor which we have just noticed. We think the *principle* which it attempts to establish, and with which it would animate Christian obedience, one which can never be forgotten without every department of duty being sensibly affected. To study to *please* God, rather than merely to avoid offending him, is a noble and dignified aim: it has a tendency to animate zeal, and to infuse a care and a conscientiousness into every exercise. That it is scriptural, cannot be doubted. To shew ourselves "*approved*" unto God,—to act with a view to this result, is obviously a part of the Law of Christ, and, as such, a duty binding on the whole Christian community. Mr. Philip has stated and defended the principle with great force, and has shewn the blessed effects that would flow from its operation. After an essay on 'the fear of displeasing God,' he illustrates 'Repenting' and 'Believing' so as to 'please' him; then, the 'pleasing God' in 'public worship,'—in the 'closet,'—by 'family holiness,'—by our 'temper,'—by the 'application of money,'—and by 'doing good.'

After exhibiting, in the first essay, the nature and importance of what we may call the negative principle of Christian obedience, Mr. Philip thus proceeds:

'This holy fear of displeasing God is not, however, the *whole* spirit of Christian obedience, nor of Christian watchfulness. Valuable as it is, as a principle of both, and valid as it is, as a proof of saving conversion, it is not the best nor the easiest spirit of duty.

'It is, however, a spirit which we can never safely dispense with. It must not be *displaced* by any other motive. For, although there are higher and holier motives than the fear of displeasing, they are all so holy, that they cannot be acted upon, nor yielded unto, where this godly fear is not cherished. It is, indeed, the only *element* in which love, or gratitude, or zeal, can be kept in a healthy state. They were born in that element; and, therefore, cannot live long out of it. Holy fear is "the native air" of the filial spirit of adoption. Accordingly, God assures us, that "*Happy is the man who feareth alway*". And never was the truth or wisdom of this maxim more illustriously exemplified than in the primitive churches. They "multiplied", whilst they walked equally "in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost." *Acts*, ix. 31.

'But, whilst the fear of displeasing God is thus important and indispensable, both the desire and the hope of *pleasing* God are equally necessary, if we would obey in the spirit of the Gospel. Indeed, we are sure to displease God, if we do not try to please him in obeying. For

obedience, however conscientious, is not filial nor cheerful, until its grand aim is, to be "well pleasing in His sight". And, as obedience is never so acceptable or glorifying to God, as when it is intended to please him, so it is never so *easy* to ourselves as when this is its express object.

' It does not require much humility to say, in answer to this remark, that our poor services are too imperfect to warrant any hope that God should be pleased with them. They are, indeed, both poor and imperfect. It is even a wonder that we are not punished for their imperfections. We cannot, therefore, think too lowly of our best services. We ought not, however, to think *meanly* of well-meant obedience. It is imperfect; but it is not contemptible, except when it is put forward as a ground of hope, or as a price for mercy; and thus, it never is reckoned by any believer. We never dream of atoning for sin, nor of meriting heaven, even by the work of faith and the labour of love. But, on the other hand, neither do we dare to think meanly of that work, nor of that labour, when they are performed by *other* Christians. We feel warranted and bound "to esteem them highly for their works' sake". And they feel under the same obligation to respect what is good in our character. They know that we are imperfect, and we know that they are not perfect; but neither, on that account, despise the obedience of the other, or think it unworthy of notice. It is, in both, the practical proof of their faith.

' Now, as the proof of faith, and as the fruit of the Spirit, we ourselves venture to regard our obedience with some pleasure. We are, indeed, displeased with it, and ashamed of it, and almost afraid to admit that it amounts to *proof*; but, still, we do hope that it affords some evidence, both to God and man, that we are not unbelievers. What we are by Grace, and what we do by Grace, and what we wish to be, form the materials from which we humbly venture to conclude, that neither our faith nor our repentance is insincere. However much, therefore, we are displeased with ourselves, (and we cannot be too much,) it is still the fact, that we are so far pleased with the change which Grace has effected upon us, as to consider it a token for good, and some sign that we have not believed in vain, nor received the grace of God in vain. We may not venture to draw this conclusion in express words, nor yet to look steadfastly at it in thought; but we do take it for granted, in some degree. Indeed, if we did not, we should be compelled to regard ourselves as still "in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity". For, if our character, and conduct, and spirit prove nothing in favour of our conversion, we must relinquish the fond hope that we are converted; and this—we are not willing to give up entirely. And we have no occasion to give it up at all, if we are conscientiously afraid of displeasing God. There is "the root of the matter" in the heart, wherever this holy fear influences the life.

' There is, then, some *reason* why we should feel some pleasure in what we ourselves do and endure, agreeably to the Will of God; because it would be both unreasonable and unwise not to be pleased, when we see others endeavouring to glorify God. Accordingly, we are delighted when others walk at all worthy of their high and holy

calling. We never think that they are making God their *debtor* by such conduct ; but we often think that God will not be unmindful of such conduct. We attribute no legal merit to it ; but we do attach great importance to it, as the work of faith and the labour of love. And, as such, it is well pleasing to all who love holiness. Even the world pretends to be much pleased with a consistent Christian.

‘ And, is God’s temper, or rule of judging, so *unlike* all the best principles by which his people judge of each other, that He is not at all pleased with conduct which thus delights them ? Is He but just not angry, when they are glad to see each other “ walking in the truth ” ? Is He all but disappointed, when even His angels rejoice over the penitent ?

‘ We do not think so in the case of others, whatever we may suspect in our own case. We are sure that God was well pleased with some of the patriarchs, with many of the prophets, and with most of the apostles. We know, that whenever his lips have said “ Well done,” to any of his servants, the sentence has been preceded by feelings of pleasure in his mind : for such a cordial approval at the close of life, implies many feelings of complacency during the progress of life.’

pp. 13—19.

‘ I would, therefore, set you at once to try to *please* God. There is nothing so easy as this, when there is an honest desire to please Him ; because there is nothing so simple. For, whoever has any right ideas of God, must see at a glance, what kind of praying, and what kind of conduct, and what kind of spirit, would please Him. A man whose ideas of God are but few and very superficial, and who is not very willing to serve Him, may judge very partially, and very ill, in a question about *displeasing* God. Inclination may bias his judgment and betray his conscience, when all that he aims at is merely not to incur displeasure. But the moment a man proposes to himself to please God, by a duty, or by a prayer, or by a temper, or by an act of self-denial, he sees at once how it ought to be done. He feels instinctively that nothing can please, which is not, in some way, *intended* to please. And if he must confess that he has no *wish* to please God, he surely can no longer give himself credit for possessing any principle or spark of grace. For, its great principle being love to God, and its least spark being a desire to be loved by God, both are utterly wanting where there is no wish to please Him. We neither love any one, nor desire to be loved by any one, whom we are unwilling to please. All human love both discovers and proves itself by attempts to please.

‘ When the work of grace is placed in this light, any man can judge, at once, whether he be a subject of it, or not ; because every man knows well, whether he tries to please God, or not. And the man who has never tried, and has no inclination to try, must feel that it would be madness in him to think himself safe, or even in the way of salvation.’ pp. 25, 26.

We must find room for one passage more, taken from the Essay on ‘ pleasing God by the application of money ’. The whole of this

essay is admirable. We recommend it to all whom it concerns, and it concerns *all* in their degree, though some need its admonitions more than others. The following paragraphs, which constitute the commencement of the essay, introduce the subject in a novel and original form. They cannot fail to strike and arrest the attention.

‘ When the Saviour says to us, “ Except your righteousness shall exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of Heaven,” we feel the necessity, not only of a superior personal righteousness, but also, of being clothed with the righteousness of Christ. On this point, there is no indifference, or doubt, or evasion, on our part. But, how do we feel and act when our Lord speaks thus, “ I SAY UNTO YOU, make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations ? ” This injunction, if less plain than the former, is equally authoritative ; but not equally regarded.

‘ Again, when the Saviour speaks thus : “ Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,” we not only do not “ marvel,” but set ourselves to self-examination and fervent prayer. The necessity of a divine change is often remembered, and the marks of it anxiously sought after. We feel that it would be perilous, yea fatal, to overlook or evade a declaration so explicit and solemn. This is as it should be. But, how do we feel and act when the same high authority says, “ *Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven* ” ? Does this command lead to, or compel, any obedience ? Is it as honestly and directly turned against *worldly-mindedness*, as his other commands are turned against self-righteousness and self-dependence ? Have we any of that daily and deep fear of erring or failing in this matter, that we have in the matter of justification and regeneration ? On these points, we feel it necessary to be serious, as well as *sound*. We are upon our guard here ; lest any legal tendency of our own hearts, or any legal maxim of unsound doctrine, should betray us into a pharisaic spirit. Accordingly, no enemy of the Cross, and no despiser of the Spirit, can see their own image reflected in us. They never suspect that we feel as they do towards the gospel. This also is as it should be. But what impression do our spirit and conduct, in reference to earthly things, leave on the minds of worldly men ? Are they unable to see their own image in our public character ? Our deadness to the law, as a covenant of works, astonishes such men. Does our deadness to the *world* force itself on their notice at all ? They would, of course, be surprised to meet us in a theatre, or at the card-table, or on the Sunday promenade : but, would it surprise them to find us on as full stretch after *gain* as they themselves are ? Do they, can they feel, from our spirit in the business of life, that we are less attached to the world than they are ?

‘ These questions imply no suspicion of dishonest or doubtful transactions in business, and no censure on diligence or enterprise. Their sole bearing, here, is upon the Saviour’s command, “ Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth ; but lay up for yourselves treasures

in heaven ; and thus make unto yourselves friends, by your money, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." Now, is there any thing we do, or try, in obedience to this express command of Christ ? Were we ever afraid of error, or of unbelief, or of reluctance on this point ? Have we ever tried to *please* God in this matter ?

' Perhaps, we never studied it at all ; or not enough to affect the heart with its authority, as well as to inform the understanding with its meaning. This is common. I have been often asked, what is meant by making friends, through riches, who should welcome us into everlasting habitations ? But I was never asked by any one, how he might best please God, or obey his Lord's will in this matter ? It always seemed quite enough, and all that was wished for, if this passage (called curious) was explained agreeably to the analogy of faith, and in a natural manner. This has surprised me frequently ; especially, when the satisfaction expressed with the explanation, has been followed by a laughing reference to the want of *riches*. Were the disciples rich, when the Lord laid the injunction upon them ? It was to " his disciples " that Jesus addressed the parable of the unjust steward, on which the command is founded. Luke xvi. 1. Now, we are, certainly, not poorer than they were ; for, whatever property or income any of them had before they were called, in obeying that call they " forsook all ", to follow Christ. Whatever friends for eternity they made, must, therefore, have been made at a very *low* expense : so low, indeed, that no one could suspect that the converts won by apostolic money, were brought or bribed over to the faith of Christ. It is, in fact, the *glory* of the maxim, that it can be as well acted upon, and will often be most successful, in the hands of those who have but little to spare. The bounty of a rich man may defeat its own spiritual purpose ; but the benevolence of a poor man, whether shewn to win an impoverished sinner, or to help an afflicted saint, is sure to make the saint his friend for ever, and likely to make the sinner so.'

pp. 166—170.

" The God of Glory, or, a Guide to the Doubting ", forms the last of the present series. The first two or three essays in this volume do not strike us as written with the Author's usual felicity and force. Perhaps, we had begun to expect too much from him, on account of the extraordinary merit of his previous productions. We must say, however, that, after advancing a little way, we found ourselves in the presence of the same ' Guide ' by whom we had been before so pleasingly conducted. We cannot enter into an analysis of this volume, nor must we even venture upon any further extracts, as we have already, we fear, exceeded our limits.

The first of a new series of Guides, by the same Author, has just appeared, under the title of " Manly Piety ", designed especially for young men. It was our first intention to include it in the present notice ; but, as it would be impossible to do it jus-



tice in a single paragraph, we shall defer advertizing to it, till the series of which it is the commencement, shall be completed.

It would be hardly critically orthodox to part with an author without finding fault with something. Faults, of course, every man and every book must have; and these faults, it becomes us (also *of course*) to shew that we have ability to detect. We have spoken highly of Mr. Philip's productions, and we have spoken as we feel; believing them to be worthy of general acceptance, and to be adapted for extensive usefulness. We do not, however, think them perfect. The style, in general, is intentionally conversational; now and then, however, it descends a little too much. The volumes abound with pithy and pointed sentences, but occasionally they are made so by main force: the point or antithesis is obtained by what is strained and unnatural. The greatest blemish, however, is the incessant *alliteration* in which the Writer indulges. Some of his sentences, constructed on this principle, are felicitous and striking; but he recurs to it far too frequently to be either gratifying to his readers or creditable to his taste. These are all, we admit, minor matters; yet, they are worth attending to, on the part of one whose writings constitute so admirable and *portable* a system of experimental and practical divinity. There are a few expressions, in one or two of his prefaces, which we could wish had been omitted. It may be fastidiousness, but we do not like them. To an unfriendly eye, they might suggest the suspicion, that Mr. P. was afraid lest some persons might think that the publication of little books was a "line of things" somewhat beneath him, and that his adherence to it needed an apology. Let him feel satisfied that he is "serving his generation", and serving it well. His volumes are small, but their excellences are such as confer upon them dignity and importance. Their Author is probably a greater benefactor to his species, than if he had presented it with larger and more learned productions.

Art. VI. *Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin*; now for the first Time published. Edited by Jared Sparks, Author of "The Life of Gouverneur Morris", &c. &c. With Explanatory Notes. 12mo. pp. xvi. 295. London, (Jackson and Walford,) 1833.

THE object of the American Editor, in publishing these domestic letters, is to exhibit the private character of Franklin under a more favourable aspect than it wears to those who are acquainted with him only as a political economist and philosopher.

' We have here the records of a correspondence with different persons for nearly half a century; and we perceive from beginning to end

a lively and continued interest in his early friendships, undiminished by time, unaltered by circumstances. Nor will it be easy to find in any letters of the like description, stronger evidences of kindness, sympathy, and all the traits of a truly amiable character and affectionate temper.'

The miscellaneous papers are of another cast, indicating the political opinions of Franklin at an important crisis, and 'affording triumphant proofs of his patriotism at a time when it has suited the purpose of enemies to represent him as having been a wavering friend, if not a secret foe, to the cause of his country.'

As illustrations of the character of so distinguished an actor in the American Revolution, these papers possess an interest which would not otherwise attach to them. On this side of the Atlantic, the vindication they afford of Franklin's private honesty, fidelity, and patriotism, was, however, scarcely required, as the suspicions alluded to are confined, we apprehend, to his own countrymen. Nor will the Letters be read here with equal interest, and many of them might have been omitted in the reprint without any loss to the reader. We select the following as strongly indicative of the Writer's good sense and amiable feeling.

' TO MISS STEVENSON.

' October, 1768.

' I see very clearly the unhappiness of your situation, and that it does not arise from any fault in you. I pity you most sincerely. I should not, however, have thought of giving you advice on this occasion, if you had not requested it, believing, as I do, that your own good sense is more than sufficient to direct you in every point of duty to others and yourself. If, then, I should advise you to any thing that may be contrary to your own opinion, do not imagine that I shall condemn you, if you do not follow such advice. I shall only think, that, from a better acquaintance with circumstances, you form a better judgment of what is fit for you to do.

' Now I conceive with you, that ———, both from her affection to you, and from the long habit of having you with her, would really be miserable without you. Her temper, perhaps, was never of the best; and when that is the case, age seldom mends it. Much of her unhappiness must arise from thence; and since wrong turns of mind, when confirmed by time, are almost as little in our power to cure, as those of the body, I think with you, that her case is a compassionate one.

' If she had, though by her own imprudence, brought on herself any grievous sickness, I know you would think it your duty to attend and nurse her with filial tenderness, even were your own health to be endangered by it. Your apprehension, therefore, is right, that it may be your duty to live with her, though inconsistent with your happiness and your interest; but this can only mean present interest, and present happiness; for I think your future, greater, and more lasting interest and happiness will arise from the reflection, that you have done your

duty, and from the high rank you will ever hold in the esteem of all that know you, for having persevered in doing that duty, under so many and great discouragements.

‘ My advice, then, must be, that you return to her as soon as the time proposed for your visit is expired ; and that you continue, by every means in your power, to make the remainder of her days as comfortable to her as possible. Invent amusements for her ; be pleased when she accepts of them, and patient when she, perhaps peevishly, rejects them. I know this is hard, but I think you are equal to it ; not from any servility of temper, but from abundant goodness. In the mean time, all your friends, sensible of your present uncomfortable situation, should endeavour to ease your burthen, by acting in concert with you, and to give her as many opportunities as possible of enjoying the pleasures of society for your sake.

‘ Nothing is more apt to sour the temper of aged people, than the apprehension that they are neglected ; and they are extremely apt to entertain such suspicions. It was therefore that I proposed asking her to be of our late party ; but, your mother disliking it, the motion was dropped, as some others have been, by my too great easiness, contrary to my judgement. Not but that I was sensible her being with us might have lessened our pleasure, but I hoped it might have prevented you some pain.

‘ In fine, nothing can contribute to true happiness, that it is inconsistent with duty ; nor can a course of action, conformable to it, be finally without an ample reward. For God governs, and he is *good*. I pray him to direct you ; and, indeed, you will never be without his direction, if you humbly ask it, and shew yourself always ready to obey it.

‘ Farewell, *my dear friend*, and believe me ever sincerely and affectionately *yours*,

‘ B. FRANKLIN.’

We are tempted to make room for another, which, by its ease and playfulness, reminds us of the epistolary style of Cowper.

‘ TO MISS CATHERINE RAY.

‘ Philadelphia, 11 September, 1755.

‘ Begone, business, for an hour at least, and let me chat a little with my Katy.

‘ I have now before me, my dear girl, three of your favours, viz. of March the 3d, March the 30th, and May the 1st. The first I received just before I set out on a long journey, and the others while I was on that journey, which held me near six weeks. Since my return, I have been in such a perpetual hurry of public affairs of various kinds, as renders it impracticable for me to keep up my private correspondences, even those that afforded me the greatest pleasure.

‘ You ask in your last, how I do, and what I am doing, and whether every body loves me yet, and why I make them do so.

‘ In regard to the first, I can say, thanks to God, that I do not remember I was ever better. I still relish all the pleasures of life, that a

temperate man can in reason desire, and through favour I have them all in my power. This happy situation shall continue as long as God pleases, who knows what is best for his creatures, and I hope will enable me to bear with patience and dutiful submission any change he may think fit to make that is less agreeable. As to the second question, I must confess (but don't you be jealous), that many more people love me now, than ever did before; for since I saw you, I have been enabled to do some general services to the country, and to the army, for which both have thanked and praised me, and say they love me. They say so, as you used to do; and if I were to ask any favours of them, they would, perhaps, as readily refuse me; so that I find little real advantage in being loved, but it pleases my humour.

' Now it is near four months since I have been favoured with a single line from you; but I will not be angry with you, because it is my fault. I ran in debt to you three or four letters, and as I did not pay, you would not trust me any more, and you had some reason. But, believe me, I am honest, and though I should never make equal returns, you shall see I will keep fair accounts. Equal returns I can never make, though I should write to you by every post; for the pleasure I receive from one of yours, is more than you can have from two of mine. The small news, the domestic occurrences among our friends, the natural pictures you draw of persons, the sensible observations and reflections you make, and the easy, chatty manner in which you express every thing, all contribute to heighten the pleasure; and the more, as they remind me of those hours and miles that we talked away so agreeably, even in a winter journey, a wrong road, and a soaking shower.

' I long to hear whether you have continued ever since in that monastery; or have broke into the world again, doing pretty mischief; how the lady Wards do, and how many of them are married, or about it; what is become of Mr. B. and Mr. L., and what the state of your heart is at this instant? But that, perhaps, I ought not to know; and, therefore, I will not conjure, as you sometimes say I do. If I could conjure, it should be to know what was that *oddest question about me that ever was thought of*, which you tell me a lady had just sent to ask you.

' I commend your prudent resolutions, in the article of granting favours to lovers. But if I were courting you, I could not heartily approve such conduct. I should even be malicious enough to say, you were too *knowing*, and tell you the old story of the Girl and the Miller. I enclose you the songs you write for, and with them your Spanish letter with a translation. I honour that honest Spaniard for loving you. It shewed the goodness of his taste and judgement. But you must forget him, and bless some worthy young Englishman.

' You have spun a long thread, five thousand and twenty-two yards. It will reach almost from Rhode Island hither. I wish I had hold of one end of it, to pull you to me. But you would rather break it than come. The cords of love and friendship are longer and stronger, and in time past have drawn me further; even back from England to Philadelphia. I guess that some of the same kind will one day draw you out of that Island.

' I was extremely pleased with the ——— you sent me. The

Irish people, who have seen it, say it is the right sort; but I cannot learn that we have any thing like it here.

‘ The cheeses, particularly one of them, were excellent. All our friends have tasted it, and all agree that it exceeds any English cheese they ever tasted.

‘ Mrs. Franklin was very proud that a young lady should have so much regard for her old husband, as to send him such a present. We talk of you every time it comes to table. She is sure you are a sensible girl, and a notable housewife, and talks of bequeathing me to you as a legacy; but I ought to wish you a better, and hope she will live these hundred years; for we are grown old together, and if she has any faults, I am so used to them that I don’t perceive them; as the song says :

“ Some faults we have, and so may my Joan,  
But then they’re exceedingly small;  
And now I’m used to ’em, they’re just like my own,  
I scarcely can see them at all,  
My dear Friends,  
I scarcely can see them at all.”

‘ Indeed, I begin to think she has none, as I think of you. And since she is willing I should love you, as much as you are willing to be loved by me, let us join in wishing the old lady a long life and a happy.

‘ With her respectful compliments to you, to your good mother and sisters, present mine, though unknown, and believe me to be, dear girl,

‘ Your affectionate friend, and humble servant,

‘ B. FRANKLIN.

‘ P. S. Sally says, “ Papa, my love to Miss Katy.”—If it was not quite unreasonable, I should desire you to write to me every post, whether you hear from me or not. As to your spelling, don’t let those laughing girls put you out of conceit with it. ’Tis the best in the world, for every letter of it stands for something.’

The miscellaneous papers would supply us with an ample text for a long political discussion, were this a convenient occasion for entering upon such high matters as the nature of sovereignty, the power of the Crown, the political relation of the Colonies to the mother empire, &c. &c. We shall, however, transcribe a few paragraphs, conveying Franklin’s political tenets on these points, which some of our readers may learn with surprise.

‘ The *sovereignty of the Crown*, I understand. The *sovereignty of the British legislature, out of Britain*, I do not understand.\* p. 223.

‘ I am a subject of the Crown of Great Britain,—have ever been a loyal one,—have partaken of its favours. . . . I am over here to solicit, in behalf of my colony, a closer communication with the Crown.’ p. 224.

‘ The people of the mother country are *subjects*, not *governors*. The King only is sovereign in both countries.’ p. 228.

‘ Writers against the colonies all bewilder themselves by supposing

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\* See on this equivocal term, sovereignty, Eclectic Review for June 1833, (Vol. IX.) pp. 480—482.

the colonies within the realm; which is not the case, nor ever was. This, then, is the *spirit* of the constitution, that taxes shall not be laid without the consent of those to be taxed. . . . . As the Americans are *without* the realm, and not of the jurisdiction of Parliament, the spirit of the British constitution dictates, that they should be taxed only by *their own* representatives, as the English are by theirs.

‘ This (Dean Tucker’s) position supposes, that Englishmen can never be out of the jurisdiction of Parliament. It may as well be said, that, wherever an Englishman resides, that country is England. While an Englishman resides in England, he is undoubtedly subject to its laws. If he goes into a foreign country, he is subject to the laws and government he finds there. If he finds no government there, he is subject to none, till he and his companions, if he has any, make laws for themselves. And this was the case of the first settlers in America. Otherwise, and if they carried the English laws and power of Parliament with them, what advantage could the Puritans propose to themselves by going, since they would have been as subject to bishops, spiritual courts, tithes, and statutes relating to the church, in America as in England? Can the Dean, on his principles, tell how it happens, that those laws, the game acts, the statutes for labourers, and an infinity of others, made before and since the emigration, are not in force in America, nor ever were? . . . . . The colonies carried no laws with them; they carried only a power of making laws, or of adopting such parts of the English law, or of any other law, as they should think suitable to their circumstances. The first settlers of Connecticut, for instance, at their first meeting in that country, finding themselves out of all jurisdiction of other governments, resolved and enacted, that, till a code of laws should be prepared and agreed to, they would be governed by *the law of Moses* as contained in the Old Testament. If the first settlers had no right to expect a better constitution than the English, what fools were they for going over, to encounter all the hardships and perils of new settlements in a wilderness! . . . . . The American settlers needed no *exemption* from the power of *Parliament*: they were necessarily exempted, as soon as they landed out of its jurisdiction.

‘ Is it not a just prerogative of the Crown, to give the subjects leave to settle in a foreign country, if they think it necessary to ask such leave? Was the Parliament at all considered, or consulted, in making those first settlements? Or did any lawyer then think it necessary? . . . . . Parliament had not even pretended to such a right. But, since the royal faith was pledged by the King for himself and his successors, how can any succeeding King, without violating that faith, ever give his assent to an act of Parliament for such taxation? \*

‘ The Americans are by their constitution provided with a representation, and therefore need not desire any in the British Parliament.’ pp. 232—237.

‘ Writers on this subject often confuse themselves with the idea,

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\* It is curious to find Franklin at this period recognizing the hereditary principle so far as to contend that a king could bind his successors.



that all the King's dominions make one state ; which they do not, nor ever did since the conquest. Our kings have ever had dominions not subject to the English Parliament. At first, the provinces of France, of which Jersey and Guernsey remain, always governed by their own laws, appealing to the King in council only, and not to our courts or the House of Lords. Scotland was in the same situation before the Union. It had the same King, but a separate Parliament ; and the Parliament of England had no jurisdiction over it. Ireland the same in truth, though the British Parliament has *usurped* a dominion over it. The colonies were originally settled on the idea of such extrinsic dominions of the King, and of the King only. Hanover is now such a dominion. . . . . Their only bond of union is the King.'

pp. 252, 3.

' Here appears the excellency of the invention of colony government by separate independent legislatures : by this means, the remotest parts of a great empire may be as well governed as the centre ; misrule, oppressions of proconsuls, and discontents and rebellions thence arising, being prevented. By this means, the power of a king may be extended without inconvenience over territories of any dimensions, how great soever. *America was thus happily governed in all its different and remote settlements, by the Crown and their own Assemblies*, till the new politics took place, of governing it by one Parliament, which have not succeeded, and never will.' pp. 252, 3.

' *The arbitrary government of a single person is more eligible than the arbitrary government of a body of men.* A single man may be afraid or ashamed of doing injustice : a body is never either the one or the other, if it is strong enough. It cannot apprehend assassination ; and, by dividing the shame among them, it is so little apiece that no one minds it.' p. 254.

' I am surprised that a writer who, in other respects, appears often very reasonable, should talk of *our* sovereignty over the colonies ! *as if every individual in England was a part of a sovereign over America !*\* The king is the sovereign of all . . . . America is *not* part of the dominions of *England*, but of *the king's dominion*. England is a dominion itself, and has no dominions.' p. 254.

These constitutional doctrines harmonize but ill either with American republicanism, or with English radicalism. The power of the Crown has become a phrase almost obsolete, since, in this country, government by the prerogative has to so great an extent been merged in government by parliament. It seems forgotten, to how large a portion of the British dominions the representation contained in the above extracts will still strictly apply. The subject is uninviting and unpopular, but is highly deserving of a more than superficial consideration.

Arguments similar to those employed by Franklin, have been adduced by the advocates of Slavery, to shew the injustice of

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\* Does not this shew the absurdity of the favourite American notion of the sovereignty of the people ?

Parliamentary interference with the West India Colonies. Although the cases are by no means parallel in all respects, we must concede, that the arguments of the Colonists have not been fully and fairly met. The points of difference are, indeed, most striking. The West India Colonies are garrisoned and protected, at the expense of this country, by British troops: the North American Colonies were not. The West India Colonies *have* claimed to be represented in the British Parliament, and have actually exercised a powerful influence over the House of Commons by the number of members returned in the West India interest: this was not the case with the Americans. The British Parliament has never claimed the right of *taxing* the West India colonies,—the usurpation of which the Americans complained; whereas the people of England have been grievously taxed, to protect and perpetuate the West India monopoly. The right of the British Parliament to legislate for the West India Colonies, has, we conceive, grown out of the fiscal burdens which the West India monopoly has entailed upon the people of England. Withdraw the British troops from Jamaica, repeal the restrictions and bounties which exclude the sugars grown by free labour, annihilate the West India monopoly, and then, for our own parts, we shall readily admit, that the inhabitants of the chartered colonies will have a moral claim as well as a legal right to be governed by ‘the Crown and their own assemblies.’ Nevertheless, if the negroes should in that case rise, and conquer the island of Jamaica, they will have the best right in the world to hold it.

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Art. VII. *Ecclesiastical Lectures*; or, a Series of Discourses on Subjects connected with Nonconformity. By John Sibree. 12mo. Second Edition. pp. 310. Price 5s. London, 1831.

**T**HIS volume, like most of the publications in defence of Dissent, appears to have been called for by the intolerant and arrogant assumptions and aggressive spirit of the endowed order. In the first lecture, Mr. Sibree thus meets the question which he supposes to be put to him, ‘Why do you take up the ‘subject of Nonconformity?’

‘I answer, that I have been induced to do so, because this topic has been brought before the inhabitants of this city, in such a way, as to constrain them to examine their principles. You all know that a set battery has been opened against the Dissenters, in certain quarters, for some months past. Both from the pulpit and the press, they have been represented and attacked as fanatics, sectarians, and schismatics; and their ministers described as “reverend artizans;” “unwashed artificers of schism;” and I know not what. The weapons of abuse, of sarcasm, and of ridicule, and indeed almost all other weapons, ex-

cept those of argument, of reason, and of scripture, have been employed against them. The Bible Society, the Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, the Tract Society, Missionary Societies, and the recently projected Infant School, founded on Catholic and Anti-Sectarian principles, and all persons who support these institutions, have been misrepresented, condemned, and anathematized; and thus the harmony of the peaceful inhabitants of our city has been disturbed; "strifes about words" have been engendered; and a party spirit created; and the message periodically brought to the sanctuary, has been any thing but that which angels delivered on the plains of Bethlehem,—“Glory to God in the highest; peace on earth; good will toward men!” We have been reminded rather of the object and manner of the intended visit of the disciple of Gamaliel to Damascus.

‘To the members of my own congregation I can appeal, that I am not in the habit of delivering discourses on the subject of Dissent. Though I have exercised my ministry in this place upwards of ten years, I have not, during the whole of that period, brought the general principles of Nonconformity before my hearers. This, some will say, was wisdom, prudence, charity, liberality. But I doubt it. I covet not the commendation; for I am more than ever convinced of the great importance of entertaining and propagating correct views of the constitution of the Church of Christ. I am more firmly persuaded than ever, that the diffusion and the very existence of pure Christianity in the earth, are essentially connected with the grand principles of Protestant Nonconformity; and that Christianity will never recover its primitive glory, and beauty, and usefulness, until these principles universally prevail. Let me exhort you then, my brethren, still to maintain your principles with firmness; and while you “prove all things,” to “hold fast that which is good.” It has been contended, that it is but of little moment what views we entertain of the constitution of the Church, or, whether we are Catholics, Churchmen, or Dissenters, if we are but personally interested in Him who is its foundation; that it matters little whether the Church is connected with the State, or is preserved in its pure, original, independent form, provided we are sincere in the cultivation of its spirit, and diligent in the exhibition of its truths. But from such a sentiment we are constrained to withhold our assent. It betrays a laxity of principle, which cannot be too seriously deprecated; and opens a door through which innumerable evils may find their way into the Church of Christ. If then we are his true followers; if we reverence his authority, are jealous of his honour, and are concerned for the purity and prosperity of his Church, we shall pay a serious regard to his own solemn declaration, contained in my text, “My kingdom is not of this world.”’

pp. 9—11.

We must certainly express a decided opinion, that it is the bounden duty of every Christian minister to take a fitting opportunity of instructing his flock into *all* the principles which regulate our faith and practice. Dissenting ministers are bound to justify their practice by the explicit announcement of their principles; and some of the points at least which are treated in

these Lectures, are of that importance which renders it a serious omission of duty when they are not distinctly brought before a congregation. The way in which they should be treated must depend, of course, greatly upon circumstances. A polemical style is to be deprecated, when controversy is not provoked; but a reply to calumnious attack must needs be polemical. The circumstances under which these Lectures were called forth, appear fully to justify Mr. Sibree in faithfully laying open those unreformed errors and pernicious doctrines of the Church of England which still exert so fatal an influence on the minds of the vulgar. There is too much truth in the following representation, although something might be said on the other side.

‘ Too long and too generally have Dissenters been silent and indifferent on this important subject. They have been too much influenced by the fear of man. They have been seared from their duty on this point, by the apprehension of subjecting themselves to the reproach of bigotry and uncharitableness. They have seen destructive errors substituted for saving truths; popish superstitions for spiritual worship; the doctrines and traditions of men, for the commandments and ordinances of God; and have either winked at these evils, or have only sighed over them in secret. In their attention to the weightier matters of revealed religion, they have been chargeable with a considerable degree of culpable neglect respecting those topics which relate to the constitution, the order and discipline of the Church of Christ. The consequence has been, that many have been induced to believe that the subject is left at large in the New Testament, and that no kind of importance is attached to it.

‘ Several causes have tended to produce this indifference, and laxity of opinion; but we conceive it has been principally occasioned by a mistaken notion of the true nature of Christian charity and liberality. The various religious and benevolent institutions, which are the ornament and glory of our land, having been, for the most part, founded on catholic principles, have produced a coalition among different denominations of Christians, and have brought Episcopalians and Dissenters into closer connection than in former times. The result has been, that while a greater spirit of union has been created between the laity in the Church of England, and the laity in Dissenting Churches, many of the Evangelical Clergy, fearing lest their orthodoxy as Churchmen should be suspected by their connection with Dissenters, have become more rigid, and less truly catholic; and Dissenting Ministers, in many instances, apprehensive that their charity as Christians might be questioned, have become less rigid and more latitudinarian. Thus the Clergyman has become a higher Churchman, and the Dissenting Minister a lower and laxer Nonconformist. Sacrifices and concessions have been made; but by whom? Not by the Episcopalian, but by the Dissenter. It cannot be denied, that since the establishment of the British and Foreign Bible Society, after all that has been said of the unity that it has promoted among Christians in general, (of which I do not for a moment doubt, and in which I most cordially rejoice,)

there has been far less *real* union and spiritual fellowship between the clergy and dissenting ministers, than existed previously to the establishment of that Institution. What liberal Christian can refer to the history of such men as the late Grimshaw, and Newton, and Scott, and Robinson, and Eyre, and Simpson, and Cecil,—and the late Pearce, and Fuller, and Ryland, and Kingsbury, and Bull, and Townsend, and observe the fraternal fellowship they cultivated, and the epistolary correspondence they maintained, and not feel his spirit refreshed, and exclaim, “Behold how good, and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity!” And yet these Dissenting Ministers, who thus lived in sweet and spiritual harmony with their Episcopalian brethren, were not less enlightened, and firm, and conscientious, than their successors, and did not hesitate to avow their sentiments as Nonconformists. It is true that the Episcopalian and Dissenting Clergy do now hold fellowship with each other; but with a few singularly happy exceptions, it does not extend beyond committee rooms, platforms, and public meetings. At this point the Clergyman leaves “his dear brother,” simply because he is a Dissenter. A frozen and ceremonious civility only is manifested on other occasions. As the number of the Evangelical Clergy has increased, so in proportion have they abandoned the society of Dissenting Ministers. What then have the latter gained by their concessions, by their liberality, or rather by the sacrifice of their Protestant principles? Ah! “Whereunto shall I liken this generation? It is like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows; and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.” Let us remember that “charity rejoiceth in the *truth* ;” and that he who in the spirit of love, maintains the truth in all its branches, and honours the truth, shall himself be honoured, and “find favour both with God, and with man.”

‘Let it, however, once for all be observed, that as long as an Established Church exists in this land; as long as one class of religionists is favoured, endowed, and enriched by the State, to the exclusion, the disparagement, and impoverishment of all others; as long as the magistrate threatens the Dissenter with the confiscation of his property, unless he violate his conscience in support of a system which he considers to be antisciptural, it is impossible that Bible Societies, or any other Institutions, however excellent in their principles, and useful in their operations, can effect a perfect and general reconciliation between the Church and Dissent. There must be pride, *hauteur*, and self-exultation on the one hand; and there necessarily will be a feeling of discontent, and a consciousness of injury to the rights of conscience and property, on the other. We consider, therefore, that it is only by clearly, boldly, and extensively propagating our principles,—particularly those which relate to the dissolution of the Church and State,—that pure brotherly love will ever be universally promoted, and permanently preserved, between the Episcopalian and the Dissenter.’

pp. 262, 5.

Clearly, boldly and extensively, let it be done,—so that it be piously, kindly, and in the spirit of truth. But how difficult is..

this! Who writes to win his adversary? Not, for the most part, either the advocate or the assailant of establishments or episcopacy. Each writes for his own party, and combats with poisoned weapons.

We do not intend this remark to apply to Mr. Sibree's performance, which is creditable alike to his information, his talents, and his piety. These Lectures must, we think, have produced a powerful impression in the delivery; and they place the strong points of Nonconformity in a very clear and advantageous light. We have noticed a few passages which might be open to criticism or cavil; but we can, upon the whole, cordially recommend the volume to our readers. We are pleased to observe that it has already reached a second edition, and we have to apologize for not bestowing upon it an earlier notice.

## NOTICES.

Art. VIII.—*Alphabet of Botany*; for the Use of Beginners. By James Rennie, M.A. Professor of Zoology, King's College, London. 18mo. pp. 123. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1833.

AT what age the beginning is to be made, Mr. Rennie does not inform us. Probably, he did not contemplate its being seized upon with avidity by a young student of five years old. But such a case has happened to come under our observation; and although the said young botanist will, we suspect, find some difficulty in mastering this Alphabet at present, the ambition of doing so will ensure a diligent perusal. We must, however, add by way of explanation, that the example of some elder students, and the out-of-door discoveries made in the garden, meadow, lane, and wood, had previously awakened the aspirations after the scientific information which this nice little book promises to make easy to beginners. The present Alphabet is to be followed by the A. B. C. of Astronomy, Perspective, Geology, Zoology, &c. &c.; all which we venture to bespeak for our juvenile library.

Art. IX.—*Facts, not Fables*. By Charles Williams. 18mo. pp. xvi. 160. Cuts. London, 1833.

THE ingenious Author of "Art in Nature," (E. R. Vol. VII. p. 542) has thought, that 'if Fables are good, Facts must be better.' He has accordingly collected a variety of amusing facts from natural history, to each of which is annexed an Application, similar to what is usually appended to an apologue. A specimen or two will convey a sufficient idea of its merits. We have only to regret that



we cannot give one of the wood-cuts, which, of course, constitute half the attractiveness of the volume.

‘ THE WHITE OWL.

‘ ALL ARE DEPENDENT.

‘ Jenghis Khan, the founder of the empire of the Mongol and Calmuc Tartars, happened, with a small army, to be surprised and put to flight by his enemies. Compelled to seek concealment in a coppice, an owl settled on the bush beneath which he was hidden. This circumstance induced his pursuers not to search there, supposing that that bird would not perch where any man was concealed. The prince therefore escaped ; and thenceforth his countrymen held the white owl sacred, and every one wore a plume of its feathers on his head.

‘ APPLICATION.

‘ Despise no one—despise nothing. The meanest person—the meanest thing may one day be of great service ! Paper, for instance, is now manufactured very extensively by machinery, in all its stages ; and thus, instead of a single sheet being made by hand, a stream of paper is poured out, which would form a roll large enough to extend round the globe, if such a length were desirable. Its inventors, it is said, spent the enormous sum of 40,000*l.* in vain attempts to render the machine capable of determining the exact length of the roll ; and at last accomplished their object, at the suggestion of a by-stander, by a strap revolving on an axis, at a cost of *three shillings and sixpence*.

‘ The lowest are useful as well as the highest. If the rich benefit the poor, the poor labour for the rich. The king protects his subjects ; but “ the king is served by the labour of the field.” There is no such thing as independence, and he who says there is, only discovers his ignorance and pride.’ pp. 144—146.

‘ POMAREE.

‘ SELFISHNESS IS VEXATIOUS, PAINFUL, AND RUINOUS.

“ Pomaree, a New Zealand chief,” says Mr. Nicholas, “ had cast a longing eye upon a chisel belonging to one of the missionaries, and to obtain it he had brought some fish on board, which he presented to the owner of the chisel with so much apparent generosity and friendliness, that the other could not help considering it a gratuitous favour, and receiving it as such, told him he felt very grateful for his kindness. But Pomaree had no idea of any such disinterested liberality ; and as soon as the fish was eaten, he immediately demanded the chisel in return, which, however, was not granted, as it was a present much too valuable to be given away for so trifling a consideration. Incensed at the denial, the chief flew into a violent rage, and testified, by loud reproaches, how grievously he was provoked by the ill success of his project. He told the person, who very properly refused to comply

with his demand, that 'he was no good,' and that he would never again bring him any thing more. He attempted the same crafty experiment on another of our party, but this proved also equally abortive, the person being well aware of his character, and knowing that he would require from him ten times more than the worth of his pretended favour."

‘ APPLICATION.

‘ Selfishness should always be condemned ; as, in the case of Pomaree, it often issues in disappointment. It is said, that a man had a very large turnip, and that on making a present of it to the great man of the place, he very unexpectedly received for the curiosity five hundred crowns. A neighbour, on hearing this, thought that he should obtain a much larger sum if he presented a beautiful and rare pony ; but the great man, detecting his selfishness, said, “ Give him the turnip, and tell him it cost me five hundred crowns.” Selfishness is also painful. A greedy child may well be called a little miser, a name which shows that he to whom it is given is unhappy, as those must always be who do wrong. And then selfishness produces a variety of evils. Gluttony, falsehood, theft, are among its offspring, and by them many are disgraced and ruined.’ pp. 141—143.

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‘ TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. CHILD’S first communication was already in type, when his second letter reached us. Not being able to make room for the whole, we have thought it better to defer the insertion of both documents till our next Number.

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ART. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press, *Sermons on various Subjects.* By Samuel Warren, LL.D. In 1 vol. 12mo.

In the press, *Dialogues, Moral and Scientific*: intended principally for Young Persons connected with Wesleyan Sunday Schools. In 1 thick vol. Royal 18mo.

In the press, *The Biographical Record: or, Sketches of the Lives, Experience, and happy Deaths of Members of the Wesleyan Society, in the Salisbury Circuit.* By James Dredge.—In 1 vol. 12mo.

In the press, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*: describing the Character, Customs, and Moral Condition of the Tribes inhabiting that Portion of Southern Africa: with Historical and Topographical

Remarks illustrative of the State and Prospects of the British Settlement in its Borders, the Introduction of Christianity, and the Progress of Civilization. By Stephen Kay, Corresponding Member of the South African Institution, &c. In 1 thick vol. 12mo.

In the press, Two Letters on Tithes and Corn Laws. Addressed to William Duncombe, M.P. By Thomas Mease.

In September will be published, Biographical Notices and Remains of Alphonso H. Holyfield, for several years a clerk in the office of the London Missionary Society. Compiled and Edited by the Assistant Secretary of that Institution.

In a few days will be published, A Collection of Tunes; comprising the most approved Standard, with a great variety of original, Compositions; adapted to the Hymns in use by the Wesleyan Methodist Societies; arranged in Classes; and designed for Choirs and Congregations, generally, by Thomas Hawkes, of Williton, Somerset, Land Agent and Surveyor. The whole revised and corrected by Mr. George Gay, Organist of Corsham Chapel, Wilts, Author of "Fifty Psalm and Hymn Tunes, seven Set Pieces, and a Canon," (in one volume,) and several Anthems on loose sheets.

Europe; a Political Sketch, and other Poems, by Mr. C. O. Apperley, will be published in a few days.

The Editors of the excellent little work entitled, "The Parent's Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction" have just completed the second volume, comprising the last six monthly numbers.

The first Volume of a most splendid Library of Natural History will appear in a few days, under the Title of The Natural History Miscellany. Each volume will be the size of the Waverley Series, and will contain, for the trifling sum of Six Shillings, *Thirty Six* beautifully Coloured Plates, with descriptive Letter Press. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Captain Brown, and J. B. Kidd, Esq. are the joint Conductors of this excellent work, assisted by the first Artists in the Kingdom. Such combined talent cannot fail of securing extensive popularity for the publication.

The excellent system of Arithmetic which has been practised with so much success in Merchant Taylors' School, is now to be published for general use. Amongst the objects attained in this little work, is a judicious abridgement of the labour of teaching and learning each portion of this necessary branch of education.

In the press, The Philosophical Rambler, or Observations, Reflections, and Adventures of a Pedestrian Tourist through France and Italy.

In the press, A second edition of Ollivant's Analysis of the Text of the History of Joseph, upon the principles of Professor Lee's Hebrew Grammar, and adapted to the second edition of it, for the use of students.

In the press, Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book for 1834, containing thirty-six highly finished Plates, with Poems, by L. E. L., bound in a novel and handsome style, will be published during October: about twenty of the views in this favourite and esteemed Annual, will consist of Indian subjects, presenting an Elegant Oriental Landscape Album.

Just ready, Stuart's Commentary on the Hebrews, re-published under the superintendence of Dr. Henderson. One Vol. 8vo., price 14s., uniform with "Stuart's Commentary on the Romans."

A little book which has been often republished, but is at present scarce, entitled "A Present for an Apprentice," is now reprinting with additions from modern authors, and will soon appear.

"Counsels and Consolations for those in trouble and affliction," by Jonathan Farr, is reprinting from the American edition, and may be expected at the beginning of September.

## ART. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

Dramatic Scenes from Real Life. By Lady Morgan. In two vols. post 8vo.

England and the English. By E. L. Bulwer, Esq. M.P. Author of "Pelham," "Eugene Aram," &c. In 2 vols. post 8vo.

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# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR OCTOBER, 1833.

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Art. I. 1. *History of Armenia*, by Father Michael Chamich. Translated by Johannes Avdall, Esq. 2 Vols.

2. *The History of Vartan, and of the Battle of the Armenians*. Translated by C. F. Neumann. 4to.

3. *Translations from the Chinese and Armenian*. By C. F. Neumann. 8vo.

(Concluded from Page 136.)

THE third part of Father Michael Chamich's history comprises a period of 580 years, during which, Armenia is represented to have been subject to the Arsacidan princes. This includes one of the obscurest portions of oriental history. From the death of Alexander till the reign of Ardisheer Bâbigan, five centuries elapsed, respecting which the extant annals of the East exhibit almost a complete blank. The accounts of this period given by the Persian writers, are at once vague and contradictory. 'They have evidently,' remarks Sir John Malcolm, 'no materials to form an authentic narrative; and it is too near the date at which their real history commences, to admit of their indulging in fable. Their pretended history of the Ashkanians and Ashgarians, is, consequently, little more than a mere catalogue of names; and even respecting these, and the dates they assign to the different princes, hardly two authors agree . . . . And yet, when we refer to the pages of Roman writers, we find this period abound with events of which the vainest nation might be proud; and that Parthian monarchs, whose names cannot now be discovered in the history of their own country, were the only sovereigns upon whom the Roman arms, when that nation was in the very zenith of its power, could make no impression.' \*

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\* Malcolm's Hist. of Persia. Vol. I. pp. 84—88.

The origin of the Parthians, their language and country, are involved in the deepest obscurity. They were clearly not Persians. Justin, who is followed by Gibbon, makes them to have been Scythians; a vague denomination, which seems to correspond most nearly to the modern Toork or Tûrkish, and would favour the hypothesis of their being the ancestors of the Tûrkoman tribes, and, among them, of the very tribe to which belongs the family of the reigning Shah. It is a singular coincidence, mentioned by the Editor of the Modern Traveller, that Kadjar, the designation of the royal tribe of Persia, is said to signify fugitive; the very same meaning that the word Parthian is stated by Justin to have in the language of their country. ‘*Parthi Scytharum exules fuerunt. Hoc etiam ipsorum vocabulo manifestatur; nam Scythico sermone Parthi EXULES dicuntur.*’ But, whatever was their national origin, it is evident that they were a barbarous (*i. e.* illiterate) people, since the Parthian civilization was borrowed from the countries which they subdued. The legends on all the coins of the Parthian kings that have been preserved, are in *the Greek language*, which the Macedonian conquests must have tended widely to diffuse. Not that we can suppose that language to have been adopted by the nomadic tribes who formed the body of the Parthian nation, if it was even the language of the court; but it was the only literary medium.

The founder of the Arsacidan or Parthian dynasty, the Persian writers, influenced probably, by national vanity, would make to have been descended from one of the former sovereigns of Persia. After he had slain the Syro-Macedonian governor, he is said to have fixed his residence at Rhé, or Rhages, in the north-western part of Media. Father Michael Chamich informs us, wherever he obtained his information, that this prince Arsaces ‘was descended from Abraham by Keturah,’ and that, having succeeded in throwing off the Seleucidan yoke, he ‘established himself in the city of Bahl, in the land of Cassœi.’ The country of the *Cossœi*, which must be here intended; is that part of the ancient Syro-Media which now bears the name of Looristan. Mr. Neumann, however, would make this Bahl, or Pahl, to be the same as Balkh or Baktra. In a note on the patronymic Balunian, he says :—

‘The *Balunians*, or *Bahlunians*, or *Pahlunians*, were Arsacides, and took their name from the original and favourite residence of Arshag, the founder of the Parthian dynasty. *Bahl* or *Pahl*, the Balk of some oriental writers, and the Baktra of the Greeks and Romans, is, according to the combined testimony of all the Armenian authors, the original country of the Parthians. Balk was also the residence of Gustasp and Lohrasp. *Bahl*, in all likelihood, corresponds to the Sanskrit *Bala*, *Balavan*, which signifies *strong*, with which also agrees the *Pehlvi* or language of the Arsacides. In this, as in



other inquiries, Anquetil evinces a want of critical skill. In Agathangelos's History of Saint Gregory, an Arsacide is led into an act of shameful treachery, by a promise of Artashir to give him the paternal territory of *Bahla*. This word was also employed by the Parthians, in their language, *i. e.* the Pehlvi, to designate Paradise; and thus, wherever the Parthians have had dominion, we meet on all hands with names of cities and provinces derived from *Bahla*.'

*History of Vartan*, p. 102.

In this note, there seems to us to be a singular tissue of erroneous assumptions. That the Pehlvi was the language of the Parthians, there is strong reason to doubt. If it was, they could not be a Scythian or Turkish nation. The Pehlvi dialect, 'the idiom of the warriors,'\* which appears to have prevailed in the Median Irak, is supposed to survive in the modern Loorish, to which that of the Kourdish tribes is closely related. In this language, there is found a mixture of Persian and Chaldee, and it strikingly resembles the Hindostanee, more than half the proper names of things being very similar in both dialects.† Between these tribes and the Turkoman hordes, there exists an utter diversity of national customs as well as of language, and a mutual hereditary animosity. Bactriana may have been the original country of the Parthians, although the concurrent testimony of Armenian authors, is, on such a point, of extremely little value or weight. The ancient Parthyene was, however, in Khorasan, and had Parthaunisa or Nisæa for its capital, the name of which is preserved in the ruined town of Nissa in the Attok.‡ This country is to the present day in the possession of Turkoman hordes. Bactra, on the other hand, was a mercantile emporium, and became the capital of a Greek dynasty, B.C. 256, which lasted about 120 years, when it was overthrown by Mithridates, king of Parthia. Between *Bahl* and *Balkh*, there is probably no connexion; although it may be remarked, that, in the Celtic dialects, *baile* signifies a city or town. If, however, *Bahla* signified

\* One of the many meanings which have been assigned to this word; but the most probable conjecture, Sir John Malcolm thinks, is that which derives it from Pehleh, 'the ancient name of the countries of Isfahan, Rhe, and Deenawar.'

† Heude's "Voyage up the Persian Gulf." Pref. p. vii.

‡ Mr. Neumann states, in a note at p. 77, that the province or district of Khorassan, in which the celebrated city Nûshabuh (Nishapoor) was situated, was called *Aper* or *Apar*. In the text, it is written *Abar*. 'It appears,' adds Mr. N., 'that the district took its name from Aber Shehr (High Town).' This is palpably a far-fetched and suspicious etymology. Mr. Fraser says, that the name of *Apavaretica*, an ancient district, is still preserved in the ruined town of Abaverd, to the N.W. of Nissa in the same canton. Fraser's Khorasan, p. 245.

in the Parthian language a territory, it may be the same word as *Pehleh*, which, we are told, was the ancient name of a territory of Media.

Whether Arsaces, or, as his name is otherwise written, Arshag and Ashk, was himself a Parthian, a Bactrian Greek, a Median, or a Kourd, is quite uncertain, and not very material. It is remarkable, that, in the oriental form of his name, Ashak or Arsak, we seem to have the same honorific termination that occurs in the long line of Assyrian or Armenian princes. The date of his successful revolt is fixed about B.C. 250. Father Chamich places it A.M. 3754, which answers to that date; assigning to the first Arsaces a brilliant reign of 31 years, and to his son Artaces, one of 26 years. Arsaces II., surnamed the Great, is stated to have been the grandson of the founder of the dynasty; and to him is ascribed the conquest of Armenia and Cappadocia, in the *fortieth* year of his reign, about 149 years B.C. The government of those provinces, together with Atropatene (Adjerbijan), he is stated to have committed to his brother Valarsaces, who accordingly established his court at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. This Valarsaces is represented as having pushed his conquests to the N. W., and subdued Cappadocian Pontus, as well as some other territories; after which, profound peace being established, he turned his attention to the improvement of his kingdom and people, in which he was assisted by Bagarat, his *Jewish* minister; and he closed a prosperous reign of 22 years at Nisibis, A.M. 3873 or B.C. 131.

All this is something between fact and fiction. According to the western historians, the Parthians, under the second Arsaces, first gained possession of Media during the wars between Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Philopator. They were afterwards driven out of that province; and, after a long conflict, a treaty of peace was entered into, by which the Arsacidan chief was confirmed in the possession of Hyrcania and Parthia (i. e. part of Khorasan), on condition of becoming an ally or tributary of the Seleucidan monarch. Bactra was at this time the seat of an independent Greek dynasty. The son and successor of the second Arsaces was, according to Justin, surnamed Priapatius. He left his crown to his eldest son Phraates, after whose death succeeded Mithridates his brother, by whom the Syrian monarch, Demetrius Nicator, was taken prisoner, B.C. 141. Of this Mithridates, it is recorded by Diodorus and Orosius, that, 'having subdued the Medes, the Elymæans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, he extended his dominions into India beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conquests, and, having vanquished Demetrius, finally secured Babylonia and Mesopotamia to his empire; so that henceforth he had Euphrates on the west, as well as the Ganges on the east, for the limits of his empire.'

And it is added, on the authority of Justin, that, ‘having conquered several nations, he gathered from every one of them whatsoever he found best in their constitutions, and then out of the whole collection made a body of most wholesome laws for the government of his empire.’\* In fact, he would seem to have been a prototype of Alp Arselan and Tamerlane,—a Scythian Napoleon. But what was this empire? So entirely did it consist in personal ascendancy, that, in the reign of Phraates, the next Parthian monarch, it had shrunk again within the narrow limits of the first Parthian kingdom.

As Mithridates appears to have been an honorific surname, and Arsaces a titular appellative, we run little risk of error in concluding this extraordinary conqueror, the founder of the Parthian greatness, to be the Arsaces the Great of the Armenian historian, who must have been the fifth of the dynasty. Whether Valarsaces was not the same person, may reasonably be questioned. At the same time, Nisibis could never have been chosen as the capital of an empire like that of Mithridates: it was rather a frontier station, and became, in subsequent times, an object of repeated contest between the Persians and the Romans. Father Chamich places it in ‘Lower Armenia’; but it is, in fact, situated in that part of Mesopotamia which formed the little kingdom or state of Osrhoene, long tributary to the Romans, and annexed to the empire about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy. Shahpoor, the second of the Sassanian dynasty, recovered this territory, and took Nisibis after a long siege; but, towards the close of the third century, the Romans had regained possession, not only of Mesopotamia, but of the greater part of Kourdistan, which had previously belonged to the kingdom of Armenia; in compensation for which, Teridates, the Armenian monarch, who was in alliance with the Romans, is stated to have obtained Atropatene (Adjerbijan), and to have made Tabriz his capital.

The Arsacidan or Parthian empire appears to have had no fixed capital. ‘The Parthian monarchs’, says Gibbon, ‘like the Mogul sovereigns of Hindostan, delighted in the pastoral life of their Scythian ancestors; and the Imperial camp was frequently pitched in the plain of Ctesiphon on the eastern bank of the Tigris.’ Father Chamich represents Arsaces the Great as residing at Nineveh, while Valarsaces held his court at Nisibis; and he tells a romantic story of the latter sending the Syrian, Mar Ibas Catina, with a letter to his brother Arsaces, requesting that permission might be given to that learned person to inspect the archives at Nineveh. This being readily obtained, Mar Ibas proceeded to consult ‘the old Chaldean manuscripts’, among

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\* Prideaux, Vol. III. Part II. B. 4.

which he found one in the Greek character with this label: 'This book, containing the annals of ancient history, was translated from Chaldean into Greek by order of Alexander the Great.' From this manuscript, Mar Ibas extracted in due order, we are told, the history of Armenia, from the time of Haicus to that of Paroyr, and thence to the time of Vahey; and 'other books having been subsequently discovered, containing the narrative of events to his own times, he added to the extracts from the manuscripts of Nineveh, others which rendered the history complete.' This Mar Ibas is the chief authority of Moses of Chorene for the ancient history of Armenia; and we need no other proof that the learned Syrian was a romancer, than this pretty story about the old manuscripts so luckily discovered at Nineveh!

Nothing can be more clumsy and confused than Father Michael Chamich's narrative of the Arsacidan period; nor is it possible to glean from the chance-medley of historical names, a single fact to be relied upon. In chapter vi., we find it stated, that Artavazd I., the son of Tigranes II., having been appointed by his father to the government of the province of Ararat, on his accession to the throne of the Arsacidæ, first transferred the seat of empire from Nisibis in Mesopotamia to Ararat, about B.C. 39. This would imply, if properly interpreted, the expulsion of the Parthian or Arsacidan sovereign of Nisibis, by the Romans, and his taking refuge in Armenia. But, as we have already remarked, Nisibis could never have been any thing more than either a frontier post, or the capital of a petty state. And such we know it to have been in fact. It was a *Greek* city, the name of which the Armenians tortured into *Midpsin*. We cannot resist the strong impression, that the annals of a number of distinct principalities have been jumbled together under the names Arsacidan, Parthian, &c., and that the Parthian empire was never any thing more than a confederacy of these, under either a generalissimo or elective head. The Scythic Parthians might be called in as allies, or might appear as invaders; but the Parthian power is always found to partake of a Greek character, and was probably directed by Greek leaders.

At length we approach a period upon which the lights of western history shed a faint gleam. Among the kings of Armenia who are represented as reigning at Nisibis, but who in fact were sovereigns only of Osrhoene, we find the name of Abgar, who is stated to have succeeded his father Arsham B.C. 5. We shall transcribe the account given of this prince, who is referred to by Gibbon as the 'last king of Edessa', and who 'was sent in chains to Rome'.

'This prince was of muscular proportion, extremely tall, of gentle

manners, and amiable disposition. He was celebrated for his wisdom, and excelled all eastern contemporaries in talents both natural and acquired. Many eulogies have been passed on Abgar by both Latin and Greek historians. His Armenian subjects gave him the surname of "Avag-ayr", that is, "excellent in wisdom and estimable in manners". The Assyrians and Greeks, not being able to pronounce these words correctly, some called him Avagar, others varied it to Apacar, but the general term into which this prince's surname sunk is Abgar. The Assyrians generally designated him Agpar, which signifies eminent or great. His original name after a short period ceased to be in use. This need not astonish our readers when they reflect that a variety of words in every language are sadly altered by the vulgar, through their incorrect pronunciation. Thus, in Armenian, for instance, instead of Astwazatoor, it is pronounced Astoor; instead of Mukhithar, Mukhik; for Martirose they say Mirto; for Carapiet, Curpo, &c. Again, a few more examples of the same kind are shewn in the words Valarsakert, called Alashkert; Arkori, Akori; Manavazakert, Manazkert, &c. Hence, with respect to the just surname Avag-Ayr, this was corrupted into Abgar.

' In the second year of the reign of Abgar, a decree was issued by the Emperor Augustus to tax all the kingdoms and states that acknowledged the Roman dominion, and also to erect statues of him in the religious temples of every nation. In the same year it pleased our Blessed Saviour, the uncreate image of the Eternal Father, to assume the form of man, and to be born of the Holy Virgin. At the very period in which mankind was numbered, their Redeemer entered upon his labour. About this period, Herod, king of the Jews, puffed up with pride, sent statues of himself into various nations, with a command to place them in the temples near to those of Augustus. Abgar refused to comply with the wishes of the haughty and vain-glorious king, and thereby excited his resentment: nor was it long before an opportunity occurred by which he endeavoured to gratify it. Herod sent his nephew Joseph with a mighty force into Armenia, but the invaders were courageously met by Abgar, and defeated; their leader was slain, with a great number of his troops. The survivors fled in terror and confusion. Herod soon after died.

' The Emperor Augustus about this time began to view Abgar with an eye of suspicion, on account of some unfavourable allegations of his enemies at Rome. Having been apprised of this by his friends, Abgar repaired to that city, to remove the unfavourable impression that had been made on the Emperor's mind, as well as to renew and confirm the treaty which existed between the Armenians and Romans. When Abgar was introduced into the presence of Augustus, the latter was astonished at the imposing and noble figure of the Armenian monarch. But when they entered into conversation, the Emperor's astonishment changed to admiration, by reason of the wisdom displayed by Abgar. Augustus thenceforward regarded him with the warmest feeling of friendship, and during his stay could scarcely bear his absence for a single day, so great was the desire he felt to enjoy his society. He remained three years at Rome, and the Emperor with great reluctance permitted him to return to Armenia, which was indeed highly expe-

dient, in consequence of the disordered state of affairs in that country. On his arrival at Nisibis, the king set about improving his dominions. He made many excellent laws, and beautified the kingdom by the erection of many edifices devoted to public purposes, and founded a city in Mesopotamia, to which he gave the name of Abgarshat. After the death of Augustus, and the succession of Tiberius to the supreme power at Rome, the latter took occasion to insult the Armenians in the person of Abgar, who determined to make an effort to shake off the Roman yoke. For this purpose he rebuilt the city of Edessa, and fortified it in such a manner as to be able to stand a long siege. He then removed his court from Nisibis, and established it at Edessa.'

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' During the stay of the messengers of Abgar in Palestine, many wonders were related to them of the extraordinary power of Christ in curing the sick and maimed; and to gratify their curiosity, on their mission being concluded, they went to Jerusalem to see him. On their witnessing the miracles performed by our Lord, they were seized with wonder, and when they returned to Armenia, they related the particulars to their master. Abgar, having listened to their accounts, became satisfied that this was the Son of God, and immediately sent back his messengers to Jerusalem with a letter to Christ. After acknowledging his belief that he was the true and only Son of God, and beseeching him to cure him of his disease, he concluded by inviting him to come into Armenia and reside with him, saying, "I have heard that the Jews murmur against you, and seek to destroy you. I have a small, but beautiful city, which I offer you to partake with me. It is sufficient for us both." He gave instructions to his messengers to offer sacrifices for him at the temple at Jerusalem, and also sent a painter with them, in order that, if the Blessed Saviour would not come, he might possess a portrait of him.

' The messengers, on their arrival at Jerusalem, wished for an opportunity to present the letter of Abgar to Christ, but, not presuming to approach him, they applied to Philip, one of his apostles, and said, "We wish to see Jesus and deliver a message to him". Philip thereupon called Andrew, and informed him of the desires of the messengers, and they both then went to Jesus to acquaint him with the object of the messengers' visit. Jesus testified much joy at the contents of Abgar's letter, and he directed the Apostle Thomas to write a reply to it, dictated from our Lord's own mouth. In this letter our Saviour says: "When I shall rise to my glory, I will send you one of my disciples, who shall remove your pains, and give life to you and those around you." It is related that, as the painter before-mentioned was endeavouring to take the features of our Lord, Christ took a handkerchief, and passing it over his sacred face, miraculously impressed on it an admirable likeness of his countenance, and giving it to Ananey the courier, desired him to take it to his master, as a reward for his faith. Abgar, on receiving the letter and portrait, worshipped the sacred semblance of our Blessed Redeemer, and ordering them to be preserved with great care, waited the fulfilment of our Lord's promise. After the ascension of Christ, Thomas the Apostle, according to the



desire of Jesus, sent Thaddeus, one of the seventy, to Abgar at Edessa. Thaddeus on his arrival instructed the king in the faith, and baptized him with all the people of Edessa.' *Avdall*, pp. 99—107.

Lardner has satisfactorily disposed of this legend, which is given with some variations by Eusebius. He considers the whole history as the fiction of some Christian at Edessa in the time of Eusebius, or not long before. Father Michael follows it up with an account of a visit paid by Bartholomew the Apostle to Armenia, bearing with him the portrait of the Virgin Mary. Jude also, he tells us, came into Armenia, and suffered martyrdom at Ormi (Ourmea?). Not satisfied with this, he makes some of the bones of the Apostle Thomas to have been brought into the same country. So much for Armenian church history.

According to the more respectable authorities cited by Mr. Neumann, Christianity was first established in Armenia in the fourth century. The Armenians, he says, were the first nation converted as such to the Christian faith.

‘ Tiridates the Great (in Armenian Dertad, *i. e.* the given of God) and a large portion of the Armenian people, as early as the year 302 of our era, received baptism from the Parthian prince, Gregory the Enlightener. This Apostle of Armenia was instructed in the Christian doctrine at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and consecrated pastor of the newly converted country, about the year 312, by Leontius, bishop of that city, who signed the decree of the Council of Nice. Gregory was one of the most distinguished men of Oriental Christendom. Devoted, heart and soul, to the new light, he endured all imaginable sufferings for the doctrine of Christ, and evinced an inventive spirit in all earthly means by which the heavenly plant might be made the more securely to thrive. At his command and that of the king, schools were established, in which the children, especially those of heathen priests, were instructed in the new doctrine, and in the Greek and Syriac languages. The Heathen priests, themselves, were chosen by preference, as teachers of the Word of God, and were left in possession of all the advantages attached to Heathen observances, and all the emoluments accruing from Heathen ceremonies. The Heathen altars were overthrown, and in their stead, and on their scites, Christian temples were erected. The first Christian Church in Armenia was raised at Ashdishad, or Hashdishad, in the province of Duroperan, on the very spot where formerly a statue of Hercules had stood. This most ancient Christian temple of the country is, therefore, called *the Mother Church*.

‘ The sons and successors of Saint Gregory, (since 332,) were either wanting in the courage and firmness of the original founder, or were less favoured by circumstances. Heathenism again appeared in many provinces of the country, and an entire century elapsed before Sahag the great, and Mesrob and his disciples, were able to suppress the original faith of their ancestors. And even they, as we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, seem not to have wholly effaced every vestige of the ancient religion from the memory of the inhabitants.’

*Pref. to Hist. of Vartan*, p. viii.

Such were the natural results of the method which appears to have been adopted to force a new faith upon a still pagan nation. But the Christianity of the fourth century was no longer the faith which had in its own pristine energy conquered the world. Long before the days of Gregory the Enlightener, the faith of Christ must have penetrated from Edessa and Ctesiphon, on the one hand, and from the cities of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, on the other, to the very recesses of Armenia. But if the golden lamps had begun to burn dim in the favoured churches of Asia Minor, it is not to be wondered at, that, on the very confines of civilization, the darkness of heathenism should have utterly quenched the knowledge of the true faith. ‘The Religious Wars between the Armenians and the Persians’, which form the subject of Bishop Elisæus’s History, bespeak an era of Church history symbolized by the rider on the red horse, to whom ‘power’ was given to take ‘peace from the earth’.\* In the first age, Christianity was the conqueror, while Christians triumphed by ‘the irresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness’. But when Christians, instead of martyrs, became combatants, they might seem to triumph, but Christianity ceased to conquer. Religion suffered in proportion as her ministers rose in power and dignity. “If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight”. When the Church became ‘of this world’, as a natural consequence, her servants *did* fight.

Elisæus, the author of the historical work translated by Mr. Neumann, was a disciple of Sahag the Great, and of Mesrob the composer of the Armenian alphabet (about A.D. 406). He was secretary to the Armenian general, Vartan, and afterwards bishop of the canton Arakadsoden in the province of Ararat, with the title of ‘bishop of the Amaduniuns’. Besides this historical work, he is said to have left behind him, exegetical illustrations of the books of Joshua and Judges, and of the Lord’s Prayer, with other theological compositions. In his old age, he withdrew to the canton Ershedunik, in the province of Vasburagan, on the shores of Lake Van, or, as Mr. Neumann calls it, the Wan-sea, where he died at a very advanced age.

The work opens at the precise point at which Moses of Chorene, and Goriun, ‘the Xenophon of Armenian literature’, break off; viz. at the death of Mesrob, who was succeeded in the patriarchal dignity by the *Katholikos* Joseph. Moses commences his last chapter but one with the following words, which serve as an introduction to the narrative of Elisæus.

‘ “After Varram II.” ’ (the Baharam of the Persian annals and the Varanes of Roman history) ‘ “had reigned twenty-one years over the

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\* Rev. vi. 4.

Persians, he died (in 439), and left the government to his son Yezgerd II. (Yezdijird, Isdigertes.) This prince, immediately on his accession, violated the peace, and proceeded in person against the Greek forces which were quartered near Midspin (Nisibis), and gave the army in Aderbichan orders to invade our country. They accordingly came, committed divers excesses, and encamped near the city of *Idols* (i. e. Pakuan in the province of Ararat).”

*Pref. to Hist. of Vartan, p. xiv.*

Yezdejird II., surnamed *Sipahdost* (the Soldier's Friend), was the son and successor of Baharam V. (not II.), surnamed *Gour* (the wild-ass), who had entered into a truce with the Roman Emperor, Theodosius II., for *one hundred years*. The father of Baharam V. was the Yezdejird I., to whom, according to the singular story told by Procopius, the Emperor Arcadius, on his death-bed, committed the guardianship of his infant son Theodosius; a trust which the Sassanian monarch is stated to have accepted and discharged with unexampled fidelity; and ‘the infancy of Theodosius was protected by the arms and councils of Persia’. There is strong reason to conclude, not only from this circumstance, but also from the abuse lavished on Yezdejird by the oriental writers, the surname given to him in the Persian annals, of *Ulathim*, or the sinner, and his recorded indulgence towards the Christians, that he had embraced the Christian faith, or was at least favourable towards it. During the reign of the light-hearted and chivalrous Baharam Gour, the Cœur de Lion of Persian history, the magian priesthood appear to have regained their political ascendancy. Gibbon, indeed, states, that, in the last year of Yezdejird, the magi excited a cruel persecution against the Christians, on the pretence that a bishop, named Abdas, had destroyed one of the fire-temples of Susa. But it is far more probable, that these disorders broke out on the death of their protector, when it is known that some confusion ensued, since it was not without a struggle that Baharam obtained the crown. Some Christian fugitives who escaped to the Roman frontier, were sternly demanded by the Persian monarch; but the Emperor Theodosius, at the instigation of the patriarch Atticus, refused to surrender them. Hence ensued the short and inglorious war which was terminated by the above-mentioned truce for a hundred years. ‘Although’, says Gibbon, ‘the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquillity, the essential conditions of this treaty were respected near fourscore years by the successors of Constantine and Artaxerxes.’ How they were respected, will be seen hereafter. When, a second time, the Persian government, to which Yezdejird II. had succeeded, demanded some Christian fugitives, Theodosius, according to Eusebius, complied with the demand; but of this, remarks Mr. Neumann, not the slightest mention is made by any Byzantine writer,

sacred or profane ; and he infers that their silence must have been wilful. Elisæus thus commences his history.

‘ Although we have but little satisfaction in deploring the misfortunes of our country, yet, at the command of your Eminence, we will begin, where it is fit to begin. Truly, not of our own free will do we describe, in lamenting tones, all the miseries of which we ourselves have been eye-witnesses.

‘ After the fall of the Arsacides, the family of Sassan, the Persian, ruled over the land of the Armenians. They ruled their kingdom according to the doctrines of the magi, and inflicted much oppression on all who lived not conformably to that belief. This oppression commenced under king Arshag (Arsaces, who reigned from 363 to 381,) the son of Diran, and grandson of Dertad (Tiridates),\* and thenceforward there was continual strife, till the sixth year of king Artash (Artaces), the son of Sdahrashapuh†. On the deposition of this sovereign, the government fell into the hands of the Armenian princes ; and whenever the hordes of the Persian king made inroads on the country, the knightly band of the Armenians assembled under their leaders, and hastened to give the invaders battle ; for the fear of God was great and firmly established in the land of the Armenians. This state of things continued, from the accession of the King of kings, Shapu, till the second year of the King of kings, Yasgerd, the son of Varram. Yasgerd belonged to the accomplices of Satan ; he sent forth his accumulated venom, and offered it as a useful and deceptive remedy. And the horn of iniquity began to sound, and the mighty cloud of dust spread over all the four quarters of the earth. The hater and adversary of all believers in Christ appeared ; he persecuted and tortured the Christians, and took from them their guiltless lives ; for his delight was in desolation and bloodshed, wherefore he constantly thought how he might fully vent the bitterness of his venom, and whither he might shoot the multitude of his arrows. With immoderate fury he fell, like a wild beast, on the country of the Greeks, pressed on as far as the city of Midspin, laid waste sundry provinces of the Romans, and after pulling down the churches, dragged the booty and prisoners after him, filling all the troops in the land with fear and trembling.

‘ Now the excellent Emperor Theodosius (the younger), being a great lover of peace in Christ, would not give battle to the enemy, but sent his general for the East, Anatolius by name, to meet him, with much treasure. Those Persians who, by reason of their Christian belief, had fled and found refuge in the imperial city, were assembled and delivered into the hands of the king ; and all things by him

\* ‘ The signification of Dertad is not, as De Sacy supposes, *le donné par Tir*, but, the given of the Lord, of God (Der.) ’

† This, we presume, must be ‘ Artashir ’ or Artaces the last, as he is styled in Avdall’s History, ‘ the son of Viramshapuh ’, who was deposed by the Persian king, A.D. 428 ; and on his death, a few years afterwards, the race of the Armenian Arsacidæ became extinct.

required, were acceded to. By this submission he was prevailed upon to stay his further progress, and to return to his city Dispon (Ctesiphon on the Tigris, opposite to Seleucia).

‘As fire increases by the addition of fuel, so began the unbelieving prince to meditate something further, when he saw that his iniquity was successful. Knowing now that he was secure, and that all danger of opposition was removed, he proceeded to turn all from the holy faith; some with mere threats, others with dungeons and chains. If any one died under persecution, he seized on his property, personal and real, and acted in all things with the grossest injustice. He suspended misery over the whole land. He called his officers of state together, in council; and all those who were attached to idolatry by indissoluble bonds, burned like a flaming furnace against the belief of the holy church.’ *Hist. of Vartan*, pp. 3—4.

The learned Chronicler proceeds to narrate the advice given to the Persian king by his magian counsellors, to undertake an expedition against the Kushanians, by whom we are to understand the Hunnish or Scythic tribes dwelling within the Caspian gates. He accordingly issued a proclamation summoning all his vassals to take the field; which, we are told, was obediently complied with by all his Christian subjects, although many of the provinces into which the proclamation was sent, had not been heretofore accustomed to furnish their contingent in these expeditions. The king, elated with the powerful muster, took the field against the Huns, but ‘was unable, in a space of two years, to bring them to ‘an engagement, or to subdue them.’ These expeditions, renewed every season, began in the fourth, and continued till the eleventh year of his reign. At length, ‘when the king saw that ‘the Romans remained true to the treaty which they had concluded with him, and that peace reigned through all his dominions,’

‘he sent the joyful tidings to all the fire-temples in his kingdom: he brought fat oxen and long-haired animals in numbers to the holy fire, as a burnt offering, and was besides incessantly employed in performing his impure idolatry. He honoured the Magi, more particularly the Mogbeds, with crowns and other marks of distinction. He then issued an order for depriving the Christians of the goods and property which they possessed in Persia.

‘Pride and arrogance had arisen to such a height in his soul, that he thought himself elevated above human nature; and this, not only with reference to his person in corporeal conflict, but he also held himself as something greater than what he could be, according to his paternal origin. Agreeably to superstition, he hypocritically gave it out, that it had been discovered by the wise, that he was to be placed in the rank of the immortals: wherefore, he uttered great reproaches against Christ, when he understood that the Lord had been tortured and crucified, that he died and was buried.

‘As the king daily boasted in so foolish a spirit, a noble youth one day directed his speech to him, and said: “Excellent king, whence

know you these words which you utter against our Lord?" The king answered and said, "I have read the books of your heresy." The youth replied, "Well was it for thee, oh king! to be permitted to read thus far. But continue still further, and thou wilt hear of the resurrection, of the appearance before the eyes of all, and of the ascension into heaven. You will hear of his seat at the right-hand of the Father; of what he said after the second appearance; of the miraculous awakening (of Lazarus) in the presence of all; in a word, of the reward of the just Judge." When the king heard this, he continued to scoff, and said, "This is mere deception." Whereupon the soldier of Christ replied, "If thou takest as true his bodily sufferings and death, so must thou yet more believe in his terrible coming."

'Having heard these words, the king burnt like the fire in the glowing furnace of Babylon, for his friends stirred him as the fire was stirred by the Chaldees. His ungovernable rage devoured the excellent youth, whose name was Karkh. Bound hand and foot, he was delivered to the executioner for torture. The king afterwards deprived him of his rank, and had him slain.' pp. 6—7.

Thus ends Chap. I. In the next, Elisæus proceeds to describe the courageous steadfastness of the Christians who were in the army, notwithstanding the unintermitting efforts made to seduce or terrify them into apostacy. Up to the close of the eleventh year of his reign, King Yezdejird is represented as having adopted a mild and hypocritical policy. The magi, however, were continually instigating him to banish heresy from all his dominions, and to enforce the observances of the faith of Zoroaster as the ruling one. The Christians in the army were deprived of their pay, sent to the worst places for winter quarters, and harassed in all sorts of ways; while the population of Armenia were subjected to heavy imposts, even the hermits and monks being subjected to a poll-tax; a Persian governor was set over the province, and a mogbed was made judge.

'Notwithstanding that all these transactions were very hard, and the exactions extremely oppressive, yet no one opposed him on that account, so long as nothing was openly undertaken against the Church. When, according to law, a hundred might be taken, double that sum was extorted from the priests, and threefold from the bishops; and this not only on edifices in good repair, but also on ruins. . . . When, however, it was seen that all this could not depress the population, the priests and high-priests of Zoroaster publicly prepared an order, and put forth a proclamation concerning their iniquitous religion.'

p. 11.

The proclamation, which is given at length, is an extremely curious document, setting forth the Magian creed, and charging the Christians with holding various absurd heresies, among which, the monkish vows of poverty and celibacy are alluded to as a heinous sin. It is satisfactory to find nothing worse alleged against 'the Nadsaræans,' than that they 'praised poverty more



‘ than wealth ; praised misfortune, and despised fortune ; scoffed  
 ‘ at fate, and made a jest of fame ; loved plainness of apparel ;  
 ‘ praised death, and despised life.’ The proclamation was issued  
 in the name of ‘ Mihrnerseh (Meher Narsi), Grand Vizier of Iran  
 ‘ and Dan-iran,’\* to whose *wise* administration, Sir John Mal-  
 colm tells us, Baharam Gour and his successor were greatly in-  
 debted for the prosperity of their reigns. The Persian vizier ap-  
 pears, in fact, for several reigns, to have acquired an influence  
 which greatly circumscribed the royal prerogative, and sometimes  
 overawed the throne. To this crafty minister, acting under the in-  
 fluence of the mogbeds, the persecution of the Christians appears  
 to have been chiefly attributable. In his proclamation, high *jure*  
*divino* ground is taken in the following terms : ‘ But be mindful,  
 ‘ that whatsoever faith your sovereign holds, the same must you  
 ‘ also receive ; especially for this reason, that we have to render  
 ‘ an account of you to God.’ Upon this same ground, the  
 Translator says in a note, ‘ Gustasp required that all princes  
 ‘ dependent on Iran should adopt the doctrine of Zoroaster ; and  
 ‘ this was the cause of the many religious wars in the Persian  
 ‘ kingdom.’ Such is, in fact, the main principle of all eccle-  
 siastical establishments, Pagan or Christian, Popish or Protestant.  
 Mihrnerseh, Trajan, Aurungzebe, Henry VIII. and his daughters,  
 Philip II. and Louis XIV., all held the same article of royal  
 faith ; that whatsoever be the creed of the sovereign, the same  
 are his subjects bound to receive. All persecuted too the re-  
 bellious faith that would not conform to the royal edict, with  
 similar piety.

On the receipt of this proclamation, a council of all the bishops,  
 sub-bishops (*chorepiscopi*), and priests was held in the royal city  
 of Ardashad (Artaxata) ; and an answer was drawn up in the  
 name of Joseph, Bishop of Ararat, and his brethren, which is  
 also given at length. This highly remarkable epistle is dated in  
 the year 450. In the original, it is so exceedingly difficult that  
 Mr. Neumann has been able only to guess at the meaning of  
 some parts, after bestowing upon them the most intense appli-  
 cation. It would lead us too far into polemics, were we to at-  
 tempt to give an account of the tenets imbodyed in this con-  
 fession. Some of the expressions are equivocal, and others ex-  
 tremely obscure ; the deity of Christ is clearly asserted, but not

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\* Dan-iran or Aniran, according to the learned Translator, denotes  
 that which was *not* Iran or Persia. But, in the answer to this pro-  
 clamations, Mihrnerseh is styled ‘ Grand Vizier of the Arians and An-  
 arians.’ In a previous proclamation (p. 5) we read, ‘ To all people of  
 my kingdom, Arians and non-Arians.’ Is this a mistake for Iranians  
 and non-Iranians ? Or has Mr. Neumann confounded Iran with Aria,  
 the ancient name of a central region of Persia ?

so clearly the personal distinction between the Father and the Word; yet, some expressions excepted, it is not far from orthodox. The opening paragraph states an interesting historical fact, which, Mr. Neumann remarks, is entirely new to western history, and he has in vain sought for more precise information on the subject. The King Vormist alluded to, is, according to Mr. N., Hoormuz (or Hormisdas) II., who came to the throne in 302.

‘ “ As regards the epistle sent by thee into our country, we call to mind, that, in former times, one of the Mogbeds, who was very learned in your doctrine, and whom you held to be something more than man, did believe in the God of life, the Creator of heaven and earth, and that he disproved and annihilated every position of your doctrine. It being found that nothing could be done against him by reasoning, he was stoned by King Vormist. Shouldst thou be now really wishful to know our principles, his books are to be found in all parts of your country; read, and learn from them.” ’ p. 14.

On the receipt of this letter, the Persian monarch was inflamed with great rage, and immediately summoned to his court the most distinguished of the Armenian princes, among whom was Vartan, the head of the house of the Mamigonians, and the hero of the subsequent narrative. On their arrival, the tyrant swore by the sun, that if, on the morrow, they did not worship the object of the magian idolatry, he would inflict the most cruel vengeance upon them, their families, and their country. The princes, Bishop Elisæus tells us, thought of nothing but of offering themselves up in martyrdom, with the meekness of Isaac when bound on the holy altar. But alas! their better purpose was over-ruled by the advice of ‘ one of the privy counsellors of the king, who had in secret an inward love of Christ,’ (Father Michael calls him one of the eunuchs of the king, who was a Christian, though obliged to conceal his faith,) and who counselled the Armenians, for the sake of their country, to dissemble also, and profess conformity to the king’s wishes. Yesdejird, delighted with his supposed triumph over their resolution, sent them home, loaded with honours and dignities; and shortly afterwards sent a large army, attended by more than 700 teachers, to accomplish the conversion not only of the Armenian Christians, but also of the ‘ Georgians, Albanians, Liphnians \*, Akhznians †, Kortusians ‡, Dsotians, Tasanians §, and all those who were

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\* Or Liphenians, a Caucasian tribe inhabiting a district east of the Kour, and supposed to be the *Lubieni* of Pliny.

† ‘ Akhznik is the third Armenian province, and to the south borders on Mesopotamia.’ Osrhoene?

‡ Or Gortusians, i. e. Carduchi or Kourds.

§ The Dsotians or Dsofteazians inhabited the banks of the Kour, to

‘secretly Christians in the dominions of Persia.’ Before the expiration of six months, all the churches of Christian worship were to be pulled down, the books seized, the priests forbidden to teach, and the monasteries broken up; and all the rites of magianism were to be punctually enforced.

The third chapter opens with an account of the effects of this dire intelligence on the minds of the Armenians. Indignant and astonished at the pusillanimity or apostacy of their princes, as well as of those priests who had also affected to embrace the royal creed, they abhorred them altogether, and said: ‘Did you not remember in your souls what Divine command you had received? *He who denies me before men, him will I also deny before my Father in heaven and before the holy angels?*’ This, and much more than this, Elisæus tells us, the people who believed in the Holy Gospel said against the great assembly of the nobles; and the Translator has thought proper to omit two pages of religious reflections which the Armenian Historian has here introduced. The bishops, in the mean time, were not inactive, but secretly organized an armed insurrection against their oppressors. The first attempt to close the doors of a church, on the part of a mogbed at the head of an armed force, was successfully resisted on the spot, by the priest of the village. This occurred at a place called Ankes, (Anghel or Anglon,) in the province of Ararat.

‘He led the loud-shouting people against the troops and the magi, and the people lifted stones, and hurled them at the heads of the magi and of the mogbed, so that they were forced to seek refuge in their dwellings. The people thereupon began the service of God in the church, went through the customary canon, and ceased not to pray throughout their whole Sabbath.’ p. 29.

Elisæus proceeds to describe somewhat rhetorically the general demonstration, of grief and despair in some, of heroic resolution in others, which the tidings of this occurrence called forth. The Mogbed, alarmed at the unexpected resistance, is stated to have counselled the Armenian Margrave, Vasag the Siunian, to write to the king to retract his commands.

‘“If” (argued the discreet Mogbed) “these unarmed people are so mighty in action, then the gods forbid that they should assemble in arms, for who could oppose their destructive assault? I knew nothing of the indissoluble bond of this church—for what a man hears is one thing, and what he sees with his own eyes is another. But thou who hast been brought up from childhood in this faith,—who hast had personal experience of the fortitude of this people, that they will not

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the west of the Albanians. The Tasnians are supposed to be a foreign tribe inhabiting the canton of Duroperan.

without much bloodshed suffer any violent proceedings against their church,—wherefore hast thou not represented all this faithfully before the king? ” ’ p. 31.

Elisæus, like many other historians, is somewhat too fond of making speeches for the personages of his history. The Mogbed's arguments, how eloquently soever urged, were lost upon the traitorous apostate, Vasag, who had 'with his whole heart gone over to the Persian creed', and who now, with a view to secure the royal favour, zealously began to try every means of bribery and intimidation to gain over proselytes. His impious excesses at length induced the holy bishops to take decisive measures. At their instigation, the people flew to arms, attacked and defeated the Persian troops, and took the Margrave himself prisoner. But, upon his penitently imploring forgiveness, the bishops, though suspicious of his hypocrisy, are stated to have 'used no violence towards him'. The people then 'fell upon the strong-holds which the Persians had every where in the land, and drove out and destroyed those who dwelt therein.' A list is given of the cities and fortified places which, together with the garrisons, they took in one year; and the Historian then complacently adds:

'They destroyed the places; and carried away the men and women, together with their property and possessions, treasures and riches, into captivity. They pulled down and laid waste their dwellings, and burned their houses of idolatry,—the houses for the worship of fire. they removed the horrors of false worship; and taking the utensils away from the fire-temples, they placed them in the holy churches, where they were consecrated by the priests to be ornaments to the altar of the Lord. Instead of the idolatry which had been performed in all the heathenish places, they now set up the cross of Christ the Redeemer; they purified all the holy altars, established holy and life-giving principles, and appointed priests and curates, and all in the land gave themselves up to steadfast hope.

'Even before this excellent consummation was effected, the divine favour illuminated all the faithful—for, without any request on the part of the Armenian army, some of those in the land towards the East rose up in the province of Aderbadakan, spread devastation all around, and overturned the fire-temples, and reduced them to ruins.

'Those who were present at the great fortress made the sign of the cross, and rushed upon the troops; and the two walls of the castle, which were so situated as to be scarcely approachable, fell of themselves. This great miracle filled all the inhabitants of the land with terror; they destroyed the fire-temples with their own hands, abandoned the laws of the Magi, and turned to the holy gospel. Still more deeds of excellence and valour were performed by the army, so that even where there was no hope of conversion to the Lord, yet fear reigned by reason of the army, and each related to his neighbour the wonders which he had witnessed. Sundry stars were seen in the hea-

vens shining with great brightness, though till then they had not possessed this property ; and even children were valiant as warriors.'

pp. 34—35.

About this time, one of the chief nobles was despatched to the Emperor Theodosius, to implore his succour and protection. But, unhappily, soon after the arrival of the Armenian envoys, 'on the 28th of July, 450, the end of his life came suddenly upon him ; and this was a woeful obstacle to the promised assistance.'

'In the place of Theodosius reigned the Emperor Marcianus. By the counsels of two evil-minded men, his servants,—the patrician Anatolius and the Syrian Elpharios, (both were worthless, evil, and ungodly men,)—by the advice of such persons the monarch suffered himself to be guided, and would hear nothing of the Holy League, which was, with all its force, resisting the iniquity of the Heathens. Thus this petty coward thought it better to consult his personal safety by adhering firmly to the treaty with the Heathens, than to fight the good fight for the treaty with Christ. Wherefore, he sent with haste the said Elpharios as ambassador to the king of the Persians, with whom he concluded a close alliance, promising to withdraw his troops, arms, and all other aids from the Armenian people.

'When this treaty was formed, and all hope in human help thus annihilated, the bishops returned and endeavoured to encourage themselves and the army. Although they were well aware of the smallness of their numbers, and also of the union of the two monarchs, (the alliance between the king of the Persians and the emperor of Byzantium,) yet they were in no degree cast down, but were as confident as at the first assembly, saying : " We are prepared to slay and to be slain : for God, it is easy to accomplish much by a small number, and by our unworthiness to bring great things to pass."

'As they had no king to be their leader, nor any assistance to hope for from abroad, they proceeded on their own impulse, and on the consoling promise of the holy teachers, altogether to one place, to the armies of the nobles, each one according to his tribe ; many troops from the royal province were also present. The whole multitude was formed into three divisions. The first division was entrusted to Ner-shabuh, the Rhumposian, with the charge of guarding the country near to the boundary of the land Aderbadakan. The second division was given over to the hands of Vartan, the commander-in-chief of the Armenians, who was to lead it to the borders of Georgia, against the Margrave, at Djor, (near Derbend,) who had taken that direction, and was destroying the churches of Albania. The third division was given over to the hands of Vasag, the prince of Sünik, who in his heart had not disengaged himself from the alliance with the Heathens.' p. 37.

'This misplaced and fatuitous confidence in the traitor Vasag, led to the consequences that might have been anticipated. He opened a secret correspondence with the Persians, betraying the designs of his countrymen. Accordingly, the whole Persian force

was directed against the division under the brave Vartan, and the armies met near the boundaries of Georgia. Notwithstanding the disproportion of numbers, the Christians are represented as having obtained a complete victory, which they followed up by entirely clearing Albania from the enemy, putting to the sword all the magi found in the strong places. The apostate Vasag had in the mean time thrown off the mask, despoiling the churches, and ravaging the country; but the tidings of Vartan's triumphant return induced him to take to sudden and precipitate flight, and to shut himself up in winter quarters, where he was reduced to great extremities. The Persian monarch, finding himself so much deceived as to the strength and constancy of his Christian subjects, issued a proclamation of indemnity and free toleration. But 'when he had learned with certainty that the Romans had withdrawn their help from the Christians, that they no longer supported them with troops nor with any thing whatever, he returned to his former erroneous views.' Raising a powerful army, he came and encamped near the city Phaidagaran, on the Albanian border.

'And there, in the secure hollow, lay the old poisonous serpent, hiding itself from the brave by all artfulness, and terrifying the distant by its fearful shrieks, and gently alluring the near with its sporting train. This was the prince and vizier over all Persia, whose name was Mihrnerseh, against whom none dared to make any attempt: not alone the great and the little, but even the king himself, whose agent he was in all evil deeds, obeyed his commands.' p. 44.

In the next chapter, we have a detailed account of the further proceedings of the traitor Vasag, who, chiefly by means of some apostate priests employed as emissaries, contrived to detach numbers from the holy league, by fallacious representations of the king's tolerant intentions; and he allured the people of the whole of his large province to 'apostatize.' The power ascribed to him indeed is most extraordinary. He is represented as dissolving the treaty between the Georgians and the Armenians, and, by his secret machinations, depriving the Christians of all foreign and external aid. Reports of his proceedings were continually made to Mihrnerseh; and when all seemed ripe for striking the blow, the state of things was laid before the Persian monarch, who swore by an inviolable oath to rid himself of the heresy by a great battle, and to make it taste the cup of bitterest death.

Chapter the fifth sets forth how, undismayed by the doubtful state of his native land, the great and valorous Vartan, 'assisted by the unanimous concurrence of the princes who had not fallen away from the holy league,' took the field at the head of the patriot forces in the plain of Artass, (Artaxata?) to the number of 66,000 men, horse and foot. 'With them came St. Joseph,



‘ (the patriarch,) the priest Leont, many other priests, and a crowd of deacons; for these feared not to take part with their brethren in battle. Not, indeed, that they deemed earthly strife to be suited to them, but they wished to be present for the spiritual encouragement of the valiant troops prepared for death.’ The apology here offered for the Armenian priests who took up arms, shews that Elisæus had somewhat more enlightened ideas on the subject than became current in later times. The chapter closes with an account of a successful assault on the Persian camp,—a sermon preached by the priest Leont before the army,—and a miracle.

‘ All the Catechumens in the army were baptized during the night; and on the following morning, they received the holy Eucharist, and were surrounded with light, like the ruling, great, sacred Paschal Lamb. The whole army rejoiced exceedingly, and said: “May our death be like to the death of the just, and may the shedding of our blood resemble the blood-shedding of the prophets!—May God look down in mercy on our voluntary self-offering, and may he not deliver the church into the hands of the heathen!”’ p. 53.

In chapter the sixth, we have an account of a ‘second battle of the Armenians against the King of the Persians,’ in which there was ‘great wrath and vast slaughter on both sides.’ On the side of the Christians there fell 1036; on the side of the unbelievers, 3544. But the brave Vartan was found worthy of martyrdom. This fatal battle was fought June 2, 451; and the reflections of the venerable Historian are very touching.

‘ It was then spring time, and the blooming meadows were destroyed by the crowd. The heart must bleed at the sight of the heaps of corpses; and in lamentation must the beholder necessarily break forth when hearing the wail of the wounded, the last moan of the dying, the fall of the overtaken, the flight of the coward, the concealment of the fugitives, the fear of unmanly men, the screams of women, the mourning of children and little ones, the sorrow of relatives, the weeping of women and friends—he who saw and heard all this, could not refrain from lamentation. There was no distinction, whether of the victors or the vanquished; wherever the brave of both sides met, there were victims.

‘ Now when the leader of the Armenians had fallen in the battle, there was no longer any head round which the fugitive host of the survivors could assemble; for the number of those who fled, was greater than that of those who fell. They were scattered, and threw themselves into the strong-holds of the country, and ruled all the districts and fortresses which could not be taken.’ pp. 56—57.

In the last chapter, the melancholy sequel is told with all possible delicacy. The remains of the army shut themselves up in a fortress, where they were besieged by the Persians. At length,

reduced to extremities through want of provisions, a brave warrior named Pag, at the head of 700 men, sallied out by night, and all effected their escape. Those who remained were obliged to surrender at discretion, of whom 213 were put to death; but 'the blessed Joseph and Leont' were only scourged and put under guard, while the other priests were sent to their homes. 'Orders were given for recultivating and pacifying the country'; but the Armenian Christians distrusted the treacherous announcement, and refused to submit to the sway of the impious Vasag.

'Hereupon they quitted their homes, their cities and boroughs; the bride left her couch and the bridegroom his chamber; the old abandoned their chairs, and the infants their mothers' breasts; the youths and maidens, and all the men and women arose and fled to inaccessible fastnesses, and to impregnable places among the mountains. To them, a life led like that of the wild beasts in caves, with the fear of God, seemed better than comfort in their dwellings if purchased by apostacy. Without murmuring they lived upon herbs, and forgot their accustomed flesh-meals; the caves they considered like the chambers of their lofty dwellings, and the subterranean abodes like their ornamented halls. The songs which they sang were psalms, and they read the Sacred Scriptures with perfect joy. Each was to himself a church—each was to himself a priest; their bodies served them for the holy altar, and their souls were the offering. No one mourned despairingly for those executed by the sword, nor were any greatly troubled for their nearest friends. With peace of soul they suffered the loss of all their goods, and it never occurred to their recollection, that they had once possessed them. Patiently they endured all fatigues, and met every attack with great valour, although they looked forward to no joyful hope, and had no means of accomplishing any great feat of arms; for the greater number of their most distinguished princes, their brothers, sons, and daughters, with many of their friends, were scattered in various places of security. Some were in the gloomy land of the Chaldæans, many others in the southern provinces, in the unapproachable fastnesses of the Dmorian; a part were in the dense forests of Ardsakh, while others lived in the central parts of the country, in various mountain-castles. All bore their sufferings with much patience, fixing their hopes on God, and only imploring of him that he might not suffer them to witness the fall of the Holy Church.'

pp. 60, 61.

A partizan warfare appears now to have been successfully maintained by the scattered forces of the Christians; and, in alliance with the Huns, a formidable inroad was made into the Persian territories. The King, exceedingly troubled at these proceedings, at length, by advice of the Chiliarch Mihrnerseh, summoned Vasag to appear before him, together with the Armenian patriarch, several of the priests and bishops who had been thrown into prison, and the principal Christian chiefs. The Apostate, unaware, as it should seem, like Haman when invited

by Ahasuerus, of the reverse that awaited him, appeared in all his splendid insignia. But proofs of his treasonable correspondence with foreign powers, and of other crimes and misdemeanours, had been brought to light, and his disgrace and ruin had been determined upon. After being confronted with his accusers, he was stripped of his robes, 'clothed with the clothing of death,' and cast into prison, where, if the Chronicle may be relied upon, he fell violently ill of a grievous disease, and perished in torments. Elisæus thus writes his epitaph: 'There is no evil which he did not commit during life, and there is no evil which in death has not overtaken him.' And the worthy Bishop of the Amadunians professes, in conclusion, to have written down these recollections, in order that all may know what punishment befel him, that they may keep themselves far from his ways.

'With this great act of the vengeful Nemesis,' remarks the Translator, 'Elisæus ends his picture, the design and execution of which are truly dramatic.' A second volume is promised, containing a continuation of the history of the wars between the Persians and the Armenians, by Lazarus of Barb, which brings it down to A.D. 485. It would appear from Father Michael Chamich's History, that the ruthless Mihrnerseh continued to persecute the Christians; numbers were put to death; nor do we find any account of the favourable change which Elisæus represents as taking place in the policy of the Persian court, till after the death of Yezdejird, A.D. 457. Elisæus was still living when, in the reign of King Firose, the father of the celebrated Noushirwan, Bardsumay, bishop of Nisibis, 'began to spread abroad in Persia the Nestorian heresy;' and he is reported to have waited upon the learned Armenian in his retirement. This was in the pontificate of Kristapor I., who filled 'the glorious seat of St. Gregory from A.D. 475 to 480.

Under Noushirwan, the Sassanian empire reached its zenith about the middle of the sixth century. Before the middle of the seventh, under Yezdejird III., the house of Sassan and the magian idolatry were subverted by the sword of the Arab; and the armies of the khalif soon over-ran the whole of Persia, from the Euphrates to the Oxus. The effects of this revolution upon Armenia are thus summarily referred to by Mr. Neumann, in the Preface to his translation of "*Vahram's Chronicle*."

'By the unjust and cruel division of the kingdom of Armenia, (between the Sassanides and the Greeks, in A.D. 387,) the largest and most fertile part of the country fell (as the contemporary historian Lazar of Barb observes) to the empire of Persia. The Byzantine emperors and the Sassanian princes for a while permitted native kings to hold a precarious sceptre; but they were speedily dismissed; and the Byzantine part of Armenia was governed by a Greek magistrate, and the Persian by a Marsban, or Margrave. This state of the

country, somewhat similar to that of the Maronites in our times, was on a sudden changed by the conquests of the Arabs; but the Armenians would not accept the Koran, and their condition became worse under the zealous and fanatical followers of the prophet of Mecca, than under the descendants of Sapor the Great, while weak and dismayed by civil wars.

Ashod the Bagratide, an Armenian nobleman of a Jewish family, who had fled to Armenia after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadanozor, at last gained the confidence of his Arabian masters; and in the year 859 was appointed Emir al Omra—or Ishkhan Ishkhanaz (prince of princes), as the native historians translate the Arabian title—over all Armenia: and was soon after it (888) favoured with a tributary crown. The Bagratides and the rival kings of the family of the Arzerounians, were the faithful friends (or slaves) of the Arabs, and often suffered from the inroads and devastations of the Greeks. We learn from Vahram the means through which the Bagratian kingdom in Armenia Proper was extinguished; and that a new Armenian kingdom arose on the craggy rocks of Mount Taurus, and which gradually extended its boundaries to the sea-coast, including the whole province of Cilicia. Vahram carries his monotonous historical rhymes no further down than the time of the death of his sovereign, Leon III. (1289); but the Cilicio-Armenian kingdom, which during the whole time of its existence perhaps never was entirely independent, lasted nearly a hundred years longer. Leon, the sixth of that name, and the last Armenian king of Cilicia, was, in 1735, taken a prisoner by the Mamalukes of Egypt, and, after a long captivity (1882), released by the generous interference of King John I., of Castile. He was not, however, permitted to return to his own country; but wandered through Europe, from one country to another, till his death, which happened at Paris, the 19th of November, 1393. He was buried in the monastery of the Celestines.

The Mamalukes did not long remain masters both of Cilicia and of a part of Armenia Proper; but yielded to the fortune and the strength of the descendants of Osman or Othman: when the Armenians again felt, as in former times, all the disasters to which the frontier provinces between two rival empires are usually exposed. The cruel policy of the Sophies transplanted thousands of Christian families to the distant provinces of Persia, and transformed fertile provinces into artificial deserts. The Armenians therefore, like the Jews, were obliged to disperse themselves over the world, and resort to commerce for the necessaries of life. Armenian merchants are now to be found in India, on the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, in Singapore, in Afghanistan, Persia, Egypt, in every part of Asia Minor and Syria, Russia, Poland, Austria, Italy; and even the present patriarch of Abyssinia is an Armenian. The valiant descendants of Haig are now, like the offspring of Abraham, considered every where clever and shrewd merchants: they were of great service to the East-India Company in carrying on their trade with the inland provinces of Hindostan; and it was once thought that they were fitter for this part of the mercantile business than any agents of the Company itself.

‘ It is not more than half a century since the modern Armenian provinces began to look on Russia for succour and relief, when the Empress Catherine behaved in many instances most generously to the ruined house of Thorgoma. The fortunate wars of Russia against the Shah and the Sultan, have within the last ten years brought the greater part of the old Parthian kingdom of Armenia under the sway of the mighty Czars. It seems probable, that we may see yet in our times a new kingdom of Armenia, created out of barbarian elements by the generosity and magnanimity of the Emperor Nicholas.’

The generous and magnanimous destroyer of the Polish nation ! The flattery reads like irony. Yet, as compared with the yoke of either Mohammedan power, the rod of the Christian barbarian might be to Armenia, protection. In fact, it has been the policy of Russia to treat the Armenian refugees with kindness and encouragement. Many thousands of them are naturalized, of whom many have risen to opulence, and not a few were elevated to offices of trust under the Emperor Alexander. In 1812, Johannes Eleazar, a distinguished Armenian, a Russian privy-counsellor, and grand knight of the order of Jerusalem, died and bequeathed funds for the foundation, at Moscow, of an extensive and magnificent college for Armenian youth, which has since been erected with the sanction and aid of the Russian Government. Mr. Avdall acknowledges, also, the obligations of his nation to the Russian Bible Society for an edition of the Armenian Bible\*, published in St. Petersburg, in 1817, under the auspices of the Armenian patriarch. There is something very touching in the apostrophe to his mother country, with which this gentleman concludes his history ; and with this, we must terminate the present article.

‘ Armenia ! Armenia ! once the happy residence of my majestic sires ! once the sure asylum of the dearest rights of thy children ! I weep over thy fallen greatness ! I weep over thy departed power ! I weep over thy lost independence ! No more do I see the powerful arm of thy mighty kings stretched out to protect thy breast from violation by a hostile foe ; for the anger of the Lord has removed power from the sons of Haic, and like the sinful children of Israel, delivered them into the hands of their oppressors. No more do I see the strength and security of thy fortifications ; for disunion and treason have betrayed them to merciless invaders. No more do I hear the glad tidings of the Gospel boldly proclaimed ; for the hand of tyranny has gagged the mouths of its zealous preachers. The corners of thy churches have ceased to echo the praises of the heavenly Lord ; for

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\* Mr. Avdall states, that the first edition of the Armenian Bible was published at Amsterdam, by Dr. Voskan (in 1666) ; the second at Venice ; the third at Constantinople (1705) ; the fourth at Venice ; the fifth at St. Petersburg (1817) ; and the sixth at Serampore.



the cruel Moslems have converted them into mosques and minarets. No more do I see thy rising steeples mocking with their height the ambient air and winds ; for the redeeming cross is pulled down by our barbaric oppressors, and replaced by the vile crescent of the Impostor, who has shed the blood of myriads of Christians. No more do I see the splendour and liberty of thy noble sons ; for they have been captured by usurpers, and like herds of cattle led into the worst captivity. Unlike the slaves of Africa and the New World, whom the cupidity of their enslavers only exposed in a slave-market, they were dragged by their mercenary captors to scenes of the vilest pollution and degradation, at the very thought of which human nature recoils ! No more do I see thy beautiful virgins in their former state of protection and security, for they are placed in hourly danger of being torn away from thy maternal breast by barbarous Mohammedans for the gratification of their lust. Oh my country ! Oh our common mother, Armenia ! a name dearer to my heart and sweeter to my ears than the names of all other countries ; deprived of all the excellent characteristics, which are essentially necessary to constitute the political honour, influence, and happiness of a state—a disconsolate widow among the sister powers, who, though once jealous of thy elevated dignity, are now far from stretching towards thee the arm of sisterly protection, or affording the balm of comfort in thy afflicting widowhood—well has the inspired prophet Jeremiah represented thy destitute condition. “How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people ! how is she become as a widow ; she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary ! She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks ; among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her : all her friends have dealt treacherously with her ; they are become her enemies.”

Had I the pen of our renowned ancestor, the immortal Moses of Khoren, how could I lament over the miseries to which our dearest mother Armenia is subjected in the present age, as he wept in mournful strains on her former inferior calamity, the extinction of royalty from the house of the Arsacidæ ! The elevated dignity of honour and independence to which Armenia was raised by the valour and gallantry of her heroic sons was shaken to the ground by the thunder-storm of civil and foreign wars. Armenia fell in the shock : grand was her fall. She suffered from the united force of internal and external commotions, and great is her suffering. Thus the stupendous fabric of our independence and political glory was rased to the ground, and all our dearest hopes were buried in its ruins. Liberty gave way to slavery, knowledge was succeeded by ignorance, justice was superseded by oppression, and anarchy took place of tranquillity. Our unhappy country sits amidst general mourning ; our laws are trampled upon ; our religion is abused ; our rights are violated ; our possessions are usurped by mercenary tyrants. The country of Ararat, whose mountains once echoed with the shouts of her happy and contented inhabitants, is now groaning under the treble fetters of the arbitrary powers who hold unlawful dominion over her. Her expatriated sons, sinking under the weight of their sufferings, with respondent voice meet the groans of their afflicted mother. Will this state of servi-



tude continue for ever? Is there no prospect held out for the regeneration of the country of Armenia? Will the sons of Haic be for ever wretched wanderers over the surface of the globe? No. Better destinies await the fate of the unhappy Armenian nation; a better change will take place in her political condition. When the wrath of the Almighty, which we have justly incurred, is appeased, when the light of His countenance restores to us unanimity, patriotism, and power, then shall the sons of Haic see an extensive field before them, in which they will bravely contend for their country and religion; then shall the gallant Haicans, inspirited with divine zeal, pull down the pale crescent of the Impostor and exalt the redeeming cross; then a new Maccabee shall be sent to rule over the country of Ararat by the mercy of God, to whom be honour and everlasting glory, Amen!

Vol. II. p. 552—556.

Art. II. 1. *The Reform Ministry and the Reformed Parliament.* Fourth Edition. 8vo. pp. 108. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1833.

2. *Thoughts on the mixed Character of Government Institutions in Ireland, with particular Reference to the new System of Education.* By a Protestant. 8vo. pp. 47. London, 1833.

**T**HE first of these pamphlets comes before us as a semi-official exposition and vindication of the policy and proceedings of the present Reform Ministry. The newspapers represent it to be the joint production of Messrs. Senior and Le Marchant, aided by official information from the different departments. In point of authorship, it has little to recommend it beyond clear and simple statement, and dispassionate observation. The style is half colloquial, half official, like that of a writer not long used to the character he assumes, and upon whom it sits like a new dress that does not quite fit. In fact, the marks are palpable of its being ‘*journey-work*.’ It opens pleasantly enough.

“I should wish to ask the noble Lord,” said the Duke of Wellington to Earl Grey, in a speech on the Reform Bill, “how any ministry will hereafter be able to conduct the King’s Government, with a parliament such as will be returned by this Bill.”—Well,—the experiment has been tried. The first session of the Reformed Parliament has been closed.—That Parliament which, according to the prophecies of one side, was to bring with it little else than anarchy; which, according to the hopes of the other, was at once to relieve all our burthens and redress every abuse. Of course the hopes and the fears of both sides were exaggerated.

We should have said, unreasonable. Hope and fear may alike lead to exaggerated representations, but we are not accustomed to speak of either as susceptible of exaggeration. It might have been as well to explain more distinctly the nature and grounds of those unreasonable anticipations and alarms. It is evident that

they might relate, first, to the composition of the new Parliament, the character of the members returned, or, secondly, to the conduct of the Parliament itself.

First, as to the apprehensions expressed by the more moderate and reasonable Conservatives:—for we do not now speak of the venal and factious alarmists, the Quarterly croaker and the diurnal retailers of Tory virulence. Those apprehensions must have been, so far as regarded the primary working of the Reform Bill, either that the aristocracy would not have its due influence in the house returned by the new constituency, or, that the popular influence would be too strong to be controlled by Government. It always appeared to us that, for any apprehensions on the first score, there was not the slightest ground. The Reform Bill, be it remembered, has made no alteration in the requisite qualification of candidates. The choice of the constituents is restricted by law to the same class of society as before. Moreover, the direct tendency of the Bill is, to raise the conventional standard of qualification; first, by the additional number of county members, who will always be, for the most part, individuals connected with, or supported by, the county aristocracy, and secondly, by rendering it less easy for individuals to obtain seats upon the strength of fictitious qualifications. It was also reasonable to suppose that the larger towns would select persons to represent them, of weight and standing, chosen either from the gentry or from what may be termed the commercial aristocracy. The result has justified this expectation. In point of wealth and substantial respectability, the English and Scottish members, at all events, form collectively a body fully equal, to say the least, to any former house. No fewer than 100 are sons of peers or immediate relatives of noble families. The county members are 250 in number, among whom are six members of the present administration. Of other leading persons officially connected with Government, five sit for newly created boroughs. The proportion of new men\* returned was not, in fact, much greater than in many new houses under the old system; and among the new members, there are few whom any fair principle of selection would exclude as ineligible. The accidents by which a frothy declaimer, a political empiric, or incendiary gets returned, occurred but too often under the old system. Upon the whole, any one might have satisfied himself from an inspection of the list of members returned, that the Reformed House would contain quite as large a proportion as any unreformed Parliament, of persons of birth, opulence, and moral respectability. Upon

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\* About one-half were not in the preceding parliament; but many of the new members had been in former parliaments, and a great number of the new members are sons of peers or of old members.

this point, the authors of the pamphlet bear only a just testimony to the character which was practically exhibited in the recent session.

‘ One of the threats of 1832 was, that a Reformed House would not consist of Gentlemen. Never was there a more unfortunate prophecy. If the exhibition of manly and generous feeling, if the determination to see fair play, the disapprobation of any unjust or unprovoked attack, the abhorrence of shuffling or disingenuous proceedings, the reliance on personal integrity, the marked attention shewn to those who preferred the general welfare of the country to the real or supposed interests of their constituents, and the contempt of those who ventured to profess themselves the mere mouth-pieces of the rapacity or prejudices of those who sent them,—if these are characteristics of Gentlemen, where shall we look for an assembly better deserving that title? Not, certainly, among the nominees of Peers, or the delegates from Corporations. They have sometimes displayed impatience, but it has been impatience of vanity or presumption. Some persons have incurred ridicule; but not those who in a homely manner, or in a provincial dialect, tendered sincerely the results of their inquiries or experience. Some have even been refused a hearing; but only those from whom nothing would have been heard but declamation, for the purposes of display or agitation. The fault found, and perhaps not unjustly found, with the House, has been its toleration and indulgence, a fault the least likely to increase.’ pp. 106, 7.

Again, as to the character of the members returned by the new constituency more especially; after remarking that the Committees of the last session exceeded, in number, in regularity of attendance, and in variety of subjects, those of any former session,—the Writers say:

‘ We expected much from the Members for the new constituencies in these Committees, but our hopes have been surpassed. They have shewn an attention and impartiality, with an amount of knowledge and business-like talent, such as is not usually found even in those who have enjoyed the benefit of long Parliamentary experience.’ It must, however, be admitted, that the merits of the Reformed House, in these respects, are less generally known than they ought to be. Though almost all the real business of the House is done in Committee, the absence of reporters leaves the public in ignorance of the persons and the labour by which it has been effected. And though the debates on the Factory Bill, and on the other practical questions in which the new Members principally distinguished themselves, were reported, yet, in compliance with the general indifference of readers to the details of such measures, their speeches were so briefly stated, as to give a most inadequate representation of their merits.’ pp. 105, 6.

But a more rational ground of apprehension was, that the new Parliament would be, not through any deficiency of personal respectability, intelligence, or patriotism in its members, but

through their independence of Treasury influence and proprietary control, unmanageable. This was the fear intimated by Duke Wellington's question; a fear which might seem warranted by the difficulties which his Grace had himself had to contend with in managing an unreformed Parliament. But for the forbearance and support of a Whig Opposition, the Duke would have been unable to carry his own measures of reform against the powerful interests opposed to him; and it was through a pettish dissatisfaction with this mortifying position, that he made the attempt to regain the confidence of the ultra Tories, and fell—as a minister never to rise again. Had he followed up the same enlightened course of policy, which led him to concede the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, he would have been, at once, the most powerful and the most popular minister England ever had. But Wellington has no heart; at least, not an English one; and he was acting against his nature in adopting those liberal and conciliatory measures which his judgement led him to regard as politic and inevitable.

We can readily believe, however, that the Duke was quite sincere in imagining that the Reform Bill would give such a preponderance to the democratic influence in Parliaments, that any future minister would find serious embarrassment in conducting the government. He was well aware, indeed, how much hampered and controlled an upright minister was, under the old system, by the oligarchy, whose venal support, added to the Government patronage, alone rendered him strong enough to command Parliamentary majorities. And it might be apprehended, to employ the words of the late Professor Park, who inclined to this opinion,—that, though the existing system did ‘sometimes, in return for the aid which it yielded the Government, subject that Government to the opinions, interests, or prejudices of the owners of boroughs upon particular subjects,’ yet, the proposed change would not ‘emancipate the Government from such subjection; but only transfer the exercise of it, in greatly increased power, to a portion of the community far less educated, and whose opinions may be as much mistaken, or as mischievous in their actual results, as those of the proprietors of boroughs.’ This opinion might, so long as the Reform Bill was under experiment, have been honestly maintained; but it appeared to us, as we stated at the time, a mistaken one\*. It was unreasonable, we contended, to argue, that the Government would not be emancipated from subjection, when the power by which it was subjected and fettered, should be deprived of its ascendancy; unreasonable to suppose that, when the dead weight should be removed, the springs of action would recover none of their elasticity. We

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\* *Reasons and Results of Reform*, Eclectic Rev. June, 1832, p. 480.

denied that the power exercised by the owners of boroughs would be *transferred* by the proposed change, to any other class, since the new constituency to be created, would give additional influence to each of the three distinct classes, the true balance of which it is so desirable to maintain. We mean, the landed interests, the municipal and monied interests, and those of manufacturing industry. And we added, that, without going so far as to allege, with Mr. Douglas, that we could 'lose little, either in regard to sense or to religion, by any change in the House of Commons,' we confidently anticipated, that one result of the reform would be, to bring into the house, better educated, better informed, and better principled men, than a large proportion of those whom the then existing abominable system had collected there.

Judging from the acts and deeds of the present Parliament, we feel warranted in affirming that such has already been to a considerable degree the actual result; although it was scarcely to be looked for, that the first returns from the new constituency, taken after all by surprise, and acting under such strong excitement of party feeling, should exhibit a marked improvement of character. In two or three instances, through the supineness, inexperience, or want of concert of those who formed the new constituency, individuals of very ineligible character were near slipping into Parliament, merely through the absence of a competitor; and a few have been actually returned under these circumstances. Many estimable individuals who were solicited to stand for the new boroughs, shrunk back from the arduous duties of a popular representative. On the other hand, the *soi-disant* Conservatives made it their boast and triumph, that the Reform Bill had not debarred them from exerting to the utmost their old tactics of bribery, corruption, and intimidation; and never were those more shamelessly employed. Happily, they overshot the mark, as the decision of the Election Committees with regard to Hertford, Warwick, Stafford, and other old boroughs, amply testify. The next election may be expected to exhibit less of all this; and as political excitement subsides, the good sense of the English people will lead them to prefer men of tried character to specious adventurers and upstart demagogues.

Yet, the Reformed Parliament does not, certainly, include more members of this description than found admittance by various ways under the old system; and in a reformed parliament, such persons are less noxious, inasmuch as their services are no longer marketable. But the number of those who may be without offence classed as Radicals, is sufficient to form, in conjunction with the other extreme faction, an opposition of considerable force. Now, when it was considered that, by the diminution of Treasury patronage, and the very principles of the Reform Government,

the Minister could no longer command the same force of automaton voters that were wont to be in attendance ready to obey the division-bell, there was room to suppose that occasions might arise on which Government would run the risk of being beaten. 'Our expectation', say the Authors of this pamphlet, 'was mixed with fear, that so large a body, no longer under the strict discipline of private interest and party feeling, might be wanting in that general confidence in the Executive, which is essential to steady government.' The result has singularly contradicted the prognostics of the Conservatives.

'Apprehensions far exceeding these', (continues the Writer,) 'were felt, or pretended to be felt, by the opponents of the Reform Bill. Night after night we were told, that a Reformed House would acknowledge no leaders; or, at least, no leaders on the ministerial benches; that it would use the services of the present, or any future Ministers, but only as its servants, only so far as they would implicitly follow the dictates of its fraud, or violence, or caprice. Has this been so? Is there any reproach which has been more profusely heaped on the present House, by its enemies, than that of subservience to Ministers? Has any former House shewn itself more conservative, not of the abuses, but of the blessings, of the Constitution? And if there is any portion of the House which less deserves this praise, if there is any portion which has been more inclined than the rest to sacrifice the substantial interests of the Country to popular clamour, or popular sympathy, has this portion belonged to the Independent, or to the Ministerial, or to the Tory part of the House? In spite of the opposition, sometimes separate, but more frequently combined, of Tories and Radicals, there never, so far as the House of Commons is concerned, has been a stronger Administration. It is true, that their strength has not been founded on the basis which formed the strength of their predecessors, so far as their predecessors were strong. It has not been derived from a body of mercenaries, blindly adherent while adherence seemed to their interest, and violently hostile as soon as hostility appeared profitable. The present Ministry are powerful; but it is the power of a Leader, not of a Master. It will last as long as they deserve it, and they ought to wish that it should last no longer.'

pp. 107, 8.

In fact, the ultra-Tory journals, which, some time ago, were predicting that Ministers would have no will of their own, but must obey the tyrannical dictates of the House, are now boldly insulting the House of Commons for its mean subserviency to ministers. The Quarterly Reviewer, whose ingenuity is matched only by his effrontery, can find no better reason for this than the fears of a dissolution! Ministers, they tell us, 'have lost the confidence of every party in the country.'

'And in the House of Commons itself, though it follows and supports them out of fear of a *dissolution*, they are the objects of hatred,



pity, or contempt. As long as the present House of Commons, as a body, believes that its own permanence depends upon that of the ministry—as long as individual members are not disturbed by the prospect of meeting their constituents—and as long as they can fancy they can postpone the day of reckoning—so long we think that the present administration may drag on a dishonoured existence. But the period of a dissolution must at last come round, and members must, however reluctant, begin to think of forfeited pledges and disappointed constituencies; and the cry of *wolf* against the Tories will every hour become more notoriously contemptible; and having already lost the populace, ministers will also lose the venal, time-serving, and profligate portion of the press; and then—where are they?’

*Quart. Review, July, 1833, p. 552.*

Precisely where they are now—that is, *without* the support of the ‘venal, time-serving, and profligate portion of the press,’ which is notoriously *against* ministers. The ‘leading journal,’ as it is styled, is ranked by the ultras among the supporters of the ministry; and upon occasion, it has, no doubt, done them the service of breaking the heads of their opponents. But no paper has vented more abuse upon the Administration, or has more strongly opposed many of their proceedings, than *The Times*. *The Morning Chronicle*, by far the ablest of all the daily morning papers, and the most respectable in character, supports the ministers to a certain extent, but cannot be regarded as a ministerial paper; nor would even this Reviewer apply the base epithets of venal and profligate to that journal. *The Globe*, a respectable and influential, but feebly conducted evening paper, is considered as the semi-official organ of Government. On the other hand, the *Morning Herald*, the *Courier*, the *Standard*, the Sunday press (with scarcely an exception\*), the radical newspapers of all descriptions, in short, the most venal and profligate portion of the press, is in alliance with the disappointed partizans and ousted placemen who write in the *Quarterly Review*, in furious hostility against Government.

It is admitted, that the ministers have lost the populace. It would indeed be strange, this being the case, that they should retain the support of that portion of the press which depends for its support upon pleasing and reflecting the humour and taste of the populace. But how comes it to pass that, deserted by the populace, ministers should be still supported by the House of Commons, which, only a few months before, this Reviewer had characterized as ‘an assembly acting under external impulses,—‘the worst form of democracy, and the most degrading image of ‘slavery’?† Only last April, this sapient Oracle expressed the

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\* *Bell's Weekly Messenger* inclines towards Ministers, but not uniformly.

† *Q. Rev.* April, p. 274.

conviction, that ‘no assembly constituted on the principles of ‘the Reform Bill,’—‘no large assembly of which the enormous ‘majority emanates *entirely and immediately* from the people,’—‘can ever do the business of a country.’ At that time, too, so little was the fear of a dissolution before the eyes of the supporters of ministers, so little did the House believe its own permanence to depend upon implicit obedience, that, according to this same great wit of short memory, on three occasions, ‘the Government ‘was brought to the very brink of dissolution’ by the large minorities arrayed against them under the banners of Mr. Hume, Mr. Attwood, and Mr. Robinson, and were saved only ‘by the ‘interposition of the Conservatives;’ without whose help, we are gravely assured, the ministerial party ‘would be incapable of ‘conducting the ordinary affairs of the state.’\* Were then the Conservatives afraid of a dissolution?

It is pleasant when mendacity is thus caught in self-contradiction. It is fact, that the Conservatives did support Ministers in several of their measures during the late session; but those were measures adopted either to conciliate the Conservatives, (as the choice of a Tory Speaker,) or (as the Irish Coercion Bill,) in accordance with their policy. Small magnanimity was there in this. It is notorious, on the other hand, that, on several occasions, they did not scruple to join their forces to the Radical opposition. At all events, the two statements, that Ministers are slavishly followed and supported by the House through fear of a dissolution, and, that they are so little supported as to be in constant danger of falling but for the interposition of the Conservatives, cannot both be true, although it is possible that two opposite statements may be alike destitute of truth.

The actual position of Ministers is thus described in the present pamphlet.

‘That there is a nearer approach to wisdom and honesty in the present Parliament than in any of its predecessors, we think is shewn by the events of the Session; but still it is only an approach; and highly as we estimate the merits of the Reformed House, we still must admit, that if it gave peculiar advantages to a public-spirited Ministry, it exposed such a Ministry to peculiar difficulties.

‘Previous administrations have usually had but one set of opponents; opponents united in their principles, and all actuated by common motives. The battles they had to fight, and the questions they had to debate, were circumscribed within limits, admitted by both sides.—It is the fortune of the present Government to be encountered by two hostile factions, the Tories and the Radicals, who appear to agree in no principle either of preservation or destruction, and have no object common to both, except that of endeavouring to persuade the people of the imbecility of the Ministers.

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\* Q. Rev. April, p. 274.

‘ The present Ministers are invested with the highest trust which it ever fell to the lot of men to execute. Their junction with either of the adverse parties must be fatal to the quiet of the country, and defeat, for a long period, all the good we have obtained or may expect.

‘ They must trust to the good sense of the great body of their fellow-citizens, to permit them gradually and steadily to repair the injuries which the country has sustained by a misgovernment of nearly fifty years, and claim a confidence for integrity for the future, by an impartial review of what has already passed.’ pp. 2, 3.

It is impossible to deny that the Ministers, on every question which tried the strength of parties, exhibited commanding majorities; but this strength, it is contended, was only apparent. The Quarterly Reviewer accuses Ministers of having yielded their judgement to their discretion. Speaking of the alterations made in the Irish Coercion Bill by the Commons, the Writer says: ‘ We are satisfied that the Cabinet acted to the best of its judgement, with a great reluctance to go one step beyond what the case required.’ This is a remarkable testimony from such a quarter. But still more remarkable is the following *justification* of the House of Commons, which so all accords with the language already cited from this same Oracle.

‘ We acquit the *men*, but we tremble for the interests of the country under a *system* which necessitates such vacillation and inconsistency in a Government *apparently* so strong as to have carried the *second* reading of this very bill by so enormous a majority as 863 to 84. Neither do we presume to feel—and still less to express—any personal objections to the individuals who constitute the new parliament. . . . We are willing to believe that our new representatives are as upright and conscientious men as any of their predecessors;—there seems to be hardly one who might not have been returned under the old system;—and we are convinced that, individually, their talents are respectable, and their intentions patriotic and honourable. It is the position in which they are placed, that makes them dangerous; and the peril arises—as we have already said, still more charitably, of the ministers—not from the character of the persons, but from the inevitable operation of the system. Like some of their predecessors in the Long Parliament,

“ They do not strike to hurt, but make a noise.”

If they wish to continue to sit in Parliament, they must act, not according to their own judgement, but in such a way as may conciliate their constituents. . . . Nor do we impugn the good sense of the new constituency of England, nor undervalue it, except on considerations drawn from the imperfections of our state and nature. Large masses of men cannot be well informed on the intricate details of politics and statistics; and even those that are less imperfectly informed, are liable to seductions, excitements, and errors, which are often epidemic, and

which, in such a system as the present, would be beyond remedy or control.' *Quart. Rev. April, 1833.* pp. 280, 1.

What can be more smooth, and candid, and specious, than this *charitable* construction of the intentions of the Cabinet and the Parliament, and this compliment to the new constituency? If they go astray, it would seem that

'The stars are more in fault than they.'

In other words, the system. Now what is this pernicious system which renders it absolutely impracticable for a well-intentioned ministry, supported by 'enormous majorities,' composed of 'upright, conscientious, patriotic' men, returned by constituents of 'good sense,' to conduct the Government of this country? We beg our readers to mark:—this pernicious system resolves itself into neither more nor less than the necessity under which the freely-chosen representatives now find themselves, of consulting the views and interests of their constituents!

'If' says the Reviewer, 'a man of the greatest acquirements should arise, if another Burke should represent Bristol, and another Windham, Norwich, they would not be the free and unshackled Windham and Burke of other days. Burke could not have dared to offend the constituency of Bristol, or Windham that of Norwich, if they had not had Wendover and St. Mawes in reserve, in which, or other nomination seats, they afterwards performed the most transcendent services to their country at large, and even to the very places which had discarded them.'

Windham, by turning apologist for the Slave-trade, after advocating for ten years, its abolition; and Burke, by turning traitor to every principle of his better days! The expediency of keeping up nomination boroughs as the asylums of political deserters, strikes us as extremely questionable. Yet, if this same Reviewer may be believed, the Reform Bill has not extinguished Whig nomination. 'The line drawn by the Whigs,' he says, 'has given them more than a *double* share of what once were, and still appear to be, *nomination* boroughs.' This is not true; but, passing the misrepresentation, we may remark, that, according to the Reviewer's own shewing, the system still reserves places of refuge for the Burkes and Windhams of the Whig party. Nor are the Tories stripped of all their resources. His Grace of Newcastle, or Lord Lowther, could have found a seat for Sir Charles Wetherell or the great Mr. Sadler, if it had been deemed expedient.

But this apology for the new system will, to most of our readers, appear more like an exposure of its defects. We proceed to shew that the Reviewer is altogether wrong in a more essential point. The article in question was written in April: this cir-

cumstance saves his veracity, but not his credit for penetration or foresight. His position was, that the new representatives must act, not according to their judgement, but so as to conciliate their constituents. In July, he changes his tone, and asserts, that, *not* having done so, they are afraid of meeting their constituents; hence, they follow ministers through thick and thin, not to conciliate their constituents, but 'out of fear of a dissolution.' This assembly, which was to have no will of its own,—which was to obey every external impulse,—exhibiting 'the worst form of democracy, and the most degrading image of slavery,' is now represented as all obsequious to the ministry, and so regardless of the popular voice, that its members think with dread of 'forfeited pledges and disappointed constituencies.' What a wicked House of Commons!

As we said before, two opposite representations cannot be true, but both may be alike dishonest; and we shall prove them to be so. From the conduct of an immense majority of the House in passing that most unpopular bill, the Irish Coercion Bill, as well as from the weakness betrayed by the Radical party, it was manifest in the early part of the session, that the new system had not prostrated the legislature at the feet of the democracy, or converted the parliament into a mere assembly of pledged and fettered delegates. Confidence in the present Administration, the Reformed House has certainly exhibited, to a degree almost unexampled: no other feeling could have led its members to acquiesce in the withdrawal of the most popular clause of the Irish Temporalities Bill, which was, assuredly, not acting in a way adapted to conciliate the new constituency. Other instances might be adduced, in which the House may be thought to have carried their confidence in Ministers to the utmost; for instance, in consenting to the sudden transformation of the proposed West India loan into a gratuity of twenty millions. Yet, if this pliancy was dictated by the base and sordid calculations to which it is ascribed by this Tory libeller, it is passing strange, that, twice, Ministers should have been actually placed in a minority, and that more than once, according to this same authority, they should have been rescued from defeat by the Conservatives. It may be remarked, that the most strenuous and decided opposition which the Minister had to encounter in the House of Commons, subsequently to the passing of the bills relating to Ireland, was in the debate on the Bank Charter; a question in which the *populace* took no interest, and in which the members were, for the most part, left at perfect liberty, by the new constituency, to follow their own judgement.

But the charge of pliancy has been brought against the Cabinet, as well as against the House. Ministers, it is remarked in the pamphlet of their advocates,

‘ have been reproached for want of firmness and decision ; for having been too ready to modify, or even abandon their own views ; in fact, for having been too ready to be guided by public opinion. It certainly is conceivable that an administration might deserve such a reproach, but it must be admitted to be rather an unusual one. The ordinary fault of Governors is just the reverse. Conceit, indifference to the advice of others, and presumptuous confidence in one’s own knowledge and sagacity, are the usual concomitants of power. They have belonged even to the weakest administrations, and are the besetting sins of a strong one. That the present is a strong administration, no one can doubt who looks at its overwhelming majorities : if it have been too humble in the exercise of its strength, if it have paid an undue degree of attention to the suggestions of friends or even of enemies, it has been guilty of an error which may be easily pardoned, since experience shews that it is one not likely to be repeated. But we do not believe that any such error has been committed. We believe that such a reproach can be made only by those who do not understand the times in which they live, and who apply to the present constitution the traditions of one that has ceased to exist. When the House of Commons consisted of partisans, when every speech and vote was part of a system, when measures were introduced, not because they were useful, but because they were plausible, and opposed, not because they were likely to do harm to the country, but lest they should do good to their proposers,—it might be the duty of a Government living in such an atmosphere of selfishness and insincerity, to form its plans in silence, and to carry them through with obstinacy, well knowing that what was good would be most likely to be attacked, and that whatever was proposed as an amendment was probably designed to be mischievous.

‘ To get rid of this wretched system was the great object of the Reform Bill : and it *has* been got rid of. A majority of the Members of the House of Commons are partisans, not of the Ministry or of the Opposition, but of good government.—And ought their warnings to be disregarded ? Ought the voice of those who speak in the name of the whole people to have no more weight than if they were a body of mere nominees ? Or laying aside what ought to be done, can this be done ? Who can doubt that it cannot ? Who can doubt that the willingness with which the present administration has listened to suggestions, the earnestness with which it has sought, in every quarter, and by every means, for information, the frankness with which it has not only allowed but forwarded every inquiry, must be imitated, and it cannot well be surpassed, by all who succeed them in the high office of presiding over the deliberations of a Reformed House of Commons ? ’

pp. 102—104.

A very singular comment upon this paragraph has appeared in the Ministerial organ, the *Globe* ; imputing to the noble Leader in the House of Commons, ‘ concessions which would be conclusively condemned by an application of the assertions here employed to justify them.’

‘ For if it be true ’, it is remarked, ‘ that “ a majority of the Mem-



bers of the House of Commons are partisans, not of the ministry or of the opposition, but of good government," is it justifiable in a leader of the House, after the opinion of a majority has been deliberately pronounced in favour of a measure, to alter it in some most material part, at the suggestion of some fraction of the minority, without even consulting those by whose honest approval he had been supported, and without even professing to be satisfied by the reasoning to which he yields? . . . . . The practice, on the part of a minister, of yielding without a reason, and without the grace of necessity—of adopting alterations in measures against his own opinion, as well as against that of the majority of the House—must necessarily be injurious to any well considered plan.' *Globe*, Sept. 7.

The particular instance complained of is, the alteration of the legal tender clause in the Bank Charter Bill. We do not stop to inquire how far the conduct of Lord Althorp, on that occasion justified this severe attack. We have cited it in proof that the concessions of Ministers were not made to their own partisans, to parliamentary majorities, or, much less, to popular clamour. Now that Government were able to obtain the acquiescence of the House in such doings, affords the most satisfactory demonstration of the futility of the apprehension, that, with a parliament such as would be returned by the Reform Bill, no Ministry would be able to conduct the King's Government.

'The complaint that all parties make of the New House of Commons is, that it does no business, but wastes the time and exhausts the patience of the public by personal squabbles, irrelevant questions, and fruitless discussions. . . . . No assembly constituted on the principles of the Reform Bill, can ever do the business of a country.' So we read in the *Quarterly Review* for April. Now it is quite true, that, at the beginning of the Session, much time was occupied by preliminary skirmishing between different parties, and by the vexatiously protracted debate on the Irish Coercion Bill. It has, however, been ascertained on calculation, that the old members were, after all, the greatest talkers\*; and among those who hindered business will be found not a few of the Conservative party, whose offences it is not very reasonable to charge upon the new House. But the length of the Session, and the laborious diligence with which business was got through in the latter part, made amends for the time lost in the beginning. The House is computed to have sat, upon an average, nine hours each day, during a session of 142

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\* According to a calculation inserted in 'The Spectator', of 1766 speeches, 320 were made by 41 new members, (Cobbett speaking 65 times,) leaving 1456 for the old members. Of 1057 columns in 'The Mirror of Parliament', 185 are occupied by the new members, and 872 by the old.

days; making altogether 1270 hours; while even the last Parliament, under the excitement of the Reform Question, did not sit, in what is termed their long session, above 918 hours. Eighteen committees sat, on the average, seventeen days each, besides election committees. We take the following brief sketch of the labours of the Session from *The Patriot* newspaper.

Parliament was opened on the 29th of January, when a perplexed and tedious debate took place on the appointment of a Speaker, which indicated the quantity of loquacity that had to expend itself in the ensuing discussions. The Radicals brought forward as a candidate, *against* Ministers, the present Secretary for Ireland; and, exasperated at the defeat, they at once opened a guerilla warfare against them. The Irish Coercion Bill, with debates arising out of the presentation of petitions, occupied the whole of February and March. On March the 29th, the royal assent was given by commission to the first Bills passed by the Reformed Parliament. On the 4th of April, the two Houses adjourned for the holidays, during which, the speedy downfall of the Grey Ministry was confidently predicted by the Radical and Tory prints. On the re-assembling of Parliament on the 16th, Ministers were found at their posts; and the budget was opened. The result put their popularity to a severe test. Attacks on the budget from opposite quarters, debates and divisions on the Malt Tax, the Assessed Taxes, the Currency, and the Ballot, kept Parliament and the newspapers alive for the ensuing fortnight. Then came the Irish Church Reform Bill; and on the 14th of May, Mr. Secretary Stanley brought forward his plan for the extinction of Colonial Slavery. In the first week of June, the Miguelite Peers and Bishops got up their little political interlude, which certainly tended to strengthen the hands of Ministers, by placing their opponents in a light equally odious and contemptible. Their concession to the Conservatives, in withdrawing the clause from the Irish Church Reform Bill relative to the appropriation of the surplus, was, however, a *tack* that looked like running away from their right course. The Bank Charter Bill was brought before the House on the 28th of June; the East India Bill in the beginning of July. Public attention was now, however, chiefly fixed on the proceedings of the Upper House, where a fresh storm was thought to be brewing. But it blew over. The second reading of the Irish Church Temporalities Bill took place, after a debate of three days, on the 19th, and the third reading on the 30th. This was the last struggle of party. August was come, and both Houses began to set about the despatch of business in right earnest. The Bank Charter Bill received not more discussion than the momentous and intricate nature of the subject demanded. It was read a third time in the Commons on the 19th. The Slavery Abolition Bill passed the Commons on the 8th of August, the Lords on the 20th. The East India Bill, in which nobody but the India Proprietors took any adequate interest, was passed by the Lords on the 16th. On the 24th, the House of Commons adjourned, and the labours of the session were closed on the 29th. Such is a brief history of the eventful parliament-

any campaign. If all has not been achieved that was looked for by more sanguine calculators than ourselves, still, we may be allowed to express our satisfaction that every sinister prognostic of the Tories as to the *impracticability* of a Reformed Parliament, has been at least falsified. Lord Grey has not truckled to the Great Agitator, and yet Ireland is quiet. The Radicals have not been propitiated, and yet England is tranquil, and trade is reviving. A beginning has been made in Church Reform, which the clergy are themselves determined to precipitate. Some business at least has been done, in settling the Bank Charter question, and in abolishing the East India monopoly. The Slavery Abolition Bill, though not by any means a satisfactory measure, is a greater advance towards the abolition of Slavery, than any unreformed House of Commons could have been expected to make in as many years as the present House has lasted months. Above all, new principles have been formally promulgated by the British Legislature, which require only to be followed up with decision and prudence, in order to realise every other desirable reform throughout the complete system of our domestic policy and administration.

This sketch affords but a very imperfect view of the immense quantity of business actually transacted during the late Session. No fewer than 63 bills received the Royal assent in the last two days. The subjects which principally occupied the attention of the Ministers and Parliament are arranged, in the ministerial pamphlet, under the following heads:—Ireland. Slavery. Finance. Bank Charter. East India Charter. Trade. Law Corporations. Scotland. Poor Laws. Foreign Policy. These heads will recall the multifarious and complicated concerns which pressed for attention. It is not our intention, in the present article, to advert to any of these topics, as each would furnish ample matter for a distinct discussion. We cannot forbear to remark, that, in the above enumeration, one subject is passed over, which was specially recommended to the attention of Parliament in the King's Speech—Church Reform. But of this hereafter.

Are we then, some of our readers may be disposed to ask, perfectly satisfied with the Reform Ministry and the Reformed Parliament? So far as regards the working of the Reform Bill, we think there is reason for entire satisfaction. The House of Commons has shewn itself fully entitled, we think, to the confidence of the country. And as to the Ministry, it is panegyric enough to record, that, in a single session, they have sealed the death-warrant of Negro Slavery,—thrown open India to European enterprise,—destroyed the odious monopoly of the China Trade,—consolidated the whole commercial laws of the empire,—placed on a secure basis its monetary concerns,—mitigated the severity of the Criminal Code,—and quieted Ireland.

But we are not the undistinguishing panegyrists of either the Ministry or the Parliament; and we feel disposed to concede to the authors of the pamphlet, that though, in the latter, there is a

nearer approach to wisdom and honesty, than in any of its predecessors, it is only an approximation. While the House has shewed itself not at all deficient in those virtues of diligence, aptitude for business, tractableness, confidence in Ministers, and independence of popular clamour, which were precisely the attributes that it was predicted such a Parliament would not and could not exhibit,—we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that it has been obviously wanting in some other qualifications.

In commanding talent, in distinguished ability of that kind which is looked for in political leaders, or in the high qualities of statesmanship and legislative science, the present and the late House must be regarded as wofully deficient. The Quarterly Reviewer complains, that, with the nomination boroughs, the Reform Bill has destroyed the predominant and salutary influence of *Party in Parliament*. A party cannot, it is said, be kept together without the power of Nomination; and without ‘that honourable and powerful bond which held men together either ‘in office or in opposition,’ ‘a government with so much democracy ‘in it as ours has, must soon become an anarchy’. Although we do not think this, we are not prepared to deny the utility of the bond of party, when based upon principle, and not upon a venal servitude to this or that powerful family, in which case party is debased into faction, and the bond is a political livery. We admit, however, that it would be attended with prejudicial consequences, were every member to be not merely ‘directly responsible to his constituency’, but their creature, absolutely dependent upon them,—‘not belonging to himself, nor even to a party, but to a mob of electors,’—an isolated, pledge-bound delegate! This, however, is a fancy portrait, worthy of Cruickshank, or H. B. There is no reasoning against caricatures;—but, in our opinion, the extinction of the *salutary* influence of party is more likely to be brought about by a cause very different from the Reform Bill; we refer to the want of efficient leaders,—to the lamentable state of the political staff. Great men create great parties: little men can be but the pivots of factions. Such men as Pitt, and Fox, and Grattan, and Canning, could not fail, under any circumstances, to acquire a moral sway over the legislature, and to draw around them a phalanx of political allies and supporters. They were the standard-bearers of the principles identified with their respective parties. Where shall we now look for leaders of this calibre? The talents of Sir Robert Peel as a Parliamentary orator are of a high order. Mr. Secretary Stanley is perhaps the ablest debater of the day. The President of the Board of Control, has, upon occasion, shewn great powers, which are too often dormant. Mr. Macaulay is brilliantly clever. We could name several other highly gifted persons on both sides of the House. But where shall we look for master minds, for spirits born to rule

by intellectual energy, for men to whom the country would turn in the hour of difficulty as to the pilot in the storm? 'Cease ye from men', is a scriptural admonition, which seems enforced, at the present time, by the state of the political world. We speak, indeed, chiefly of the House of Commons. Earl Grey and the Duke of Wellington stand each at the head of a great party. Lord Brougham would have been the greatest man in the nation, had he not been Lord Chancellor. Lord Lyndhurst, like O'Connell, has talent enough for greatness, but greatness includes other elements.

It cannot be denied that the present Ministers are indebted for their continuance in office, very greatly to the impossibility of constructing a cabinet of the sorry materials which the Tory faction could supply. There is some truth in the representation, that the House of Commons has supported them, in some degree, out of fear,—not of a dissolution of parliament, but of a resignation, which would either have thrown the country into confusion, or, fearful alternative, have brought back the Tories. The Quarterly Reviewer goes so far as to say, that the present Ministry have no option in the business; 'they could not, even if they were indifferent to the pay and patronage of office, venture to resign; for we do them the favour to believe that they do not desire to throw us into anarchy; and we candidly, though reluctantly, and with deep sorrow confess, that we do not see how any other Government can be *formed*, or *maintained*, in our present circumstances.' Of course this is laid on the Reform Bill. The truth is, that no other party possess, or deserve to possess, the confidence of the country. The Duke and Sir Robert have irretrievably forfeited the allegiance of their own partisans; and an ultra-Tory cabinet would produce a revolution.

In an assembly like the House of Commons, a large majority, supposing each individual of that majority anxious to do right, must of necessity be guided, to a great extent, by the experience, sagacity, and better information of a few leading individuals. In a House containing so large a proportion of new members, this implicit, yet not servile or venal deference, must have had peculiar influence. To this circumstance, again, the Ministry, from their popularity with the country at large, were indebted, we are disposed to think, for the numerical largeness of some of their majorities. The opposition was often raised so palpably by mere faction, or led on by unfledged legislators and 'prentice politicians, that there was no alternative but to repose confidence in the integrity and better information of Ministers. Could either Mr. Attwood, Mr. Robinson, or even Mr. Hume have been able, by outvoting ministers, to displace the Government, they had, as the Quarterly Reviewer justly remarks, 'no party at their back which could have undertaken to give effect to the

‘victorious proposition; and the country would have been in the ‘unprecedented state of having a certain line of conduct adopted ‘by a legislature which did not afford either head or hands able ‘to carry it into practical execution;—which is anarchy!’ We need not say, that we rejoice in the strength of Ministers; but we should be better satisfied if it did not arise, in so great a degree, from the imbecility of their opponents.

We do not think the House of Commons the most suitable place in the world for the mooting or discussion of abstract principles. Nevertheless we must confess, that the infusion of a little more sound philosophy, solid erudition, political science, and religious knowledge, would tend very materially to improve the constitution of the reformed parliament. Not that we deem less favourably of its average character in these respects, than of that of its predecessors. Yet, we must confess that the treatment of the Sabbath Observance Bills brought in by Sir Andrew Agnew and Mr. Peter, reflected little credit on the good sense and information of the members generally, to say nothing of the apparent deficiency of piety. It appeared as if all the information respecting the object and contents of those Bills, as well as of the subject itself, possessed by the hostile majority, was derived from *The Times*; and it was grievous that no one prepared to set the House right upon the law and the facts, was to be found among the English members. In the debate on the Slavery Abolition Bill, a similar want of information betrayed itself, of which Mr. Stanley knew well how to avail himself; and except O’Connell, and we ought perhaps to add Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Buxton and Lord Howick appeared to be almost the only two individuals thoroughly acquainted with the subject in all its bearings. The movements of parties, under such circumstances, must be regulated very much by the fudge-man.

Upon questions of ecclesiastical polity, it is less surprising that an unhappy deficiency of adequate information, historical, polemical, and statistical, should prevail in such an assembly. In this respect, it faithfully represents the ignorance of the squirarchy and gentry on such points. No one could wish to see the House converted into an arena of theological debate; and yet, a British legislature would not be degraded by including members competent to defend the truths of Christianity from flippant attack, or to maintain with clearness and force the principles of Protestantism. The principle of ecclesiastical establishments must before long be brought under debate. Where are the men to conduct so delicate and intricate a discussion with the requisite comprehension of mind, sound judgement, and good temper? Shall we look to Mr. Hume, Mr. Faithful, and Mr. Cobbett on the one side, or to Sir Robert Inglis, Sir R. Vyvyan, or Mr. Lefroy on the other? The Dissenters are under great obligations to Mr.



Wilks for his individual and almost solitary exertions in obtaining the redress of their grievances. But ought the millions of orthodox Dissenters in this kingdom to be content with the fortunate accident of having one able representative in Parliament?

The subject of national education is another most important topic, upon which neither the views nor the interests of the orthodox Dissenters stand any chance, at present, of being adequately expounded and defended in Parliament. How can Dissenters expect to exercise any influence upon the national councils and institutions, but through their representatives? Do they dream of obtaining the recognition of their rights, or promoting the advance of their principles, by petitions, or resolutions, or conferences with the Premier? These things are all very well in their place; and some definite redress may be obtained by a push of this kind. But such are not the means by which permanent consideration and influence are to be maintained. The present Government have proved themselves, as the *Globe* tells the Dissenters in a hushaby paragraph\*, 'their most steady and devoted friends, when to espouse the cause of religious liberty was the surest method a man could take to shut himself out of political power.' We admit this; and honour be to those members of the present Government—it does not apply to *all*—who fought the battles, not of Dissent, but of civil and religious freedom. Yet, should we wrong the Reform Government, by expressing the suspicion, that, for orthodox Dissenters, as a body, they incline to entertain a not uncourteous, but very aristocratical feeling of contempt? And truly, if Dissenters can shew no better front in Parliament, they must submit to the sort of feeling which is naturally excited by the display of either political weakness or a supineness bordering on imbecility. Their exclusion from the House of Commons under the old system, was no indication of their relative strength, and involved no dishonour. But their self-exclusion from a *bonâ fide* national representation will inevitably produce, in the minds of both our legislators and the Government, the impression that they are entitled to small consideration.

We may be told, perhaps, that there *are* Dissenters in Parlia-

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\* 'We have been sorry', says the Ministerial organ, 'to perceive at some late meetings of Dissenters', (*where?*) 'and in one of their monthly publications', (*which?*) 'a disposition to question the desire of His Majesty's Government to afford to their body every assistance in their power consistent with the security of the established institutions of their country. The cordial assistance given to the proposers of a Bill exempting their chapels from poors' rates, ought to go far to remove this impression.' This paragraph seems to us much more adapted to waken distrust, than to remove it.

ment; not merely the member for Boston, and the Quaker member, but Mr. D. W. Harvey, Mr. Faithful, Mr. Gillon, and a knot of anti-Churchmen, who have given notice of motions for abolishing church-rates, and expelling the bishops, and reforming the Church\*. But we of course must be understood as speaking of that portion of the Protestant Dissenters of England which those gentlemen do not, either politically or religiously, accurately represent.

But we are touching upon delicate ground, and therefore check ourselves. The subject of national education will demand from us a more full discussion hereafter. We shall close the present observations with the citation of a few admonitory paragraphs from the second pamphlet noticed at the head of this Article, which we shall submit to the consideration of our readers, without comment. The whole pamphlet deserves perusal, as supplying hints for serious reflections to *all* parties.

‘The government of any nation must necessarily partake of the character, particularly of the religious character, of that nation. We do not expect to find a Christian Government in a Heathen country, nor a Heathen Government in a Christian country—a Roman Catholic Government in a Protestant country, nor a Protestant Government in a Roman Catholic country. This is more obviously true as it respects free countries, in which the governing power is constituted by a direct representation of the principles and feelings of the people: for, as all classes naturally desire, for their own interest, to obtain as great a share in the making and executing of laws as possible, each class will, in exact proportion to its influence in society, obtain its share of representation in the legislative and executive departments of government. If the people be Protestant, the Government will be so also; if the people be Roman Catholic, such will be the Government; if the people be of both denominations, so also will the Government; if there be infidelity and atheism among the people, infidelity and atheism will certainly find their way to the seats of authority. This is a mere statement of fact, not the assertion of a right. It is the duty of every Government, as it is of every people, to be, in the highest sense of the word, Christian: still, it is fact, that, in a free country, if the people be not Christian, so neither will the Government. We might as reasonably expect, by letting down a bucket into the sea, to bring up milk, as to find a religious Government emanating from an irreligious people. Precisely as is the people, so will the governors be. To say, therefore, that the legislature now is more favourable to Roman Catholics than it formerly was, is merely to say, that Roman Catholics

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\* The Record has taken the liberty of designating Mr. Gillon, ‘the leader of the Radical Dissenting Interest.’ The same veracious Journal says: ‘We understand the Socinians and Arians in the House amount to about thirty!’ How many of these are Churchmen, is not stated. Some of them, perhaps, acquired their theological knowledge at Lincoln’s Inn Chapel.

have now more influence in society than they formerly had. To say, that there is atheism and infidelity among the rulers, is to say, that such principles have been gaining ground among the people.

‘ Sometimes attempts are made, by artificial means, to counteract this irresistible tendency existing in the different sections into which any community may be divided, to obtain influence in the government of the community proportioned to their influence in the community itself;—as when one section, in an hour of victory and of insolence, seeks to secure to itself in perpetuity, by legislative enactment, the exclusive right of governing the whole. But such attempts are always pregnant with mischief. Their success can be but temporary; and even this temporary success is obtained at the expense of the corruption of the dominant party, and the oppression of the rest. The irresistible tendency of every party in the community to obtain its proper relative position, is like water seeking its level. When one part is artificially depressed, and another elevated, there is a perpetual pressure against the force by which the natural equilibrium is destroyed, which sooner or later must overcome it.

‘ The history of the world furnishes abundant examples of the operation of this principle. On the introduction of Christianity, no result probably was further from the minds of its first promulgators, than obtaining any share in the government of the Roman empire. The very utmost that they aspired to was toleration, or even permission to live in peace without any law for their security. Yet, when the Christian body attained to sufficient strength and influence in the empire, it, as a natural consequence, seated itself on the throne of power. Such, precisely, was the effect of the Reformation. In every country in which the great mass of the people embraced the reformation, the reformers obtained possession of the government; no enactments, however strong, could secure to the members of the Church of Rome that authority which they conceived of right to belong to them.

‘ But the history of Britain, and especially of Ireland, has been peculiarly prolific in such examples. When the Reformation first began to gain ground in Britain, the then dominant Church of Rome, which had interwoven itself with the civil institutions of the country, attempted to protect herself and the constitution, then essentially Roman Catholic, by the most violent means. But this violence only tended to strengthen the Protestant interest, till Protestants found themselves in a situation to make head against their oppressors, and to assert their civil and religious liberties. A conflict ensued, and they succeeded in overturning the exclusively Roman Catholic constitution; but, not content with obtaining their just share in the government of the country, nothing (as indeed was natural) would satisfy them, short of taking the very position from which the Church of Rome had been driven, and establishing an exclusively Protestant constitution. For a time, the members of the Church of Rome made no attempt to resist the now dominant party. They were in the same condition with respect to the body of the nation, as that in which the reformers had been at the dawn of the Reformation. In Ireland, they had been deprived of property, driven to mountains and morasses, and pursued by those vindictive and most oppressive enactments called the penal code,

which placed the great mass of the nation in the situation (so hurtful to both parties) of a race of Helots. But persecution, as before, only tended to strengthen the persecuted party. The whole country languished under its baleful influence, and the legislature found that a relaxation was absolutely necessary to raise the kingdom from the degradation and misery into which it had been plunged. Every new relief that was granted, gave a new impulse to the energies of the nation. It advanced rapidly in population, wealth, and intelligence. Roman Catholics, of course, shared in this general advancement; nay, they having been chiefly the victims of the unequal system, their advancement was the more conspicuous.

‘The consequence has been, that the relative influence of Roman Catholics in the community has been rapidly increasing. Not that the Church of Rome, in Ireland, is becoming stronger *as a Church*; but merely that *members* of that Church, becoming more numerous, more intelligent, and more wealthy, are acquiring more weight and influence.’—pp. 3—7.

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‘We proceed further to observe, that, whatever is the character of any government, such also must be the character of every institution emanating from government, and supported by the public funds. If the government be Roman Catholic, such will be all government institutions; if the government be exclusively Protestant, its institutions will follow the general rule, and be exclusively Protestant also; if the government be of a mixed character, a similar mixture will be found in every thing that flows from it. The magistracy, the judges, the grand juries, the police, the army, the navy, must all partake of the character of that legislative Body from which they emanate. And so it must be with regard to every system of education originating with the government, or supported by government funds. To expect that a mixed body, such as the British legislature, should establish a system of education, either exclusively Roman Catholic, or exclusively Protestant, is altogether as chimerical, as to expect that a mixed people should choose their legislative body exclusively of one party. The reason of this is obvious; for every party, religious or irreligious, in the legislature, will endeavour to imbue all institutions over which the legislature has authority, with its own principles; and every member having power, to the extent of his own vote and his means of influencing the votes of others, the result, in a mixed legislature, must necessarily be mixed institutions.’ pp. 12, 13.

‘Are Protestants then, it is asked, tamely to stand by and see their institutions gradually broken down, or losing their Protestant character? By no means. They are bound to defend, to the utmost of their power, those institutions which are calculated to uphold and disseminate their principles. But how is this defence to be conducted? Not surely by opposing the legislature, because it bears the impress of the people from whom it emanates; or by opposing Government institutions, because they participate in the character of the legislature that gives them birth. To contend against these laws, is to contend against the abstract principles of right and justice, and against the

arrangements of Divine providence. In defending their institutions, Protestants must proceed in subserviency to these universal, unalterable laws. The only possible method of influencing Government institutions is, to influence the character of Government itself; and the only possible method of influencing the character of Government is, to influence the character of the people. It is among the people, then, that the defence is to be conducted. If Protestants would have all Government institutions to retain a Protestant character, they must seek to maintain and advance Protestant influence in society. They must endeavour to extend the influence of Protestant feeling, by commending their principles to the adoption of their opponents,—to persuade them, if possible, to become Protestants; or, if this may not be, to convince them of the superiority of institutions conducted upon Protestant principles. If they fail in thus persuading the people, it is utterly in vain to contend with the Government. And it is well that Protestants should have before their eyes fully and distinctly this truth, that just in proportion to the advancement of Roman Catholics in influence,—that is, in numbers, in property, and intelligence, Protestant institutions are brought into danger. Should the country ever become generally opposed to Protestantism, no legislative enactments, no guards or fences of the present constitution, will preserve Protestant institutions from change or from destruction.’ pp. 17.

‘ A conscientious Protestant, by entering parliament, must lay his account with admitting a large share of what he necessarily regards as sinister and unscriptural influence into deliberations on the most solemn and important subjects. For the duty of parliament passes far beyond the bounds of mere civil arrangements. It takes direct cognizance of spiritual subjects—of the support of the ministers of religion—of the principles to be held and inculcated by them—of the religious instruction of youth, and other topics of a similar nature. It is vain to say that parliament has not the *right*, and *ought* not to have the power to do this. The supreme legislative body can not but have the power, and cannot but have a *legal* right to exercise the power; and this right is recognized, at least, by every one who consents to sit in parliament. A conscientious Protestant, therefore, who enters parliament, does so with the previous knowledge that he is to sit down at the same council-table with Roman Catholics; with Protestants whose sentiments are as much opposed to his as those of Roman Catholics; nay, perhaps, with sceptics or atheists; and he must concede to all of these the full weight, in such deliberations, of their talents and their votes. It is true he may protest against measures which he disapproves of; still, by sitting in Parliament, he accedes to the compact of conceding to every member, whatever may be his principles, the full weight of his influence in such questions as have been alluded to.’ pp. 28—29.

‘ Is it then the duty of every conscientious man to decline taking part in the administration of Government, or of Government institutions? The immediate effect of the general adoption of the affirmative of this question, would be to leave the whole affairs of State, and of national institutions, in the hands of unprincipled men; under whose direction, an influence hostile to religion would be made continually



to emanate from the sources of law and authority, over the face of the country. This consequence is so obvious, and so frightful, that, by common consent, persons of the most strict and unbending religious principles adopt the negative side of the question, and determine it to be their duty to take share in the administration of Government, and of Government institutions, as they have opportunity; and we see Protestants of the most scrupulous religious character consenting to sit round the same table, not only with Roman Catholics, but with infidels, with men of immoral lives—deliberating along with them, not merely on matters of civil government and finance, but on most important questions of religion and morals.’ pp. 29, 30.

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Art. III. *Report of the Proceedings of a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China, in the Ship Lord Amherst.* Extracted from Papers printed by Order of the House of Commons relating to the Trade with China. 8vo. pp. 296. Price 8s. London, 1833.

HE would be thought a very bold, if not very unwise person, who should hazard the prediction in the old English form of a wager, that, in twenty years from this time, all the ports of China would be open to English traders; that steam-boats would be plying on the Hoang Ho and the Yangtse Kiang; that English travellers should have ascended the great rivers to the table-land of Tibet; that British and American Missionaries should be preaching undisturbed in the streets of Peking and Nanking, Shang-hae, and Singanfoo; that an ambassador from the Celestial Empire should have visited Calcutta or London; and that British influence should be as dominant in the Chinese capital, as Russian influence at this time in Constantinople. To expect all this would be thought wildly extravagant. Or, if now its bare possibility should be admitted, it is but a few years since it would have been deemed not less impossible than that the British Government should send an expedition to take possession of the Celestial empire, by making prisoner the Mantchoo despot, and restoring a legitimate Chinese dynasty, and should succeed in the enterprise. Yet, how long is it since a few British merchants humbly solicited permission of the Great Mogul to establish factories at Surat and Cambay? Little more than two centuries. A hundred and fifty years after, the battle of Plassy made the English masters of Bengal; and in sixty years the British supremacy was established throughout India. When all the circumstances of this mighty revolution are considered, the small beginnings of our power, the limited resources of the Company, the formidable difficulties and determined hostility encountered,—the rapidity of the conquest is as surprising and unparalleled as its extent. Compared with the conquest of India, that of China, with our Indian resources, would be an easy enterprise. The



want of a sufficient motive and reasonable pretext for undertaking it, constitutes the chief ground for pronouncing the event improbable. It is a favourite proverb with the Mantchoos—the Normans of China; that ‘the neighing of a single Tatar horse ‘would put the whole Chinese cavalry to flight.’ The Tatar horse would, we suspect, not make a much better stand against a charge of British cavalry; and, the Tatar force disposed of, the whole empire, with its 150 millions, would fall as an easy reversion to any Power that knew how to gain the confidence of the Mandarins by honours, buttons, and opium.

It would seem that the Chinese authorities are themselves aware that it would be no impossible thing for the *Ying-keih-le* (English) to gain a footing in their territory, as they have done in India; and under their affected contempt for foreigners, is concealed no small degree of jealous apprehension. ‘We have ‘all been mistaken as to the views of your nation’, said an intelligent military mandarin at Fuh Chow to Captain Hamilton; ‘and our rulers consider that your only object is to acquire territory: did they believe that commerce was your only object, so ‘reasonable a wish could never be refused.’ Assuredly we have territory enough on our hands; and were the Chinese empire forced upon the acceptance of Great Britain, she would find it a very burdensome acquisition. It is one of the most valuable discoveries of modern times, that commerce is more profitable than conquest, and that, in the long run, the merchant has the advantage of the soldier. ‘The factory is your best garrison; the market, the strongest camp; camlets, broad cloth, and other manufactures are the best species of ammunition, in laying siege to a town or port; and steam bids fair, by its pacific conquests, to supersede that boasted invention of the barbarous ages, gunpowder,—except for fire-works.

The Chinese Government is somewhat more excusable for having hitherto shut its ports against us, than those *other Chinese*, the Hong merchants of Leadenhall-street, are for having, by their pernicious monopoly, shut out their own countrymen from intercourse with the Chinese world. The abolition of this monopoly, and the opening of the China trade, for which this country is indebted to a ‘Reformed Parliament and a Reformed Government’, will not only be of immense advantage to our own country, but, in its results, prove a still greater benefit to China, which it will lay open to the civilizing influences of commerce. The pretexts upon which this monopoly has so long been maintained, are now proved to have originated either in ignorance or in cunning. It was alleged by the Company’s advocates, that, were the experiment of the trade once made, the inevitable consequence would be, that we should in a very short time be driven from the Chinese markets, losing at once our own

supplies of tea, and the revenue of three millions derived from it. And yet, for *forty-six* years, the Americans have traded to China without any interruption or obstacle; and not only Americans, but Dutch and Danes! In fact, the East India Company are the only foreigners trading to China, who never deal except with the Hong (bond) merchants, whose power and prerogative form one of the bugbears held up by the Company to justify their policy. The Americans, by dealing for the most part with those who are called the *outside* merchants, have virtually set aside the Hong merchants, in despite of the regulations of the Celestial Empire and the machinations of the British agents at Canton. Even were the Chinese Government hostile to foreign commerce, *which it is not*, it evidently does not possess the means of enforcing its own interdicts. This is sufficiently proved by one remarkable fact, mentioned in a very able Article reprinted from the Edinburgh Review. (No. CIV.)

‘ Our pedantic James I. was not more hostile to tobacco, than the Chinese monarchs are to opium. They have prohibited it in every possible way, and denounced the severest punishments against those attempting to introduce it into the Celestial Empire; as well as those selling or using it there. And yet, in the teeth of these edicts, opium is used in every corner of the country, and public smoking-houses are to be met with in every large city. It is carried to China by all descriptions of foreigners except the East India Company, (who, forsooth, are *above smuggling*, though they prepare the opium expressly for the smuggler,) and landed in open day, without the slightest interruption from the custom-house officers. The value of the whole quantity annually imported in this way may be reckoned at about *three millions* sterling. Such is the respect entertained in China for edicts intended to suppress a lucrative branch of commerce!’ “ *Observations on the E. I. Company’s Monopoly.*” (8vo. pp. 42. 1831.) p. 15.

Upon this point, the evidence given before a parliamentary committee by Capt. John Mackie, commander of a ship of 200 tons, engaged in the opium trade, is decisive. Capt. Mackie traded everywhere along the coast, and found the natives uniformly desirous of entering into commercial adventures, and of furnishing themselves with European goods. His ship was the property of Spaniards, and carried Spanish colours; but the cargo belonged entirely to British merchants. We take from the above-mentioned pamphlet, the following extract from his evidence.

‘ Can you state any other ports in China that you touched at besides Amoy?—Not any other principal ports; I touched at all the ports between Amoy and Canton.

‘ You lay off some ports, did you not?—I laid off the port called the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Namu.

‘ At what distance is the Cape of Good Hope from Canton?—About 300 miles to the north-east.

‘ Did you find good shelter for your ship?—Excellent; all those harbours are as safe as the port of Canton itself.

‘ Was the trade you carried on authorized by the laws of China?—I understood it was not authorized, but it was done quite openly.

‘ In the same way that the opium trade is carried on at Canton?—The very same.

‘ Have you ever experienced any difficulty in carrying on the trade, although not formally sanctioned by the Chinese laws?—Never the least.

‘ Who were the parties with whom your trade was carried on?—The Chinese merchants.

‘ Resident at any particular points?—Some of them from the city of Amoy, some from Ta-ho and Namu, and some from inland towns.

‘ Are any of those places in the province of Fokien?—Amoy is in the province of Fokien. I am not aware whether Namu is in the province of Fokien or not.

‘ Have you got better prices for those articles than could be got at Canton?—Yes.

‘ What was the difference of the price?—About 100 dollars upon a chest of opium, or 125, and sometimes 150, and sometimes higher.

‘ What did you receive for your cargo?—Sycee silver and dollars entirely.

‘ Why did you make your returns in bullion only?—I was particularly desired by the agents of the brig to take nothing else.

‘ Could you have had returns in the produce of the country?—I could have had returns in the produce of the provinces, such as sugar, tea, cassia, tortoise-shell, nankeens, or any thing that could be had.

‘ You would have had no difficulty in completing your cargo of those articles?—Not the least.

‘ In what manner is the produce of the north-eastern provinces sent to Canton?—I presume it is principally sent by sea, from the number of large junks always upon the coast.

‘ Have you seen any teas sent by sea?—Yes; I have been on board of two junks entirely loaded with tea.

‘ What was the size of them?—They could not have been less than 200 tons.

‘ From whence did they come?—They came from Amoy, and they were bound to Canton.

‘ Did you board those junks?—I boarded both of them, and sent letters by them to Canton.

‘ Were those letters regularly received?—They were received in due course.

‘ Do you think you could have loaded your vessel with teas of good quality?—*I have no doubt I could, of the very best quality. I have no doubt I could have had any sort of Chinese produce that I wished.*

‘ Had you any conversation with the captains or supercargoes of the junks?—Yes; one of them, a merchant, gave me an invitation to wait upon him at his house at Canton.

‘ Do you think you could have disposed of any other article besides

those you sold at the places you visited?—Yes; I think woollens might have been disposed of, and perhaps a small quantity of iron, a few watches, and different kinds of things.

‘What species of woollens do you think you could have disposed of?—Principally long-ells and fine broadcloths; blankets and camlets also would have sold very well; they are in ready demand all along the coast of China.

‘Were there any duties paid to the government upon those cargoes?—I never paid any duties; but I understood, that upon all opium that is taken away from the ships, the inferior officers of government get about twenty dollars for every chest; the Chinese pay that themselves; the ships pay nothing.

‘Did you ever pay any port charges of any kind?—Never.

‘Were you ever annoyed by the Chinese authorities?—No; I have been requested, as a favour, to shift my situation, as the principal officer was coming; and I have gone away, and come back again in one or two days.

‘Have you ever landed when you were engaged in this trade?—Frequently; almost every day.

‘Whenever you liked?—To any place I liked.

‘Were you, on such occasions, ever annoyed or ill treated by the authorities, or by the people?—Never; *quite the contrary; I was always received in a civil way. I had invitations into their houses, and was treated with tea and sweetmeats.*

‘How far have you penetrated into the interior of the country?—Six or seven miles.

‘Could you have gone farther if you had pleased?—Any distance I pleased.

‘What cities or towns have you visited on such occasions?—I visited the city of Kesiak, and the city of Amoy. The city of Tyho was too far distant from the ship, and I did not visit it.

‘Is Kesiak a large town?—It is.

‘What is the population of it?—It is impossible to tell the population; I think it is nearly as populous as Canton.

‘Is there a harbour at Kesiak?—A fine harbour.

‘Was that a commercial town?—It is a commercial town for junks only.

‘Do you know what province it is in?—The province of Canton.

‘What distance from Canton is it?—About 150 miles.

‘Is there much foreign trade carried on in Kesiak?—I am not aware that there is any. There is a very large coasting trade.

‘Are you of opinion that the Chinese, in the places you visited, are anxious for the extension of commerce?—I should conceive that they were, because *I have always found the Chinese inclined to buy any thing that was at all useful, of any description.*

‘You conceive them to be any thing but an anti-commercial people?—I should consider them to be quite otherwise.

‘Do you conceive that they have any antipathy to strangers?—I should conceive quite otherwise. *In the northern provinces especially, I was most politely received, and my people were equally the same.*

‘ What did your crew consist of?—Of all sorts—English, natives of India, and natives of the Philippines.

‘ What number of Englishmen had you?—I had sometimes from ten to twenty.

‘ What was the number of your crew?—Forty.

‘ Did those Englishmen land?—Yes, frequently.

‘ They had intercourse with the natives?—Yes.

‘ Did you ever hear of any disturbance between them and the natives?—*Never the least disturbance.*

‘ Were the crews generally well received by the natives?—Equally as well as I was myself; they were allowed to walk about the fields, and to go into the houses.

‘ Did you find the coast of China generally in a state of good military defence?—I should say quite the contrary; because the greatest number of troops that ever I have seen was in the train of mandarins, to the amount of about 500.

‘ How were those armed?—They were dressed in red calico jackets, with a large bamboo hat on, and with large wooden shoes, some with bows and arrows, and some with matchlocks, and some with spears.

‘ Supposing you had had a sergeant’s party of English troops, what would have been the effect upon the Chinese soldiers?—They would have run away.

‘ Did you ever go into their forts?—Frequently.

‘ In what state were they?—In a state of dilapidation.

‘ What was the state of the guns?—The guns were all dangerous to fire, being honey-combed; and being laid between two pieces of wood, they could only be fired in a straight direction.

‘ Were the fortifications in a pretty good state?—No, quite ruinous; there were about forty or fifty men in each of the fortifications.

‘ Would there be a demand for English blankets?—I should conceive there would be a demand for English blankets.

‘ Are they now generally purchased by those that can afford them?—By every one that can afford them.

‘ What description of native woollen manufacture is there?—The only native woollen manufacture I saw is in imitation of cashmere shawls. I think it is manufactured of goat’s hair; it is a fine sort of white flannel.

‘ Is it of a high price?—It is not within the reach of the poor people at all.

‘ What is the common dress of the poor people?—Blue cottons.

‘ Do you know where those cottons are manufactured?—In China.

‘ Do you know in what part?—They are manufactured in all the provinces. I have seen them manufactured in every village I have gone into.

‘ Did you ever observe what sort of machinery they had for the manufacture of those cottons?—A very rude loom, quite in a very old fashion.

‘ Did you ever compare the price of cotton so manufactured in China with the price of English cotton?—No, I never did; *it is much dearer than English cotton*, because English cottons sell in China at

very fair prices, and they dye English long cloths afterwards as a substitute for their cottons, and they are much cheaper.

‘ Do the natives prefer their own, being dearer?—Their own cottons wear better; but a cheap article is always a great object with the Chinese, even if it should not wear so well.

‘ Supposing there was a great trade carried on between England and China, do you not imagine that the cheap manufacture of England would, to a considerable extent, supplant the dear manufacture of China?—*I have no doubt it would entirely.*

‘ You were understood to say, that you did not find it necessary to establish any stricter regulations with respect to intercourse with the shore than at other places?—Not any; *I allowed my crew to go on shore at any time they pleased.*

‘ Have you ever known any inconvenience from it?—Not any.

‘ Have you known any to happen with any other ship?—Not any.

‘ Was it the general practice of the ships?—It was; there was never the least disturbance.’

These statements, which might seem open to question, did they rest only upon the testimony of an individual, receive the fullest confirmation from the extremely interesting Report of the Voyage performed in the ship Amherst, by Captain Lindsay, contained in the volume before us. This Voyage has not only added very materially to our geographical knowledge of the maritime districts; it places the character of the natives altogether in a new light, and opens to us the most cheering prospect as to the possibility of wholly breaking down the partition wall which has for ages separated from civilized society a fourth portion of the human race. It appears, Mr. Gutzlaff remarks, that China exercises a very great influence upon the surrounding nations.

‘ If China gave the signal for opening a trade with the British nation, all those petty tributary states would be ready to follow the example of the Celestial Empire. This is, perhaps, not applicable to Japan, which has always maintained its independence of China, and acts according to its own discretion; but it fully applies to Loo Choo, Corea, and Cochin China. The most exclusive nation, the Coreans, trade only with Manchow Tartary and with Japan. Their ambassadors have the liberty of opening a shop or warehouse at Peking; so also the Cochin-Chinese and Siamese have the permission of bringing one or two junks, free of duty, with their embassy to Canton. If Chinese notions about an ambassador are imbibed from these mercantile embassies, which seems to be the case, must we then be astonished that our ambassadors have been treated with so little decorum, because they were viewed in the same light?’ pp. 295, 6.

A naval commander, named Sun, with whom Mr. Gutzlaff had frequent private conversations at Ning-po, repeatedly expressed his undisguised opinion to the following effect.



‘ “ We are very weak ; this you perceive yourselves, and it would be childish to conceal it. You want to trade with us for no other purpose than to benefit yourselves and to benefit us. The liberty of trading will be granted to you, if you demand what we have neither power nor reason to refuse ; but be upon your guard, for you will have to encounter a great many rogues, who will endeavour to thwart your design. Let your Sovereign send a man with a determined mind, who can overawe narrow-minded mandarins, and properly vindicate your national character, and you will doubtless succeed.” ’

p. 285.

Ning-po is the emporium of the Che-Keang province. It is situated about twelve or fourteen miles up the river Ta-hae, which falls into a large estuary, at the mouth of which are situated the islands of the Chusan Archipelago, between 30° and 31° N. On first entering this well-built and flourishing town, the party were ‘ hailed with the odious appellations of *hak-kwae* (black demons), and *hung-maon* (red bristles),’—terms of contempt applied to Europeans ; and the people appeared shy and reserved. But scarcely had they perused the copies of the small tract ‘ on ‘ the English Character’ (written by Mr. Marjoribanks), with which Captain Lindsay was provided, than they changed both their tone and their conduct, and treated the strangers with every mark of respect and cordiality. ‘ The name of *Ta-ying* ‘ *Kwo-jin* was upon the lips of every body.’ The demand for copies of this tract was very great, and the mandarins never opposed its distribution. Mr. Gutzlaff’s command of the vernacular medium powerfully contributed to make a favourable impression.

‘ On many occasions,’ says Mr. Lindsay, ‘ when Mr. Gutzlaff has been surrounded by hundreds of eager listeners, he has been interrupted by loud expressions of the pleasure with which they listened to his pithy and indeed eloquent language. From having lived so long among the lower classes of the Fokein people, Mr. Gutzlaff has obtained a knowledge of their peculiarities both of thought and language, which no study of books can convey ; and this is coupled to a thorough acquaintance with ‘ the Chinese classics, which the Chinese are ever delighted to hear quoted, and a copiousness of language which few foreigners ever acquire in any language besides their own \*. The power which this gives any person over the minds of the Chinese, who are peculiarly susceptible to reasonable argument, is extraordinary, and frequently caused me to regret my own comparative ignorance. Every day I live in China convinces me more deeply, that a very leading cause of the present degradation of foreigners in Canton, is general ignorance of the language of the country, and the substitution

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\* See for a further testimony to the acquirements and estimable qualities of this extraordinary man, *Ecl. Rev.* for Sept. 1832. (Vol. VIII. p. 199.) Article, *Siam*.

of a base jargon as the only medium of communication, so that foreigners are very generally spoken of in the most contemptuous terms before their face, of which they remain in perfect ignorance, from a want of knowledge of the language, a very limited acquaintance with which would ensure much more respect from natives of all ranks.' pp. 31, 2.

The correctness of this judgement was fully substantiated by their reception at Ning-po, some particulars of which we shall extract as a specimen of the entertaining contents of the Report. Having left the ship in a launch at the mouth of the river, the party ascended the stream, passing the town of Chin-hae, off which numerous boats came and 'spoke them'; and some of the low mandarins endeavoured to induce them to stop, both by entreaties and by threats, which were treated with equal indifference. On reaching Ning-po, they made for the nearest landing-place, landed amidst a vast crowd, and walked directly into the city, saying, they wished to go to the *che-foo's* office.

'Several,' proceeds Mr. Lindsay, 'instantly undertook to shew us the way, and we proceeded through broad streets lined with handsome shops. I stopped and looked into several, and both Mr. Gutzlaff and myself addressed the crowd, telling them "that we were their ancient friends the English, who formerly traded here and brought great wealth to their town, and that we had now come, hoping to re-establish the ancient custom which had been so beneficial to both of us." I also distributed a few pamphlets and trading papers among the most respectable people. Having walked nearly a mile, we were shewn to the che-heen's office, where the astonishment of the official attendants exceeded that shewn at Fuh Chow-foo. As usual, we were assailed with questions, and I distributed several pamphlets among them, in order to disseminate a little of that information respecting us of which they appeared so desirous. After a short time the che-heen came and spoke to us, but on my saying I wished to deliver my address to the che-foo in person, he with much politeness requested us to follow, and he would conduct us to him. We accordingly did so, and were conducted to a spacious court at a short distance, at the end of which was a hall filled with benches, and large enough to accomodate 2,000 people. This was the Hall of Confucius, where the yearly examination of candidates for literary honours took place. In a few minutes the che-foo arrived, attended by a numerous cortége, and entered a raised platform at the upper end of the hall. He came forward to the front of it, and I then approached him and delivered my petition, and a copy of the pamphlet, into his hands. The che-foo is an elderly man, with prepossessing manners. He received my petition with a smiling countenance, and having read it, he turned to me and said, "This affair deserves our consideration; I will consult on it with the te-tuh; in the meanwhile you shall stay here for the night, and one of my people shall provide you with everything you require; do not you think this is right?" This last phrase he repeated several times to me in a good-humoured jocular tone, and I replied, that I felt much

obliged for the kind reception I had met with, and was delighted to think I had to look up to a mandarin of such an enlightened and liberal mind. The old gentleman appeared in high good humour, and asked us various questions, and then having especially directed one of his attendants to see that nothing was wanting for our comfort and accommodation, he wished us farewell, repeating, "we will consult about your affairs." During this audience there were numerous police people with whips, but they were quite unable to keep out the crowd, who poured into the hall, and soon nearly filled it. Several thousands must have been present.

' We soon followed our host out of the city ; and having crossed the river on a substantial bridge of large boats, we proceeded to our quarters, which was at the public hall of the Fokein merchants. The injunctions of the che-foo as to our hospitable treatment were amply obeyed, and presented a great contrast with our reception at Fuh Chow-foo. A personal servant of the che-foo, in whose charge we were placed, attended us with the most respectful care, repeatedly requesting us to specify any thing we might wish to have, and it should be procured for us. Our only annoyance was from the endless succession of curious visitors, many of them inferior mandarins, others respectable merchants and shop-keepers, whose questions and curiosity were without end. Every one entreated for a copy of the pamphlet on England, the fame of which spread like wildfire. It was midnight before we could retire to our sleeping apartments.

' The following morning several messengers were sent from the che-foo to make enquiries from us on various subjects, principally relative to various parts of the pamphlet on England, which appeared greatly to have excited the attention and curiosity of all. Explanation as to the subjects of grievances complained of at Canton, and regarding our Indian possessions, which we alluded to as nearly bordering on the Chinese empire, were the topics on which most questions were asked, and all the replies which appeared important were taken down in writing. This anxiety for information gave us an opportunity, of which we gladly availed ourselves, of detailing the various commercial grievances and national insults to which we are subject from the local government of Canton. The points we principally urged were, the illegal extortion of duties, by which the imperial tariff is in many instances doubled and quadrupled ; the heavy port-charges, and other extortions as to compradores, which now bore so severely on ships of a small size as to prevent their entering the river of Canton at all, and had compelled us to come up to Ning-po to seek for more just and equitable treatment ; the varied and harassing system of insult and annoyance, which has been for years systematically pursued by the Canton government, and which was so greatly at variance with the kind and benevolent disposition expressed by the Emperor as a guide for the treatment of foreigners. We finally gave them a clear explanation of the outrages committed by the foo-yuen in May, 1831 ; and when eagerly questioned as to the probable result, we stated it to be uncertain, but that the governor of our Indian empire had already sent ships of war to seek for redress, if possible, by conciliatory measures ; and that if refused, it was generally supposed

a fleet would be sent to China to demand satisfaction, and to retrieve the honour and national character of our country.

‘ Our lodging was surrounded by a great crowd the whole morning, and when we went out, as well to gratify their curiosity as our own, we were hailed on all sides with the strongest expressions of good will and the satisfaction which the prospect of a renewal of foreign trade excited in their minds. In the forenoon a visit was paid to us by the che-heen, two military mandarins of the third rank, and several of inferior grades. The most marked and flattering attentions were shewn to us ; a contest of civility took place as to who should occupy the seats of honour, which they insisted on allotting to us as visitors, to whom they were anxious to show respect.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Having observed that, previous to returning to our ship, I should like to enter the city, and make a few purchases, Ma immediately directed a mandarin with a white button, and several police attendants, to escort us, and apologised for the inconvenience to which we would be subjected from the boisterous curiosity of the people. I laughed, and said, that we knew their friendly disposition too well to care for such a trifling annoyance ; and assured them that, if their party went shopping about London in their mandarin clothes, they would probably be surrounded by as great a crowd of noisy people as we were. We now arose and separated, all the mandarins accompanying us to a boat which was prepared to take us across the river ; and when we pushed off, they remained on the beach, bowing to us as long as we remained in sight. This conduct was most striking, as evincing a strong wish, not only to treat us with marked respect, but also to shew to the assembled crowd the friendly feelings with which they regarded us. The effect of this was instantly visible, from the demeanour of the police people and others, who addressed us with the respectful term of Saon Yay.

‘ We visited several shops in the town, in which European woollen manufactures were for sale, the prices of which were much the same as at Fuh Chow-foo. I was anxious to visit some wholesale silk warehouse, but only saw retail shops. Both Mr. Gutzlaff and myself endeavoured to obtain some information as to whether any signs or remnants existed of foreign residences here, but our researches were fruitless, and we had not time or leisure to pursue them. Every one, however, appeared perfectly well aware that foreigners had traded here a century ago, and that the greatest advantages had been derived to their city from that circumstance. Having walked right across the town, we ascended the ramparts, and from a tower over one of the gates had a good view of the city, which appears very populous, there being no vacant spaces within the walls. The population, as collected from various sources, I should state at 250,000 to 300,000. The town and suburbs cover fully more than half the space of Canton. The river fronting the town was full of junks, mostly belonging to the province, and a good many from Fokein. The greater part of Fokein junks appear to remain at Chin-hae. I may here mention, as a strong proof of the great effect produced by the circulation of the pamphlet on England, of which we brought up about fifty copies, that on our

arrival every one remarked that we were hung-maon, the red-bristled people; and several respectable persons, without the slightest intentions of incivility, inquired whether that was not our nation. Our reply to all was the same, that there was no such country, and that it was a vulgar and somewhat rude expression as applied towards foreigners, for that pigs, dogs, and cats had maon, bristles, but men had ton, hair. This information, as far as regards our country, I am convinced was new to many; and before our departure we had the satisfaction of hearing the crowd remarking one to another, Chay she to Ying-kivo-jeu, "These are the Englishmen."—pp. 101—108.

They were not allowed to dispose of any part of their cargo here; but were candidly told by the mandarins, that, had they 'remained outside' at some distance, they (the mandarins) would willingly have shut their eyes, and suffered them to trade freely. The sincerity of this assurance was confirmed by a circumstance which took place not long after the departure of the Amherst.

'A small brig, the Danesborg, of only 90 tons, of which Mr. Innes was supracargo, came and anchored in the very spot we had lately left, near Kiu-tang, remained there nearly three weeks, and carried on a trade in opium and English manufactures to some extent. Numerous war-junks came and anchored near her, but the communication was of the most friendly nature, the commanders of the junks both buying opium themselves and facilitating the disposal of it to others; a strong proof that, unless when publicly forced on their notice, the government officers will in general afford a tacit connivance to the visits of foreign ships, particularly when they bring opium. My opinion concerning the feasibility of establishing a trade at this place, for the disposal of British manufactures and opium, is therefore nearly the same as it was at Fuh Chow-foo. The government will not sanction it, and will fulminate edicts ordering all foreign ships to be expelled; but at the same time, if tact is shewn, by properly combining moderation and kindness to conciliate the affections of the people, and spirit to deter the mandarins from offering molestation, an outlet for British manufactures, to a very considerable extent, may gradually be formed here; and the way for a more extended intercourse with this vast and extraordinary nation will thus be gradually paved.' pp. 161, 2.

From the mouth of the 'Ta-hae, the Amherst sailed for Shanghai in the province of Keang-soo (or Kyang-su.) This is a still more considerable place than Ning-po, being excellently situated for trade, is one of the most fertile districts of the empire, not far from Nan-king. It stands on the river Woo-sung, (or Woo-sing,) which issues from the Great Lake, (TaHoo,) at Chung-keon-kow, and traverses the Great Canal, thus communicating both with the Hoan-ho (Yellow River) and the Yang-tse-kiang. It afterwards enters the Pang-shan lake, and flows by Soo-chow-foo, the capital of the southern part of Keang-soo, and one of the

most commercial and wealthy cities of the empire. The Woo-sung is one of the finest and most navigable rivers of China, and, by means of the waters with which it communicates, affords an inland navigation extending from Yun-nan to Peking, and from the ocean to Tibet. Shang-hae may be considered as, in fact, the port of the Yang-tse-kiang, though not on that river. It is represented to be the principal emporium of Eastern Asia, the native trade greatly exceeding even that of Canton. Yet, to this port, no European trading vessels would seem, hitherto, to have obtained access, although the woollen goods exhibited for sale in the shops, were more abundant than in any town Mr. Lindsay had visited; and in all of them, the character of *Kungsze* (Company's) was conspicuously placed over the names of the several articles. At the mouth of the Woo-sung, is a small village of the same name, where all vessels take their port clearance. At each side of the entrance is a fort, from which, when the Amherst was discovered, they commenced firing blank guns; but no attention was paid to them. The military preparations which the expected arrival of this single trading vessel appears to have occasioned, were, indeed, supremely ridiculous.

‘ At each side of the river, six large guns had been laid down on a raised mud bank, without trucks or carriages of any description. A considerable number of tents lined the high sides of the river, such as Chinese troops inhabit when on service. In order to give an appearance of military preparation to a more distant part of the bank, *a whole row of mud heaps had been made into the form of tents, and then white-washed.* All this operation had been observed from the ship by aid of a glass. Fifteen war-junks lay also at the mouth of the river. The war-junks here are the most wretched and inefficient we have yet seen: they are merely uncouth boats of about 80 tons, with one gun, on a sort of table in the centre of the vessel. On entering, we passed through their line, and anchored, about half a mile below Woo-sung.’  
p. 183.

A few days after, the troops on both sides the river were reviewed by the commanding officer.

‘ There might be, in all, 500 men assembled: they were exercised in firing blank cartridges from their matchlocks. In the afternoon, we landed, and saw them out; the officers were all highly polite to us, and allowed us to examine the arms and accoutrements of the men. Most of them had no arms but a sword and wicker shield; the sword of the most imperfect description, indeed, nothing else than a flat bar of iron: the firelocks were generally in a filthy state, and almost corroded with rust. Indeed, the result of our inspection of His Imperial Majesty's forces at Shang-hae, convinced me that 50 resolute and well-disciplined men, or even a smaller number, would have routed a larger force than we saw there assembled.’ pp. 190, 1.

During their stay in the river, Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Gutzlaff took a walk every evening for some miles into the country.



‘A mandarin and several attendants always accompanied us, but professed that their object merely was to protect us from any evil-disposed natives. We frequently landed at some distance from the town, purposely to avoid our escort, and never met with anything but the greatest friendliness on the part of the natives, who, on the contrary, were always much more cordial and frank in their manners when we were alone. The whole country in this vicinity is dotted over with small villages, surrounded with trees in every direction. The population appears very great, but the natives are healthy and well fed: wheat, in the form of vermicelly and cakes, forms the principal part of their food. Whilst we were staying here, the land from which the wheat had just been cut, was ploughed up, irrigated, and again planted with rice, which would be cut on the ninth moon (September), a proof of the extraordinary fertility of the soil. The winters are said to be very severe, and that the snow sometimes lies several feet deep for more than a month. Ice is kept in great abundance throughout the summer, but is principally used for the preservation of fresh fish. Each family appears to cultivate a small portion of ground with cotton, which I here saw of a light yellow colour. The nankeen cloth made from that requires no dye. In every cottage were the requisite implements for carding, spinning, and manufacturing the cloth sufficient for their own use: the remainder they sell. In several, I saw the whole process in action at the same time, and took specimens away of the yellow cotton, both in its rough state and after being manufactured into cloth. The price for a piece is from three to four mace: the nankeen cloth from Shanghae is said to be the best in the empire.’ pp. 187, 8.

We must make room for the description of another very interesting excursion to the island of Tsung-ming, ‘the largest and ‘most populated alluvial island in the world,’ formed entirely of the deposits of the Great River; and, according to the best information Mr. Lindsay could gather from the natives, it did not exist in a habitable state till the latter part of the fourteenth century. It is now about sixty miles in length, and from fifteen to eighteen in breadth, and is annually increasing in extent. Its population is said to amount to half a million.

‘We left our ship at 10, and steered about north-east, intending to pass between the two extensive sand-banks lying in mid-channel, and which are just visible from the poop; but after crossing the fair channel, which varies from four to seven fathoms, we shoaled rapidly to three, two, one, and then to three feet first quarter flood, when we plainly perceived that the two banks are joined together by a long flat, which was principally dry, but which is probably passable by small boats at high water; we therefore bore up and ran north-west, along the side of the northern bank, which is overgrown with rushes, and had two huts on it. In another century, all these banks will probably form a fertile and inhabited island. About a mile to the north-west of this is a small low islet, with bluff-mud banks, bearing from Wosung north about 10 miles; and following the track of a boat, we

passed between this and the bank, the depth varying very irregularly from one and a half fathoms to four feet. After crossing this flat, which is about half way across, the water deepened to five fathoms: several large junks were lying here; it then decreased to two, deepened again to four; then we crossed another sand, with one and a half fathoms, and again deepened to four fathoms, from which it gradually shoaled to three and two, as we approached the shore, which in appearance exactly resembles the opposite side. We landed up a small creek, where a junk was lying, and walked straight in-shore. The natives at first were shy and timid of us, but were very soon re-assured; and a fine intelligent little boy gladly undertook to shew us the way to a town called Sin-kae, or Sin-kaou in the dialect of the place, distant about three miles. The ground appeared rich, and cultivated with rice, cotton, millet, and vegetables. It was intersected in every direction with dykes, which serve the double purpose of draining the land, and irrigating it when requisite. The people do not live in villages, as is usual in most provinces of China, but in hamlets; and single houses are scattered about in every direction. The population appears immense; but the natives are healthy and vigorous, most having a fine ruddy complexion. Wheel-barrows of a peculiar structure are in common use, both for conveying the produce of the soil, and also for the accommodation of travellers: they have a large wheel in the centre, which is covered, and the goods are stowed on each side of it. We met a respectable man travelling; on one side his portmanteau was stowed, and on the other he was comfortably seated on a felt mattress. We also met several loaded with a salt of peculiar whiteness, the mode of preparing which is mentioned in Père Jacquemen's description, in the "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*." Certain parts of the island on the northern coast, though barren of every herb, yet have the peculiar quality of producing large quantities of this salt, which is at stated times carefully scraped from the surface. What makes this more singular is, that the ground which possesses this peculiar property, is often surrounded on all sides with fertile soil, but devoid of all saline particles.

'After walking about three miles, gathering companions like a snow-ball, we arrived at the town, which is long and narrow: it has some very respectable houses and shops; among others, one attracted my notice, which announced in large characters that it sold Company's camlets and broad cloth; but on inquiry, I was told that they had none of these precious commodities at present, but merely kept the characters on their sign to look respectable. We saw apricots in abundance in the fruit-stalls, and purchased some, being the first I have seen since leaving Europe; they were small, and without much flavour, but resembling those of England. Having walked through the town, about half a mile long, attended by a great concourse of people, and looked into various shops and houses, we returned as we came. The friendly demeanour of these simple people, who now for the first time in their lives beheld a European, surpassed anything we had hitherto witnessed; and there being no mandarin in the place, no artificial check was placed to the natural friendly impulse of their hearts. Having observed that the apricot pleased us, numbers came

to us, offering the finest they could select. On all sides we were requested to bestow a copy of the pamphlet, of which we distributed about 20, and a crowd was immediately formed round the possessor, to read it. On our return, we were escorted by at least 300 people of all ages, many of whom offered and begged us to accept presents of fish and vegetables, and anxiously expressed a hope that we would return another day. One fine boy, of about 12 years, was so anxious to make Mr. Gutzlaff some present, that, having nothing else, he took a neat bamboo carved comb, with which his hair was fastened, and gave it to him. On meeting a wheel-barrow, it was proposed to me to take possession of it, as a conveyance back to my boat, but I preferred my legs. On returning, the country people from all quarters had gathered to see us pass, and by the time we reached our boat, at least 600 people were assembled, and all seemed to vie which should be the most kind and friendly. Such is in general the true Chinese character when removed from the influence and example of their mandarins, and such are the people from whose violence they pretend such anxiety to protect us.

‘ On returning we stood to the north of the small single island, and crossed several banks with one fathom. About half way across, we met a mandarin boat in search of us, and after a two hours’ sail we reached our ship at 7½, much delighted with our journey.’

pp. 192—195.

From Shang-hae, the Amherst proceeded to Chaou-seen or Corea, and afterwards visited Loo-choo; but we have no room for further extracts, and must therefore refer our readers to the volume itself for an account of the interesting transactions in those places.

And now to advert to the barbarous system of monopoly which has so long kept us in Chinese ignorance of these regions, will it be hereafter believed, that the entire value of all the commodities exported thither by the East India Company from the United Kingdom, besides military stores, does not exceed 750,000*l.* per annum? ‘ The fact is, that all the commodities they export to all the vast ‘ countries to the east of Malacca, hardly exceed those that are ‘ annually sent by a few petty merchants to the islands of Jersey ‘ and Guernsey!’ The statements contained in the pamphlet already cited, are truly astounding.

‘ China, not to mention the other countries to the east of Malacca, contains 150,000,000 of inhabitants; it abounds in products fit for the European markets, and the people, as has been already seen, are most anxious to obtain ours in exchange. It is upwards of a century and a half since the Company began to trade with this “wide region:” during that lengthened period, they have been allowed to conduct that trade in their own way, having been protected by their monopoly against the competition of their countrymen; and at the end of this long probation, they have succeeded in annually disposing (at a *loss*, be it observed) of 20,000*l.* worth of cottons, and 413,000*l.* worth of

woollens! Can any more conclusive proof be desired of the deadening influence of monopoly?—of its tendency to narrow and choke up, what would otherwise be the broadest and deepest channels of commercial intercourse? We have not the slightest doubt—and our opinion coincides with that of the most experienced merchants—that, had the trade with China been free during the last fifty years, our exports to it only would have amounted, at this moment, to 8,000,000*l.* or 10,000,000*l.* a-year.

While the Company's export of woollens, trifling as it has always been, has been recently falling off, that of the Americans has been rapidly increasing. Formerly the Americans used to export little except bullion; but at present their ships come to London and Liverpool, and take on board manufactured goods, which they carry to China. Now, the fact that such a trade is carried on, shews, that though in the hands of monopolists the export of manufactured goods to China is productive only of loss, it is advantageous when conducted by individuals. It is true, that some of those who have at different times engaged in the trade from the United States to China have failed; but such contingencies attach to all businesses, and are as numerous in the trade between this country and the United States as in any other, though it has not yet been affirmed that it is disadvantageous. The failures in question took place chiefly amongst those who engaged in the trade without sufficient capital and experience, and attempted suddenly to force it beyond due bounds. Those who prosecuted it on sounder principles are very wealthy. The largest fortunes in the United States have been made in the China trade. Mr. Cushing, an American merchant, lately of Canton, has recently retired from business with, it is said, a fortune of 500,000*l.* and there are many others that have been hardly less successful.

It is material too to bear in mind, that while the free China trade has been thus productive of wealth to the American merchants engaged in it, it has been in the highest degree beneficial to the Union. The American public have been abundantly supplied with tea—that is, with an important necessary of life—for little more than a third of what it has cost the people of England, exclusive of the duty. Had the China trade of England been conducted in a similar way, it would, besides affording an advantageous market for eight or ten millions' worth of produce, have enriched vast numbers of our merchants, ship-owners, &c., and saved two millions a-year to the public in the cost of tea.

But were the monopoly set aside, besides the vast empire of China, the resources of the extensive and populous, though imperfectly explored, countries of Cochin-China, Tonquin, and Siam, the empire of Japan, and the Archipelago of the Philippines, would be made available for mercantile purposes. The commerce between the Eastern and the Western worlds is yet only in its infancy. From the era of Vasco de Gama to the present day, the intercourse between Europe and India and China has been subjected to the most oppressive fetters. A department of commerce so extensive, had it been properly cultivated, as to have afforded full scope for the mercantile resources of every nation, but requiring great perseverance, skill, and enterprise in

its establishment, has been made over to a handful of monopolists, who have wasted all the energies of which they were capable, in warlike undertakings. So much is this the case, that, of the thousands of admirable harbours to the eastward of Malacca, Canton and Manilla are almost the only ones that have ever been visited by English merchant-ships. We have, in fact, voluntarily shut ourselves out of the most extensive markets, or, which is the same thing, we have delivered them over to those who do not resort to them as merchants, but as monopolists, to get cargoes of tea, which they afterwards sell to us upon their own terms, and at an exorbitant advance. This conduct has not been more injurious to ourselves, than to the nations it has so long deprived of the advantages derivable from a free intercourse with Europe. It is impossible to conjecture the improvement that might have been accomplished, not in the arts only, but in the sciences, moral feelings, and habits of the Indo-Chinese nations, had there been nothing to hinder our communication with them during the last sixty or seventy years. Commerce is the grand engine by which the blessings of science and civilization are universally diffused. While it enriches, it also instructs and stimulates the industry and invention of those who carry it on. That the immeasurable superiority of the people of Europe in knowledge of all sorts, should hitherto have had so little influence upon their Asiatic brethren, is entirely owing to the jealous systems of commercial policy that have obtained amongst us. Had European adventurers been allowed to resort freely to the different countries of the East, and been permitted to trade freely with their mother countries, the foundations of improvement would have long since been laid in nations that are still comparatively barbarous. We trust, however, that a new era is at hand, and that European arts and sciences will no longer be excluded from some of the finest and most extensive countries in the world, that the sickly existence of a decrepit and worn-out monopoly may be prolonged for a few years. The Parliament of Great Britain have it now in their power to open new and boundless markets for the products of our artizans, and they are called upon to assist in forwarding the civilization of the Eastern world.'

And they have obeyed the call, and earned, by so doing, the gratitude of unborn millions.

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Art. IV. *The Autobiography of John Galt.* In Two Volumes. 8vo. pp. xx. 792. Portrait. Price £1. 4s. London, 1832.

TO review these volumes to our own satisfaction, we ought to be much better acquainted with Mr. Galt's writings than we can affect to be. The greater part of them belong to a species of literature of which we do not consider ourselves bound to take cognizance,—dramas, novels, and tales, generally published anonymously. By his anonymous works, however, Mr. Galt is best known; and by these, probably, his fame will be chiefly perpetuated. The Author of *The Annals of the Parish*, the *Ayr-*

shire Legatees, and Sir Andrew Wylie, will survive in his works, when the biographer of Wolsey, and the author of "Lady Macbeth," as such, is forgotten.

This is not, however, the autobiography of a mere literary man. In fact, Mr. Galt almost disclaims the character. Like Gray, who 'could not bear to be considered only as a man of letters,' and Congreve, who prided himself, not on being a poet and a dramatist, but on his gentlemanly indifference to reputation, the Author of nearly sixty volumes 'frankly confesses,' that, 'at no time' has he been 'a great admirer of mere literary character.'

To tell the truth, I have sometimes felt a little shame-faced in thinking myself so much an author, in consequence of the estimation in which I hold the professors of book-making in general. A mere literary man, an author by profession, stands but low in my opinion; and the reader will perhaps laughingly say, "it is a pity I should think so little of myself." But though, as the means of attaining ascendancy and recreation in my sphere, I have written too much, it is some consolation to reflect that

"I left no calling for the idle trade."

This I assert with confidence, for, in looking back through the long vista of a various life, I cannot upbraid myself with having neglected one task, or left one duty unperformed, either for the thrift or "fancy work" of letters.—Vol. II. pp. 200, 1.

We are not sure that, with regard to the mere 'professors of book-making,' Mr. Galt is altogether wrong in classing them below men intent on the more serious business of life. If the character is shaped by the object, rather than by the employment, the trifler in literature is still but a trifler, and the trading author but a trader. 'The literary character' is susceptible, however, of infinite modifications, and, when stamped with the nobleness of higher ends, is all but 'the highest style of man.' But with Mr. Galt, 'literature was always a subservient pursuit.' Aware that this assertion might seem to imply that he imagined he might have put forth better things, the Autobiographer adds:

'This is not my notion; I have uniformly, on all occasions, done my best. The very utmost approaching to any thing like a consciousness of endowment, of which I ever thought myself possessed, was, in believing that I sometimes enjoyed a power of combination not very common; a conceit which led me to think many schemes practicable which were very extravagant. This acknowledgment of being sensible of my defects, is preparatory to disclosures that, were I likely again to enter the arena of business, I would not make; but, being laid on the shelf, I may speak of them unblamed.' Vol. II., p. 241.



The circumstances here alluded to, under which these volumes come before the public, would indeed disarm, not merely the severity of the critic or the censor, if we were disposed to exercise it, but even the hostility of an enemy. It is certainly, says the Author, in the first sentence of the work, 'not a very gentlemanly occupation to write one's own life; my poverty, not my will, consents' to the egotistical undertaking. From poverty, there was hope that such a man, though no longer buoyant with youth, might, with a helping hand, emerge; but repeated strokes of paralysis have reduced his physical frame to 'a sheer hulk,' although they appear to have left the intellectual man entire. The following stanzas, an elegy upon departed energy, introduced in the second chapter, are extremely touching, both from their poetry and their truth.

- ' Helpless, forgotten, sad, and lame,  
On one lone seat the live-long day,  
I muse of youth and dreams of fame,  
And hopes and wishes all away.
- ' No more to me, with carol gay,  
Shall mounting lark from pasture rise,  
Nor breezes bland on upland play,  
Nor far fair scenes my steps entice,
- ' Ah, never more beneath the skies,  
The winged heart shall glowing soar,  
Nor e'er be reach'd the goal or prize,—  
The spells of life enchant no more.
- ' The burning thought, the boding sigh,  
The grief unnam'd that old men feel,  
The languid limbs that withering lie,  
The powerless will's effectless zeal;  
All these are mine, and Heaven bestows  
The gifts, but still I find them woes.'

To a man of Mr. Galt's active habits and enterprising mind, the crippled state to which he is reduced, must be like that of a race-horse in a mill. 'His acutest sense of calamity,' he tells us in the Preface, 'arises from his inability to employ himself in other pursuits than those of literature. It is not easy to describe the miseries of being suddenly transmuted from activity, into the passive inertness of wearisome inability to perform, unassisted, the commonest actions.' There is but one thing which can render such a state endurable; not 'brimstone notions of religion,' nor such fanaticism as appears to have been unhappily identified with Mr. Galt's earliest impressions respecting 'serious professors,' but that 'peace of God which passes understanding,' because its source and nature are alike Divine.

As an apology for the publication, Mr. Galt remarks, that his 'actual adventures are as likely to amuse the reader as the incidents of any fiction which has escaped from his pen.' And a glance at the heads of the chapters will prepare the reader for finding no lack of entertainment. The scene opens in Scotland, soon shifts to London, then to Sicily, Greece, and Turkey,—Ireland, London, Turkey again,—France, England, Canada. We find narrated the whole history of the formation of the Canada Company, and the labours, successes, and personal ill fortune of their enterprising agent,—the founding of towns in the back woods, and the opening of vistas emblematic of the Author's gigantic visions, leading to—futuraity. The hero of all these adventures and exploits may be pardoned for disdaining to be considered as a mere literary man. Nor are the volumes merely entertaining: they comprise many an instructive lesson to those who can extract it for themselves: to all others, it would perhaps be useless to define it in the shape of moral reflections.

Mr. Galt was born at Irvine in Ayrshire, in May 1779, where, and at Greenock, his youth and early manhood were passed. Among the recollections of this period, are introduced some anecdotes of his schoolfellows; and the following brief record of one of them, is a biographical episode so complete and interesting as to tempt citation.

'At that time in Irvine were several children from the East Indies; among them a girl called Marion Crawford, with singularly beautiful long black hair, and that composed character of physiognomy which is supposed by the Italians to be particularly characteristic of the Madonna. Between her and Eckford a mutual attachment grew up until it became known to all the town, and was even respected by the schoolboys. Eckford was older than me, but I remember the circumstance very perfectly. Ah!

"The course of true love never did run smooth."

Henry Eckford and Marion Crawford were not destined to be an exception to the rule of fortune. He went abroad, and she, poor creature, was lately living forlorn in single blessedness.

'This Mr. Eckford became afterwards the grand architect and builder of the American navy, and accumulated a vast fortune. I shall hereafter have occasion to mention how we met, but his fortune made him the prey of designing men; and he was inveigled on account of his wealth by a party to join in some public scheme. When I first met him, he was then flourishing in prosperity, and had sent his son with a tutor to make the tour of Europe.

'Some sinister trick in the management of the company made him responsible for all his fortune; a legislative investigation by the State of New York was instituted to examine the circumstances, and though Eckford lost all his fortune, he was honourably acquitted. He sent me to Canada copies of the proceedings, and I was glad and sorrowful at the result; glad of his acquittal, and sorrowful for his fate.

‘ His son, however, returned to him ; but as if misfortune had, after a career of great splendour, marked him for her particular prey, the young man, in attempting to save his sister, was with her burnt to death.

‘ I saw Eckford after this calamitous event, and we had a good deal of school-boy conversation respecting himself. He had then made up his mind to leave the United States, but had not decided in what direction to move. I mentioned to him Russia, offering him a letter ; but he had decided on no particular place. Afterwards he went to Constantinople, where the dockyards were put under his superintendence, and he was treated by the Sultan with uncommon condescension and confidence. He died, however, soon ; his body was carried to New York, where it was interred with particular distinction.

‘ The circumstance which induces me to mention him here was, that among other early recollections he enquired, in the conversation alluded to, if I had any remembrance of Marion Crawford. There was something in the topics of our conversation and his manner that rendered the question affecting ; but I could give him no other answer than my mentioning that I believed she was still alive and unmarried. Forty years had elapsed since he had seen her. It has ever seemed to me that there was something pathetic in his enquiry. I have often since thought of it ; for he remarked that very strange changes happen in life. It was so with himself, for he who had reached the very summit of prosperity, was then again as poor as Miss Crawford ; but there was a consciousness about him, that he was destined to die no ordinary man.’ Vol. I. pp. 12—14.

With that mixture of waywardness and ‘decision of character’ which these memoirs so strikingly evince to be the temperament of the Author’s mind, he left Greenock without, so far as appears, either ‘proximate motive’ of reasonable force or any very tempting prospect, and came to London, ‘a forlorn adventurer.’ His feelings at this launch into the waste ocean of society are naturally and vividly described.

‘ On the morning when I bade adieu to Greenock, my father accompanied me in the post-chaise which was to convey me early enough to meet the London mail-coach at Glasgow. The air was bright and calm, but I was exceedingly depressed. During the first stage, scarcely a word was exchanged, and while the horses were changed at the Bishopton inn, the usual stage in those days between Greenock and Glasgow, I walked back on the fields alone with no buoyant heart.

‘ The view towards Argyleshire from the brow of the hill, is perhaps one of the most picturesque in the world. I have since seen some of the finest scenes, but none superior. At the time it seemed as if some pensive influence rested on the mountains, and silently allured me back ; and this feeling was superstitiously augmented, by happening in the same moment to turn round and beholding the eastern sky, which lay in the direction of my journey, sullenly overcast.

‘ On returning to the inn, the horses had been some time in harness, and my father was a little impatient at my absence, but, conjecturing

what was passing in my mind, said little, nor did we speak much to each other till the waiter of the inn opened the door for us to alight at Glasgow. In truth, I was not blind to the perils which awaited me, but my obstinacy was too indulgently considered.'

Vol. I. pp. 61—2.

Before he left Greenock, his bosom friend Park, one morning, speaking of Foster's (misprinted *Forsyth's*) Essays as remarkable compositions, inquired which Galt 'thought most of'. 'When I mentioned, "On Decision of Character,"' says our Auto-biographer, 'he replied gravely, that he was sorry to hear it, for he had been afraid to direct my attention to that paper, as he thought it calculated to encourage a bias of mind in me which should rather be repressed.' This is ingenuously told, but Mr. Galt seems unconscious or unwilling to admit, how correctly his accomplished friend had estimated the strength and weakness of his character. This friend, too, gave him 'sometimes more advice than was always requisite.' Had it been followed, perhaps, it would have justified the adviser.

Mr. Galt engaged in London in mercantile business, to which he appears to have devoted himself with his characteristic ardour and largeness of scheming, but with the ill success which attended all his projects. His studies while in business were, he says, 'truly exemplary.'

'I made myself master very early of the *Lex Mercatoria*, not merely by reading it through, but by studying it as necessary to my progress in the world. I composed a treatise on the practice of under-writing, as sanctioned by the existing laws and the decisions of tribunals: chagrin at the cloud which overcast my prospects, induced me to destroy the manuscript. I composed also a history, to the time of Edward III. inclusive, of the ancient commerce of England, a work of research; and wrote likewise a history of bills of exchange; for, although always a desultory student, I now and then read in veins and strata, pursuing particular objects with ardor, directness, and assiduity. I say not this in vanity, but in proof of the ambition with which I was actuated. A man whose purposes of life are passed, may be allowed to say so much with impunity!' Vol. I. p. 85.

We purposely refrain from critical animadversions; otherwise the flippancy of some remarks on 'Crimes and Sins,' would provoke comment. Mr. G. 'agreed with Moses', and differed from Beccaria, without fully understanding either; and in the same spirit, he became the opponent of the 'Huskissonian charlatantry.' The terms in which he speaks of that exceedingly able minister, are discreditable to his judgement.

After the failure of his mercantile concerns, Mr. Galt entered himself at Lincoln's Inn, with the intention of studying for the bar; and then partly for his health, and partly to pass away the

time, went abroad. His reflections on this occasion may be serviceable to others under similar circumstances.

‘ It is unnecessary to inform the reader that this crisis of life was not pleasant ; I would be justified indeed in stating that it was bitter, but it serves no good purpose to indulge disagreeable remembrances. It could not, however, be disguised from myself that I was about to be born into the scene of a new world, in which there was no reason to expect that my checquered destiny would be changed. But there was at the time a consoling advantage in my prospects ; a young man ignorant of the world, who thought himself fit for anything he was likely to undertake, was not easily daunted.

‘ The study of the law was not at variance with my habits ; it required less versatility in the application of the mind than the profession I had supposed myself to have abandoned, not then sufficiently aware that the law requires not only patronage, but a peculiar class of litigious connexions ; in fact, the aid of friends is as much wanted in it as in any other calling or business. It was not till enabled to think at leisure of entering Lincoln’s Inn, that I saw myself incurring more hazard than at the time I imagined.

‘ One who conceits himself to be at least equal to his neighbours in energy, is very apt to make a false estimate of the chances of life. He sees that men only get forward by their own talents, and it is not till he has obtained some insight of the world that he discovers, although this be true, he is yet apt to undervalue difficulties by attending too much to that circumstance. At the outset of life there is no profession whatever to which the aid of friends, be the individual’s talent what it may, is not essential. If he possess superior ability, he will in time, with the precursor of friendship, make himself distinguished, but if he be only an ordinary person he will never rise above his first establishment. At the time, however, of which I am treating, I was reluctant to believe this ; a more accurate knowledge of human rivalry, however, has left no room to doubt the fact, and it has reconciled me to my subsequent desultory life ; for afterwards it did not appear within the scope of probability that I could have made my way at the bar to any satisfactory degree of distinction. No one existed on whom I could fasten the slightest claim for assistance, nor could I discern any chance in store to facilitate an ambitious career by the law.

‘ With reflections of this kind, though not of so determined a caste, I bade adieu to England, half desiring that no event might occur to make me ever wish to return, and yet for this morbid feeling I had no cause. Nothing in the world had occurred to make me greatly averse to it ; even the extraordinary conduct of my debtor seemed the effect more of a mental aberration than of design, at all events he was not actuated from the workings of his own mind, so much as by the suggestions of one more intimately acquainted with the ways of mankind ; he was only a tool in a more skilful hand. Often and often since have I endeavoured to understand, how it was possible for a man, possessed of a fair measure of understanding, to think another could endure such a series of actions, as he developed towards those of whom he had unfortunately been the ruin. But as I had thrown myself like a die

from the dice-box in my London adventure, I felt no fear in this voyage. It would have been, however, rather ludicrous to have braved the storm like Cæsar, with the brag of my fortune; but something like a sentiment of the same kind undoubtedly sustained me.'

Vol. I. pp. 113—116.

On the day of his arrival at Gibraltar, Mr. Galt first became acquainted with Lord Byron, of whom he has since undertaken to be the biographer. As we are not reviewing the life of the author of *Childe Harold* and *Don Juan*, we shall say nothing on the subject. Mr. Galt's travels were in every respect adventurous. Different projects rose before him, like a Will of the wisp, to tempt him onward from isle to isle, and over mountains and wastes; and he returned in 1811, with excellent commercial plans, from which he was fated to derive no advantage, but which were 'afterwards partly carried into effect by others with great profit.' He had nothing left to do, in this state of disappointment, but to publish his *Travels*. He subsequently accepted a mercantile appointment, which led him to return to Gibraltar; but 'unfortunately,' he says with much ingenuousness, 'I never in my life have been able to lay my heart to any business whatever, in which the imagination had not a share.' In this sentence he lays open the roots of his character.

Our readers may recollect the circumstances of Sir James Mackintosh's marriage, while as yet a physician without fees and a writer without fame, to a young lady without fortune. How nearly Mr. Galt's adventure upon matrimony, at this period of his life, affords a parallel instance of fortunate imprudence, we can only divine from the following singularly laconic paragraph.

'While His Highness was engaged in a tour in the country, I was married. The ceremony took place on a Tuesday, but on the Saturday before, I met with a most amusing adventure.' Vol. I. p. 246.

This adventure, so strangely linked with the Author's marriage, appears to have had not the slightest connexion with it. It relates to an interview with the notorious Mrs. Clarke, who wished for his advice as to publishing some papers, which Mr. Galt very frankly and properly recommended her to suppress. After this, we find him again visiting the Continent at the first restoration of Louis XVIII.; and, on his return, setting himself to write for the theatres. A mercantile proposal led him to return for a short time to Greenock; but he found himself no longer fit for the place, and was glad to get back to the metropolis.

'This distaste was not occasioned by any thing that I had met with, but a consciousness of being no longer the same sort of individual that I had been in former days; for I received every attention that could be expected, but the change which time and the world had made, no longer rendered me susceptible of those gratifications that had



once endeared the place to my remembrance. It was not changed in any aspectable form, but my tastes had undergone a great alteration; I had become much more simple in my habits, and secretly "fashed" at many things in which the tastes of an earlier period might have found pleasure.'—Vol. I. pp. 275, 6.

Again he was 'compelled to throw himself on fortune,' when the most unexpected occurrence gave him new life. 'In the 'course of my checquered life,' says Mr. Galt, 'I have often 'met with sudden and unexpected turns of fortune, *such as the 'religious call interpositions of Providence.*' Those who view them as such, are, at all events, the happier for a creed which calls into exercise the emotions of gratitude.

Our limits will not admit of our following Mr. Galt to Canada, as agent for the Canada Company, nor of entering into the particulars of his apparently hard case. The details of his proceedings will be found very interesting. We shall transcribe the following paragraph.

'The Canada Company had originated in my suggestions, it was established by my endeavours, organized, in disregard of many obstacles, by my perseverance, and, though extensive and complicated in its scheme, a system was formed by me upon which it could be with ease conducted. Yet without the commission of any fault, for I dare every charge of that kind, I was destined to reap from it only troubles and mortifications, and something which I feel as an attempt to disgrace me.'—Vol. II. pp. 157.

On his return to England, he found himself involved in pecuniary embarrassments, from which he could extricate himself only by submitting to the insolvent act. Once more he had to begin to 'build a new scheme of life, in which the secondary condition of authorship was made primary.' "Laurie Todd," and "Southennan," were the first fruits of this new course of exertion. His next work was, the "Life of Lord Byron," undertaken at the request of Messrs. Colburn and Bentley. For a short time, he conducted the Courier newspaper; but soon grew tired of this employment, and found philosophical reasons for throwing it up. At the suggestion of Mr. Lockhart, he then undertook the compilation of "Lives of the Players." We deem it worth while to transcribe part of an apology for the laxity of conduct which prevails on the stage, as it places in a very striking light the pernicious tendency of dramatic engagements.

'It is quite obvious that players ought not to be estimated by the common rules of life . . . . The half of their time is spent in an artificial state, and it is only acting justly towards them, to bear this in mind. Moreover, without any disparagement of their virtue, their vocation requires them to assume sentiments and parts that may not accord with their natural feelings, but which have a certain control

over those feelings, often not beneficial. To do justice to a well conceived and well expressed dramatic character, the passions or levities of that character must be put on, and cannot be exhibited with any effect, without an assumption of a probable likeness, which is never worn without communicating some taint or bias—no woman is improved in her heart by playing Millwood, in *George Barnwell*.—

Vol. II. pp. 204, 5.

What follows is but sorry morality. “Bogle Corbet” was the Author’s next publication; but the dates of his multifarious productions are not given. Speaking of his novels, Mr. Galt says:

‘While I do think the world has not done justice to my invention, there is one of my books that has been absolutely neglected.

‘One of the monthly reviews, when it appeared, shewed a disposition to treat it with more consideration than works of fiction usually are, in periodicals of that class. But yet it fell still-born from the press, though one or two ingenious friends have expressed themselves pleased with its speculations. It was called the *Majolo*, of which the first volume appeared by itself, subsequently the second; a third is still wanting. It is any thing but a novel, and yet it has been classed as strictly of that species of composition.’ p. 222.

We forgive Mr. Galt for forgetting that the Review to which he alludes as noticing that singular production, was *The Eclectic*. The first volume of ‘the *Majolo*’ appeared anonymously in 1815, and, as he says, was not brought out in a manner to attract attention: the second volume we never saw. The article to which he refers, will be found in Vol. V. of our second series (Jan. 1816). The Reviewer was without any knowledge or even conjecture as to the author of the tale. His remarks, therefore, were entirely suggested by the indications contained in the work itself. Under such circumstances, they could not possibly be regarded as personal; and yet, they define a character which, in many of its traits, may strike our readers as having its counterpart in the autobiographical portrait. We shall perhaps be excused, as the volume of the Review is out of print, in extracting a few paragraphs from the article.

‘We find it difficult to characterize this singular production. The perusal of it pleasingly interested us, and the impression which the *Majolo* left upon our imagination, was that of his being the counterpart of no ordinary mind. But, in proceeding to analyse the opinions and notions ascribed to the hero, the development of which, through the advantageous medium of an ideal character, is the professed object of the volume, we found that they were much better adapted to amuse the fancy, than to satisfy the judgement. The sentiments expressed by the *Majolo* pleased us, we found, more from their dramatic propriety, as being the expression of character, than from their intrinsic value, in point of either depth or novelty. They seem to be the speculations of a mind more accustomed to imagine than to reason, more

prone to credulity than to scepticism, and displaying more originality of thought, than extent of information.

‘ The character of the Majolo is very well conceived, and finely portrayed. His opinions seem the natural growth of a mind in which the imagination uniformly appears to be the ascendant faculty. His remarks, which are frequently ingenious, sometimes profound, but occasionally of a doubtful tendency, are of that metaphysical cast which we might expect from a solitary thinker, but whose metaphysics partake more of poetry than of philosophy. The combination of ingenuous egotism and reserve, of arrogance and modesty, of energy and weakness, which gives to the character of the Majolo much of its picturesque effect, is well delineated, and, we conceive, perfectly natural. ....He is perpetually digressing from his desultory narrative into reflections of a philosophizing cast; which display, for the most part, correct observation and amiable feeling, but exhibit a singular deficiency of religious knowledge, not excusable even in a Sardinian peasant. The notions of the Majolo concerning *Destiny*, as “ a kind of moral chemistry ”, as a chain “ formed by links of physical causes ”, and other sceptical hints of this kind, are so vague as to appear connected with no determinate opinions in the Author’s mind; and they may, therefore, be passed over as harmless instances of the cloudiness of idea into which an ambitious fondness for philosophical conjecture is likely to lead a person, in the absence of correct moral guidance.’

This may be thought severe criticism; and the Reviewer does not appear to have given the Author credit for so high a degree of genius as Mr. Galt has elsewhere discovered; but it must be recollected, that the opinion was founded simply upon this volume, which obtained from the public little or no attention.

“ The Annals of the Parish,” we are a little surprised to find, was written as far back as 1813. Not having read all Mr. Galt’s novels, we can give no opinion of its comparative merits. It is generally reckoned inferior to “ The Ayrshire Legatees,” and the Author himself gives the preference to “ The Provost.” We can only say that we know of no work which so nearly approaches the Vicar of Wakefield in spirit, without betraying any of the servility of imitation. It is, from its very plan, without a plot, and the anecdotes are not always novel, because they relate to facts; but it is altogether a very delightful and *almost* unexceptionable production. Nothing is more astonishing than that such a volume and “ The Majolo ” should have proceeded from the same mind and pen.

Besides these and other works of imagination, Mr. Galt wrote a Life of President West, from materials derived from himself; a Life of William Spence; Lives of Admirals Hawke, Byron, and Rodney, for Stevenson’s “ Lives of the Admirals ”; and a Life of Cardinal Wolsey, which has reached a third edition. The list of his works certainly exhibits proofs of his being one of the most industrious as well as versatile writers of his day.

His schemes and projects were innumerable; and life has proved too short to realize a tithe of them.

In reading these volumes, we have been forcibly reminded of the character of Aylmer Whyhcotte, in that strange but clever medley entitled "Whyhcotte of St. John's."

' "And of him, what wouldst thou say?" I would say, most patient reader, that he was one who to natural powers added indefatigable industry; one who possessed acute discrimination and quick comparison; one whose early prospects seemed bright, and whose probable destiny seemed brilliant, but whose voyage of life was beset by a waywardness of disposition which ruined his peace and wrecked his happiness.

' "What think you of my nephew Aylmer?" said Colonel Whyhcotte . . . . "My opinion of Mr. Whyhcotte is this: he has talent enough for any thing; he will attain nothing."

We should rejoice to think that, late as it may come, Mr. Galt should yet live to realize some benefit from his indefatigable and well meant exertions in Canada. Surely, if thousands could be raised with ease for the purchase of Abbotsford, the country ought not to let John Galt sink in the season of helpless adversity.

Art. V. *A brief Memoir of the late Rev. Richard Davis, of Walworth; with a Sketch of the Sermon delivered on Occasion of his Death, by the Rev. F. A. Cox, LL.D., and Selections from the Manuscripts of the Deceased. Edited by his Son, the Rev. John Davis. 12mo, pp. 274. Price 5s. London, 1833.*

' **A**S the subject of the present sketch was remarkable for his goodness, rather than his greatness, for moral and spiritual excellence, rather than for intellectual, (though not unendowed with some of the elements of distinction of the latter kind,) it is presumed that to readers of the class intended the contents of this volume will administer edification and pleasure; while to the bereaved widow and family of the deceased minister, as well as to a large circle of Christian friends, the work will serve as a pleasing though mournful remembrance.' This modest announcement will sufficiently describe and recommend the volume. Mr. Davis had the honour of leaving behind him four sons engaged in the Christian Ministry, three as pastors of Baptist Churches. From this circumstance it might reasonably be presumed that he was a man of no ordinary stamp, and his claims to veneration are well supported by this brief memorial of his long and useful, though unobtrusive career.

Not having received a regular education for the ministry, (for he was married before he entered upon the office,) Mr. Davis ne-

ver aimed at a higher character than that of a plain and perspicuous preacher of the Gospel.

‘ He knew what he was capable of effecting, and never attempted any thing beyond it. At the same time, he was possessed of that native sagacity, that solid, well-judging good sense, so essential to a right understanding of the Scriptures,—for the want of which no learning can compensate,—which constitutes so powerful an auxiliary to learning the most extensive,—and which, for many practical purposes, is no mean succedaneum for learning itself.’

It was very shortly after the time that Mr. Davis commenced preaching, that an important modification of his views of Divine truth took place; the history of which is not a little instructive.

‘ As a preacher, he set out upon what was considered some fifty years ago the thoroughly orthodox scheme of doctrine. He was “not only sound, but *sound indeed*,” having adopted those tenets which, in theological phrase, are termed supralapsarian. But he soon found, that his creed contained within it but very few topics, and that those topics themselves involved but very few points of real interest, and led to scarcely any practical results; while those results, again, were rather injurious than beneficial—rather opposed to the sanctifying tendency of the “truth as it is in Jesus” than in harmony with it. With such a creed as this he had too much enlargement of mind, and too much piety, to remain long contented. With one effect thereby produced upon his preaching he felt especially dissatisfied. His discourses were, for the most part, addressed to believers. His heart, nevertheless, better instructed than his head, would often urge him to try to say something to sinners. But then his creed,—his cold, exclusive, repulsive creed,—checked the flow of his better feelings, and he found that he either could not address sinners at all, or that he could only speak to them in language adapted rather to drive them from the Saviour, and to plunge them into despair, than to win them to seek an interest in the great blessings of salvation; exhibiting the warnings and threatenings of the Word apart from its invitations and promises—giving utterance to the thunders of Sinai rather than to the whispers of Sion. It occurred to him, that there must be some difference between his own views and those of the Saviour and his apostles, since he could not help observing a great discrepancy between their modes of address and his own. He therefore resolved to examine the New Testament for himself, and to form his style of preaching upon the models therein exhibited, conducting his investigation in the spirit and with the practice of prayer. In agreement with this resolution he began with the perusal of the Acts of the Apostles. In the inspired discourses of those holy men he soon discovered the absence of every kind of reserve in their exhortations to the unconverted; and that, without any distinction of sinners into *sensible* or otherwise, the men who crucified their King were exhorted to “repent and be baptized,” to “save themselves from their untoward generation”—the idolatrous Athenians, before they could have afforded any

indications of a spirit of awakening, were instructed, that “God had commanded all men every where to repent”—and a Simon Magus, even while he was plainly told that he was “in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity,” was yet urged to “repent of his wickedness, and to pray God, if perhaps the thought of his heart might be forgiven him.” In the discourses of John the Baptist and of the Saviour also he observed, that men while yet in an unconverted state were addressed with the like unreservedness; and, honestly following out the convictions derived from the whole of his survey, little as they accorded with his once cherished system, he thenceforth adopted the practice,—a practice which he continued to the close of his life, and of the fitness of which he never intimated the least doubt,—of preaching to sinners in their own proper and native character, and entreating them, by every motive which could address itself to their reason, their conscience, their hopes, or their fears, to “flee from the wrath to come,” and “lay hold upon the hope set before them” in the Gospel. His conceptions on this subject were confirmed and enlarged by the perusal of some of the productions of the American divines; particularly Edwards on the Will, and Bellamy’s “True Religion Delineated.” He soon obtained, as the consequence of this change of views, the then obnoxious epithet of a *Fullerite*; though it is worth recording, as affording a strong presumption in favour of the correctness of the sentiments in whose revival Fuller was so happily instrumental, as well as illustrating the moral and intellectual soundness of my father’s mind, that he derived his notions *immediately from the perusal of the Sacred Volume*, those portions especially above noticed—that from Edwards, Bellamy, and other writers, he only acquired stronger convictions (so far, that is to say, as the question of addressing sinners was concerned,) of the truth of ideas already imbibed—and that he did not fall in with Mr. Fuller’s publications till three years after he had adopted opinions coincident with those advocated by that great and good man. From the time of his adopting these sentiments his whole creed underwent an extensive modification, and he at length settled down as a moderate Calvinist.’ pp. 8—12.

Mr. Davis was born in 1768, and died in June 1832.

## NOTICES.

Art. VI. *The Analysis of Inorganic Bodies.* By J. Berzelius. Translated from the French Edition, by G. O. Rees. 12mo. pp. 164. London, 1833.

To chemical students and to practical chemists, this translation of a portion of Berzelius’s invaluable labours will be very acceptable, the rules which the work comprises being of the highest importance in analytical researches. The Contents are indicated by the following heads: On the Analysis of Solid Bodies. Qualitative Analysis. Quantitative Analysis. General Rules for the Analysis of Gases.



Analysis of Mineral Waters. Analysis of the Solid Parts of the Water. Examination of the Gases contained in Mineral Waters. On the general Character of Salts, and Rules for their Analysis. Rules for obtaining a knowledge of Salts from the Re-action of their Bases. The translation appears to be competently executed, and some useful notes are added. We observe at p. iii, line 2, *inscribed* for inserted.

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Art. VII. *A Companion for the Season of Maternal Solitude.* With an Appendix, containing Hints for the Nursery. By Thomas Searle, Stony Stratford. Second Edition. 12mo. pp. 224. London, 1833.

THE Author of this interesting and useful little book, informs us, in a very modest preface, that it originated in an inquiry for some work bearing on the subject of which it treats. Not being aware of any treatise extant, which had an allusion to the subject, with the exception of a Sermon by Charnock, which contains but few suitable observations, and a Tract by the late Rev. John Townsend, of Rotherhithe, he was induced to compose the small volume now presented to the public. In soliciting a candid perusal, he assures us, that

‘ his object is usefulness, not literary reputation. He pretends to no elegance of style: plain truth in a simple garb has been his aim, both in the prose composition and the hymns he has made upon different subjects in the book. Should his efforts be blessed only in a few cases, in imparting consolation in the prospect or endurance of nature’s trial, and encouragement in the discharge of domestic and maternal duties, it will constitute his highest gratification and his richest reward.’

A performance so pious, and unpretending, it would be scarcely fair to criticise; we will, therefore, by a few brief quotations, enable our readers to judge of it for themselves.

After some introductory observations on the disobedience of our first parents, our Author thus proceeds:—

‘ Leaving the sad effects of this unhappy act of disobedience as it regards the world in general, we shall trace those which affect the female portion of it, and especially in reference to that season which is emphatically called “the hour of nature’s sorrow”. And how deeply affecting to turn to the original denunciation of the sentence upon the woman; a sentence around which seem to shine with fearful brightness the rays of divine equity and truth; a sentence which cannot be read without feelings of humiliation and sorrow, a sentence which has been inflicted down to the present moment, and will continue to be so till “mortality is swallowed up of life”, as woman *first sinned*, she was first summoned, and first sentenced. In common with man she is exposed to disease of body, condemnation and guilt of soul, and all the sad variety of pain; but the sentence which God denounced, and to which reference is made in this chapter, is peculiar to the female sex. It contained a threatening of additional woes and pains, in which the man cannot share, except by sympathy.’ pp. 4, 5.

‘ The sentence, “ In sorrow shalt thou bring forth ”, was experienced by Eve ; but the bodily anguish she experienced, was not the greatest affliction : there were many accompanying circumstances which rendered the birth of her first-born afflictive. The child was born in the image of its parents : it was “ conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity ”. The first human being that was *made*, was made in the holy likeness of Deity ; the first that was *born*, was born in the sinful image of a fallen and polluted parent. Had the pains, sorrows, and depravity of the progenitors of mankind been confined to themselves it would have lessened the affliction. But how deeply affecting, how truly lamentable, that the first stream from the fountain should have been impure ; that the first branch shot from the trunk should have been corrupt and unhealthy. Cain, the first-born, was “ the degenerate plant of a strange vine ”, which was originally “ a noble vine ”, wholly “ a right seed ”.’ pp. 6, 7.

After enumerating many promises in the word of God which are calculated to afford encouragement to the Christian, in circumstances of sorrow and pain, it is added :—

‘ These are *some* of the promises which bear generally upon the trials of God’s people ; let them be carefully and frequently perused. They form a chain of the most precious jewels, a celestial amulet ; a sovereign antidote to fear ; an infallible specific for melancholy forebodings and depression of spirits. They compose the richest cordial to revive and animate the sinking soul. Gather these promises together, ye who dread the hour of trial. Let your mind rove over them with the sweetest delight. Lay in a good stock of them against the evil day. Only a few of these promises have been presented to you, as specimens of the rest. Look into the Scriptures, that “ garden of the Lord ”, which contains so many fruits sweet unto the taste, so many fragrant flowers to refresh and delight. There you may collect, with the hand of faith, a thousand more, as sweet and precious as those that have been culled for you. Such is the variety and adaptation of the promises, that it would be impossible not to find a specific promise adapted to every event in life, whether prosperous or adverse ; which circumstance shews the wisdom and love of God, his foreknowledge of all the trials and temptations of his people, and affords demonstrative proof of the authenticity of that book, which contains the noble and gracious charter of the believers’ privileges and promises.’ pp. 49, 50.

One more extract must suffice. After having urged the necessity of children being early accustomed to the public worship of God’s house, the Author remarks :—

‘ Samuel, Josiah, and Timothy, besides many others, were thus early brought to the sanctuary, devoted to the service of God, and engaged in active worship. Great care should be taken, as children grow up into life, to see that they regularly attend public worship, and that they attend *with their parents*. The shameful indifference shew towards the worship of God by adults, is much to be attributed to the want of regularity while under the parental roof. When chil-

dren and young people are allowed to go to a place of worship only *when* they like, and *where* they like, it is sure to affect their habits when removed from the immediate observation and authority of their parents.' pp. 137, 138.

The above extracts are selected, not because they possess any peculiar merit, but as fair specimens of the entire work. In the name of the other sex, we sincerely thank the Author for this judicious and suitable book, in which the sympathy of the husband, the affection of the parent, the piety of the Christian, and the solicitude of the pastor may be clearly traced in almost every page. We are happy to be able to add, that the work has reached a third edition, although scarcely a year has elapsed since its first publication.

Art. VIII. *A Dictionary of the Natural History of the Bible; or a Description of all the Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Insects, Trees, Plants, Flowers, Gums, and Precious Stones, mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures. Collected from the best Authorities, and alphabetically arranged. By Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D. A new Edition: with Corrections and considerable Additions. 12mo, pp. 350. Price 7s. 6d. London, 1833.*

THE first edition of this meritorious compilation was noticed with deserved commendation in our former Series. The value of Dr. Harris's labours was, however, very materially deteriorated by the extreme inaccuracy with which the work was printed, owing to its not undergoing literary revision in passing through the press. The typographical errors were innumerable, especially in the Latin citations and the notes; and there were not a few errors for which the printer was not responsible. The work has been very carefully revised by the Editor of the present edition, who has also introduced some important additions and corrections. The attractive appearance of the volume is also not a little enhanced by numerous wood engravings illustrative of the natural history. In its present shape, the volume cannot fail to be highly acceptable to the Biblical student. It is decidedly the best account of the natural History of the Bible extant.

As a specimen of the additional articles furnished by the English Editor of the present volume, we take the following.

‘ Notwithstanding the high authorities above cited in favour of the opinion that the rhinoceros is intended by the *reīm*, the present Editor feels compelled to avow his conviction, that the notion is untenable for the following reasons.

‘ 1. It was evidently an animal familiar to the Jews, and doubtless found in Palestine. The prophet Isaiah, in denouncing judgements upon Idumæa, predicts that “the unicorns (*reīms*) shall come (or fall) down with them, and the bullocks with the bulls.” Isa. xxxiv. 7.

‘ 2. It was certainly bi-corned. See Deut. xxxiii. 17. Psalm xxii. 21.

‘ 3. Its strength was in its horns; and it is classed with the lion as an emblem of ferocity. Psalm xxii. 21.

‘ 4. That it was of the bull species, seems implied in Job xxxix. 9—12, as all the beauty of the passage depends upon its being an animal of a genus used for the purposes of husbandry, but wild and incapable of domestication. The language of Moses in Deut. xxxiii. 17, would lead to the same inference. In Psalm xxix. 6, also, the reïm is mentioned in immediate parallelism with the “calf.” And in Psalm xxii. it is observable, that, as the bull of Bashan and the lion are associated in ver. 12 and 13, as apt metaphors to describe the strength and fierceness of the foes of the inspired prophet, so are the lion and the reïm in verse 21. Both the lion and the reïm were also royal symbols; and Israel is compared by Balaam to both, Numb. xxiii. 22, 24; xxiv. 8, 9. The one was the symbol of conquest, the other of strength. In precisely the same manner, was the bull employed as a symbol of royalty by various nations; and it seems to have been especially used as a symbol of Assyria, as the lion was of Persia.

‘ 5. The rhinoceros is not found in Syria or Egypt, and could not have been familiarly known to the Jews. It is pacific, not warlike. Its horn is for use, not for defence; nor is it adapted for “pushing”, but for ripping up the trunks of the more succulent trees, which constitute part of its food. It is moreover placed on its nose, not on its forehead, and bent backwards, not “exalted”, according to the received rendering of Psalm xcii. 10. In short, there is no one point of the description, that will apply to this animal, except it be muscular strength.

‘ 6. The passage last cited from the Psalms, may admit, however, of being rendered with more propriety: “My horn wilt thou strengthen like the horn of a reïm.” There is apparently a sort of paronomasia, both the verb and the name of the animal being derived from the same root. That the verb has the signification of to strengthen, as well as to exalt, (like its synonyme שָׁנַב) is evident from Zech. xiv. 10; and so closely are the ideas of height and strength related, that in many languages both are expressed by the same word. See Psalm xcv. 4. So the Celtic *dun* and the Teutonic *berg*. It is remarkable that, both in Gaelic and in Erse, *reïm* signifies power or authority. (See Armstrong’s Gaelic Dictionary.) This is also the import of the Greek ῥωμη, strength, force; and the name of Rome is said to correspond in signification to *Valentia*, power, strength. *Roma*, which has not its etymology in the Latin, is, there can be little doubt, related to the Hebrew Ramah or Ramath, i. e. a height or strong place. There seems good reason then to conclude, that the name of the reïm denotes its distinguishing and characteristic quality,—strength, and, metaphorically, power. And as the horns and head of the animal were the chief seat of its strength, the horns became the emblem of power; and to strengthen the horns, a metaphorical expression for strengthening the authority of a potentate.

‘ 7. Professor Paxton contends, after Bochart, that the reïm was the same animal as the oryx, a species of wild goat; and it seems that the Arabs give this name (reem) to a species of goat or of gazelle. But they also call stags and antelopes wild oxen; as the ancient Greeks gave the name βουβαλος to both the wild goat and the buffalo; a remarkable coincidence, if the Aramean term were applied, as it

would seem to have been, to animals of both genera. Gesenius pronounces in favour of the wild buffalo, as intended by the Hebrew term ; but against this it has been objected, that the horns of the buffalo, being turned inward, are unfit for combat. Boetius strenuously maintains the claims of the urus, which Cæsar represents to be untameable ; and Pliny describes in the following terms : He is of a size little inferior to the elephant ; in appearance, colour, and figure, he resembles the bull ; his strength and velocity are great ; and he spares neither man nor beast that comes in his way. Such an animal might well rank with the lion. But Paxton, after citing this passage from the Roman naturalist, objects, that we have no evidence that these wild oxen were indigenous to Syria and Palestine. Aben Ezra, indeed, asserts, in his commentary on Hosea, that no wild bull is to be found in Judæa and the surrounding countries. This assertion is plainly at variance, however, with numberless references and allusions in the Old Testament ; and that the wild bull should have been unknown to the Syrian herdsmen, is quite incredible. Whatever species be intended, whether the urus, the bison, or the buffalo, it seems to us beyond all reasonable doubt, that a wild animal of the bovine genus, strong, fierce, and untameable, is the reïm of the Hebrews and the unicorn of our translation.' pp. 329, 330.

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#### Art. IX.—CORRESPONDENCE.

**WE** readily give insertion to the following articles of correspondence. Our opinion was so fully expressed against the monopoly, as well as against the authority in which it originated, as to render it unnecessary for us to resume discussion on those points ; and we feel not less anxious than is Mr. Child himself, that the attention of the public should be drawn to the whole subject. In noticing the evidence relative to the comparison of the small pica Bible with Robertson's works, we referred to the confusion which appears on the face of it. But, as the expense of setting up in type the small pica Bible must be the same in the case of the small paper copies and of the Royal, the difference of cost can consist only in that of the price of the papers used for the respective editions. Mr. Parker's evidence appears to us to be of importance in explaining the difference of statement in the versions of Mr. Rees's evidence. Mr. Child admits, that, in the instance of the small pica Bible, his estimate for paper was not confirmed ; and in other instances, variations of price appear in the evidence. We leave the letter of Mr. Child's, and the details to which it refers, in the hands of our readers ; only repeating our opinion against the monopoly, and our wish to in-

terest the public in the question to which Mr. Child's communication refers. We are certainly 'disinterested,' and, we hope we may be allowed to say, 'candid' inquirers.

' Bungay, 13th Aug. 1833.

' TO THE EDITOR OF THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

' DEAR SIR,

' IN your Article on the Bible Monopoly, you have fallen into two or three errors, which permit me to correct.

' The first consists in bringing the altered evidence of Mr. Rees, given March 9th, 1831 (questions 711 to 718), and that of Mr. Joseph Parker, given April 15th (questions 1870, 1871, &c.) as bearing on the same point, on the 9th of March, which is impossible.

' There is no proof that more than *one Edition* of the small pica Bible was before the Committee when Mr. Rees was examined, and in fact there was but one, and that, the King's Printers' *Royal Edition*, sold by their agents at 20s. retail, and 16s. wholesale, in quires.

' Mr. Joseph Parker, on the 15th of April (*between five and six weeks after Mr. Rees's examination*) for the first time, brings before the Committee "the *small paper*" Edition, and then not for any purpose of comparing it with Robertson's Works. At question 1871, Mr. Parker expressly declares that comparison had been made between the *Royal Edition* of the small pica Bible, and Robertson, and distinguishes pointedly between the book then in the hands of the chairman (a small pica Bible) and that with which the former comparison had been made.

' I send for your inspection, a copy both of the royal and small paper Editions of the King's Printers' small pica Bible, the former of which I allege to have been the book compared by Mr. Rees with Mr. Cadell's Edition of Robertson, and you will at once see the fitness of the comparison, and the justness of his expressions in describing the two books, in the unaltered evidence. The evidence as it is altered is totally absurd, and when you look at the books you will see at once that the King's Printers' ten-and-sixpenny book could not, as you state, be intended to be compared with the Robertson. It will not in any one particular bear a comparison, and when the Royal Edition of Robertson is compared with the royal small pica Bible, the latter will at once appear to be the most expensive book to the manufacturer. While the Robertson sells, wholesale, for 13s., and the Bible for 16s. the paper for the latter pays no duty,—that used for the former not less than 3d. per pound weight.

' Your second error consists in supposing there are discrepancies between my evidence and Mr. Besley's; this is easily explained. His estimates are made by a printer working for a bookseller, with moveable types; (see questions 1293, 1322, 2282;) and the profit on the labour only is charged;—mine are made on the principle of business followed by the King's Printers (see question 1927), and there is no discrepancy at all between our estimates.

' Thirdly; you say, "Mr. Childs's estimates for paper sometimes seem, as in the case of the small pica Bible, to be erroneous." Will



you be good enough to direct the public to questions 1888, 1928 to 1939, 1953-4, 2278, 2312 to 2334, when it will appear that my estimates for the prices of paper are in every instance but one confirmed by gentlemen interested in keeping it as high as possible; and if the monopoly were removed, I would forthwith furnish, for *permanent sale*, an edition of small pica Bible on paper at 19s. 6d., in all particulars as good as that estimated for at question 1968. Every day's experience, since August 10th, 1831, confirms me in the opinion I then expressed (see question 2333.) Does not the note at the foot of the last page of your article answer itself? I think it does.

‘ When I petitioned the House of Commons on this subject, it was on public grounds alone; private interest I could have none, in attempting to open a field where I, in common with other printers and booksellers, might find competition with those who had so long enjoyed the profits of a great monopoly. I have seen much of the anxiety of the poor when the Bible Society collectors have called for their pence, and I hoped by this petition to call the attention of persons interested in the distribution of the Scriptures to the subject. I was fully prepared to expect, and to receive with meekness, all the obloquy and misrepresentation with which parties interested in sustaining the monopoly might honor me,—while I hoped to be able to answer all the objections, and unravel all the mystery which the acuteness and ingenuity of that class of functionaries, who enjoy peculiar privileges, have such a happy knack of placing in the way of the plainest subjects.

‘ On the other hand, I hoped that candid and disinterested inquirers would be convinced that monopoly is not exactly the surest way of obtaining either accuracy or cheapness. Amongst the latter class I rank you, and therefore it is that I take the trouble to send you the four books for inspection, and with them this attempt to set you right on those points where you have misapprehended the nature of the evidence.

‘ I am, dear Sir,

‘ Yours truly,

‘ JOHN CHILDS.’

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We have also received the Report of an examination instituted by the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the King's printers' patents, for the purpose of obtaining an explanation of the differences between the evidence relative to the small pica Bible, as it appears in the several versions of the examination of Mr. Rees; from which we deem it sufficient to lay before our readers the following extract.

‘ EXAMINATION BEFORE MR. HUME AND SIR R. H. INGLIS, M.P.

‘ MR. WHITE, Committee Clerk :

‘ 1. Can you produce the Bible marked No. 2, which, on the 9th March, 1831, was shewn to Owen Rees, Esq., witness before the King's Printers' Committee?—Yes, I can. It has never been out of

my possession—that is to say, it has never been out of my house. I sent it into the country, and have now had it brought back.

‘MR. REES:

‘2. Is this Bible, No. 2, the book which was shewn to you on the 9th of March, 1831?—This is the Bible which was shewn to me. I mistook it for a royal paper Bible when I gave my answer.

‘3. It was the discovery of this error which induced you to desire to make the correction?—It was. I discovered it as soon as I got home.

‘MR. WHITE, recalled:

‘4. Are you certain that the book which you have now produced as No. 2, is the book described as No. 2, which was shewn to Mr. Rees?—I cannot say that it is the book which was shewn to Mr. Rees; but I can say that it is the identical book which I received from the King’s Printers under that mark, No. 2.

‘TO MR. REES:

‘5. With your experience, could you have made such a mistake as one between a medium and royal paper?—I am not much in the habit of looking at books with that view. I am certain that the book which is shewn to me now, is the same No. 2 which was shewn to me on my former examination.

‘6. Would you, when desired to send to this Committee the books printed by the King’s Printer, have sent Bibles printed by the King’s Printer for the *Bible Society*?—Certainly not.

‘7. Is the paper (on which the Bible No. 2, now before you, is printed) the same equally as that on which the King’s Printers’ medium Bible is printed?—It is rather better; the Societies’ Bible is rather better.

‘8. What proportion does that Bible now before you, No. 2, bear to Robertson’s Works printed by Messrs. Spottiswoode, and published by Cadell?—It contains fifty-one pages more than the Robertson, and is three-fourths of a pound heavier; its price is 10s. 6d., and the price of Robertson is 20s.; the Bible has 1271 pages, the Robertson 1220.

‘9. Then the answer which you originally gave in respect to the Bible No. 2, that it was sold at the same price, was erroneous?—Certainly it was erroneous; the error arose from my having the list of the King’s Printers’ Bibles in my hand, and not distinguishing, at the time, royal from medium. The royal being in that list marked as 20s. and the medium being marked as 10s. 6d.

‘TO MR. JOHN CHILD:

‘10. You have been present at this examination, and have heard the statements by Mr. White and by Mr. Rees: what observation have you to make in relation thereto?—That the Bible marked No. 2, and now produced, cannot be the Bible which was exhibited before the Committee, inasmuch as it is published exclusively by the Bible Society for subscribers only, and is printed on paper totally different

from that on which the King's Printers' medium is printed; though both are printed by the King's Printer. The reasons which I give for this observation are to be found in Answer 964, where it will be seen that the King's Printers' royal edition, marked No. 2, is sold in sheets at 16s. wholesale. Again in Answers 985, 994, the same Bible, No. 2, is referred to, and at Answer 988 particularly, where the same Bible, i. e. royal, is described as weighing 4 lb. 13 oz., which could not have been the case if the book had been medium.

' 11. In Question 987, March 12, 1831, you state that there are 80 sheets in the Robertson's Works, and 80 sheets in the Bible No. 2. Did you examine them at the time of your examination?—I did; the books were on the table at the time.

' 12. Have you any other observation on the matter?—In Answers 1312, 1313, Mr. Robert Besley having been instructed to prepare an Estimate for the *octavo royal Bible, No. 2*, states that it is sold by the King's Printers' agents, for 20s.; which answer I consider as marking the identity of the No. 2 which was shewn to me, with the No. 2 shewn to other witnesses. Again, at Answer 1871, Mr. Joseph Parker states, that a large paper, of the small pica letter, sells at 20s., while a book of small pica in the hands of the Chairman, sells for 9s.

' 13. Does not this imply, that there were two Bibles at one and the same time the subject of examination?—I cannot say, as I know of no 9s. King's Printers' Bible \*.

' In presence of

' (Signed) JOSEPH HUME,

' Chairman of the Committee on King's Printers' Patents.

' MEMORANDUM agreed to, July 30th, 1833, by MR. HUME and SIR ROBERT HARRY INGLIS, respecting Part of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the King's Printers' Patents.

' There being in the printed copies of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the King's Printers' Patents, a difference between the first copy which was printed by the Committee for their own exclusive use, and the copy which was subsequently printed in the Report laid before the House of Commons, we have considered it proper to institute an inquiry into the cause of that difference, and by the evidence of Mr. Owen Rees and Mr. John Child, as annexed to this paper, it will appear (comparing such evidence with the Questions and Answers No. 711 to 716) that Mr. Owen Rees, in his original examination, mistook the medium paper small pica Bible for a royal paper small pica Bible, and was afterwards, when he discovered the mistake, allowed to make the necessary correction. The evidence of Mr. John Child will explain the view which he took of the evidence of Mr. Owen Rees, as it was printed in the first copy, which he had been allowed to read previously to Mr. Owen Rees having received

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\* Mr. Parker's answer certainly shews that there were two Bibles at one and the same time the subject of examination: the price of the Oxford small pica Bible is 9s.

permission to make the alteration in question, and which correction has led to the difference of opinion which has taken place.

‘ (Signed) JOSEPH HUME, late Chairman of the Committee.  
ROBERT HARRY INGLIS.’

To us it appeared that the comparison of the Robertson with the royal paper pica Bible was improper. The medium paper small pica Bible may very fairly be compared with the Robertson, and the advantage is greatly in favour of the former. It is unquestionably a much cheaper book.

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Mr. Robert Besley, whose evidence is referred to in the preceding extracts, has addressed to us the following letter, which we leave to speak for itself.

‘ TO THE EDITOR OF THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

‘ SIR,

‘ In the Article on the Bible-Printing Monopoly in your Number for August last, you have dismissed entirely the plea set up by the Monopolists, that the monopoly gives the public any additional security for the purity of the text of the Holy Scriptures, and have shewn very clearly, that the only real question at issue is one of mere shillings and pence,—this is, certainly, in all times, important enough, and especially so, when every lover of truth is anxious, to circulate the greater quantity of books with the lesser sum of money.—In your analysis of the Evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee, you have omitted to notice that part of it connected with the printing the Acts of Parliament and Statutes, without which some readers will hardly be able to judge correctly of the reliance to be placed on the Estimates generally, which were lain on the table of that Committee, and on which the whole gist of the discussion rests.—If you will refer to the averments in the Petition on which the Committee was appointed, you will see that the Petitioners stated, that the laws of God and the laws of man, books of all others with which we ought to be most familiar, were charged, the one 25, and the other 33 per cent. higher than they ought to be,—one very material feature in the investigation, was the enormous prices charged by the Patentees for printing the Statutes at large, and the Acts of Parliament, and when I was called on by the Chairman of the Committee, to furnish information, as to the prices of printing, I at once took considerable pains to lay before him such estimates, as I knew would stand the test of any examination, however critical.—To demonstrate that these are not the fallacies they are represented to be, I can refer you to the Lords of the Treasury themselves, for they have acted on these estimates to their fullest extent,—they have reduced the prices which they paid the Patentees from four pence per sheet, to one penny half penny, and by the exertions of that Committee a saving to the public in that particular has been made of £50,000—(see the Report of the Committee of supply, Aug. 16th, in the Times of the 17th of August last).

To every impartial person, this must be a most triumphant answer to all the misstatements and misrepresentations connected with this part of the subject, and ought to be considered as demonstrating that if one part of the estimate is good to act on, it is hardly fair to dismiss the other, en cavalier, without showing in what part they are fallacious. There is another point in my Evidence, I should wish to direct attention to; if you will refer to question 1319, you will see that I carefully avoided mixing up the bookseller with the printer, my estimates being those of a printer only; this will explain some apparent discrepancies between them, and some others which were produced in Committee.

‘ There are some curious facts connected with the *Royal Octavo Bible*, (which was certainly the book to which I was directed). By referring to the List of Bibles and prices of the King’s Printers’ books for 1833, I see this very identical *Royal Octavo Book* is reduced from 20s. to 15s. retail, and from 16s. to 12s. wholesale; if the King’s Printers can at once reduce the price of a book thus brought into public notice, 25 per cent., there need be no further controversy necessary to demonstrate that it is high time, in works of such daily bread importance, the price charged to the public should have a little more affinity to the cost. In referring to the same book, Mr. Parker says, that 200 copies have not been sold in seven years,—this may be the case; that few are sold is no answer to my statement. I am willing, at this moment, to print that particular book at the price stated in my evidence, and to allow the University any moderate sum out of the profits for the use of their privilege. Mr. Parker states further, see Question 1905, that the *Small Pica Medium Octavo*, the same book, in fact, is a book they sell 10,000 annually of; surely if the Oxford people alone can sell 10,000 annually of this book in medium, I am not far wrong in estimating for 10,000 on *Royal Paper*, supposing the price reduced to a competition scale.

‘ You will excuse my entering on this subject, thus at length: I feel, by the remarks attached to my evidence, that I am put on my trial, and I am particularly anxious to stand clear of all improper bias in a matter of such moment. “*In whatever other particulars my evidence may be questionable,*” I am prepared, at any time, to demonstrate its truth by any test which may be produced.

‘ The question of being taxed for our Scriptures, is now getting to be generally understood, some of our best men have taken the subject up, and it becomes the duty of all persons, anxious for the free natural circulation of the Bible, to aid in the desirable object of making the books cheap. The Bible Societies are more especially called on to claim, (as in the case in America) the right of printing their own books; whether they make the claim or not, the days of this monopoly is numbered,—it cannot stand against the intelligence of the age, and I am proud in being one of the instruments used in bringing that monopoly to an end.

‘ ROBERT BESLEY.’

‘ 15, Northampton Square.’

## ART. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Life of the late Rev. Rowland Hill, A.M., is preparing for, and will soon be in the press, by the Rev. Edwin Sidney, A.M., of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Curate of Acle, near Norwich, his relative and ward; to whom he bequeathed, to be used at his discretion, all his Papers and MSS. These consist of his own Journals of his early Preaching, and other interesting Documents, together with Letters from his brother, Sir Richard Hill, and his Friends, during his Residence at Eton and Cambridge. To these are added, those addressed to him on important Occasions, by Whitfield, Beveridge, Venn, Cowper the Poet, Ambrose, Serle, and various Persons of eminent Piety and Talents. The Work will also contain many Characteristic and *Authentic* Anecdotes of his Life and Ministry, with some of his most interesting Correspondence. It will be dedicated, by permission, to his Nephew, General the Lord Hill, Commander of the Forces, &c. &c. &c.

To meet the wishes of a considerable number of the intelligent but poorer classes of the community, the Proprietors of "Cuvier's Animal Kingdom" have prepared a cheap edition of that great work, now publishing, with coloured plates. The cheap edition will consist of exactly the same paper and type; it will also contain the full complement of plates (five hundred), but they will be uncoloured. Price 6d. To be published weekly.

Just published, *Spiritual Vegetation, or the Blade, the Ear, and the Full Corn in the Ear*, by John Adey. Also, by the same Author, *the Two Talents; or Memoir of Charlotte Tampkin, a Pious Servant*.

## ART. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

## BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of the late Dr. Adam Clarke: (from Original Papers,) by a Member of his Family. In demy 8vo, Price 9s. cloth boards.

The Autobiography of John Galt, Esq. In 2 Vols. 8vo, with original Portrait, Price 1l. 4s. boards.

Memoir of John Adam, late Missionary at Calcutta. In 12mo, Price 6s. cloth.

## EDUCATION.

Mental Culture, or the means of developing the Human Faculties. By J. L. Levison. 12mo, 6s. cloth.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

The Letters of Joseph Ritson, Esq. In 2 Vols. Crown 8vo, Price 18s. cloth boards.

## THEOLOGY.

Sermon, occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Rowland Hill. By the Rev. William Richards. 1s. 6d.

The Hope and Duty of the Church, A Sermon, delivered in Grosvenor Street Chapel, Manchester, at the Annual Meeting of the East Lancashire Auxiliary Missionary Society, June 18, 1833. By Andrew Reed. Published by request. 8vo, 1s. 6d.

## TRAVELS.

Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China, in the Ship Lord Amherst. In one Volume 8vo, Price 3s. boards.

A Journey to Switzerland, and Pedestrian Tours in that Country. In demy 8vo, illustrated, Price 12s. boards.



# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1833.

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Art. I. *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H. G. O. Dwight in Armenia*: including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a Visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas. In Two Volumes. By Eli Smith, Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. 12mo. pp. xvi. 676. Boston, U. S. 1833.

**W**E were not aware, in inviting the attention of our readers to the ancient history of Armenia, that we should so soon have it in our power to lay before them a faithful and accurate account of the present state of the country, supplied by the personal researches of two learned Missionaries; and we cannot help regarding it as a remarkable coincidence, that the history, literature, and moral condition of this long oppressed and neglected Christian nation, should be occupying the attention of Oriental scholars, learned natives, and Missionary Boards, at one and the same time, in London, Calcutta, and Boston.

Hitherto, the attention of the British public has been too little directed to Armenia, to create a desire for further information respecting it. English travellers have come into contact with Armenian merchants and monks in different parts of the Levant, more especially at Constantinople and Jerusalem. Armenians are numerous also in India, as well as in Persia, being scattered all over the East. But the country itself has seemed to be so completely swallowed up between Turkey and Persia on either hand, that it has well nigh disappeared from geography, and few are the modern travellers who have crossed its once fertile and populous, but now bare and silent plains. Tournefort, Macdonald Kinneir, Ker Porter, and Schultz, are, we believe, the only recent contributors to our information respecting the interior of the country. The high route from Constantinople to Tabriz, *via* Tokat, Erzeroom, and Erivan, which leads through the heart

of both Armenias, is well known to mercantile and other overland travellers. Little, however, can be gathered respecting a region, and the state of its population, from a hurried journey under escort of a Tatar courier; accordingly, the greater part of Armenia is still, as remarked in the preface to these volumes, '*terra incognita* to the topographer.'

The map which accompanies these volumes, though confessedly only an approximation to an accurate delineation of the country, will be found a valuable acquisition. A recent Russian map of the countries lying between the Euxine and Caspian seas, has been followed in the northern part; Morier's map has been consulted for Adjerbijan; Kinneir's for Kourdistan and some other unfrequented parts; Niebuhr has been relied upon for some localities in Mesopotamia; and an Armenian map in Mukhitar's Armenian Dictionary, has been frequently referred to.

It will be proper to explain the circumstances under which the journey narrated in these pages was undertaken. A large extent of territory bordering on the Mediterranean had been previously surveyed by missionaries sent out by the American Board. In the year 1820, Messrs. Fisk and Parsons had made the tour of that part of Asia Minor which includes the Seven Churches. Messrs. Fisk and King, in 1823, ascended the Nile to Thebes; and the same Missionaries, with their fellow labourers, explored the whole of Palestine and the greater part of Syria, between 1821 and 1827. In 1827, Mr. Grindley travelled from Smyrna into Cappadocia; and in that year and the following two, Messrs. Brewer, King, Smith, and Anderson visited the Morea and the principal islands of the Ionian and Egean seas. Tripoli and Tunis were visited by Mr. Bird in 1829. These investigations, together with those of missionaries employed by British Societies, had laid open the religious condition of the Greek, Coptic, and Maronite churches, to the observation of their 'brethren in the Western world.' It still remained, however, to carry these researches into the countries further east, once the seat of Christian light and civilization, in which the remnants of various ancient ecclesiastical communities still exist, of whose state too little was known to render it practicable to determine definitely what could be attempted for their spiritual relief and improvement.

'Such, among others, were the Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, and Chaldeans. To ascertain what it was practicable for the churches of America to do for these sects, and also for the Turks, Turkmans, Kurds, and Persians, among whom they reside, the Prudential Committee of the Board resolved to send two Missionaries into Armenia on a tour of investigation. The Rev. Eli Smith was selected for one, on account of his experience as a traveller, and his acquaintance with the Arabic language, with which he had made himself familiar in Syria, and also with Turkish, which a little practice would enable him to

employ in conversation. The Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, although but just come into the Mediterranean, was associated with him, in full confidence that he would render important aid in the service.'

The result has been, the collection of a mass of interesting and valuable facts, the relation of which, in the independent journals of the two Travellers, deposited at the rooms of the Board, occupies more than a thousand pages of manuscript. From the two reports, this work has, by order of the Committee, been prepared and published; and we cordially subscribe to the commendation passed upon it by the Secretaries to the Board of Missions in the Advertisement prefixed.

'We regard the statements contained in these volumes as possessing an accuracy and value far beyond what is common in books of travels; and as being worthy of the attentive perusal of the geographer and historian, as well as of missionaries and directors of missionary societies; and indeed, of all who are interested in the publication of the Gospel in the East, and in the intellectual and moral improvement of man.'

As an Introduction to the narrative, Mr. Smith has drawn up a brief historical sketch of Armenia, the materials of which are principally derived from the work of Father Michael Chamich (or Chamcheán, as we find his name more usually written); the English translation of which by Mr. Avdall, we have so recently reviewed. He acknowledges also his high obligations to the very learned "*Memoires Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Arménie*," of M. J. Saint Martin. This work was, he says, 'our travelling companion and guide, and, though compiled principally from Armenian authors, without the aid of personal observation, it constantly surprised us by its extreme accuracy.' Mr. Smith briefly recites the absurd traditions respecting Haig and his successors, and the early Armenian dynasties, of which we have given our readers a more than sufficient specimen; but, while evidently suspicious of their authenticity, he has not attempted to submit them to critical analysis. In reference to the legend respecting King Abgar, it is simply remarked, in a note, that Asseman contends, that he was not king of Armenia, and never governed any part of that country; that Tacitus styles Abgar (or Acbarus) king of the Arabs; and that, in speaking of Armenia during this period, the Roman historian has evidently in mind only the country whose capital was Artaxata, now Erivan. Surely this affords sufficient ground for discarding the poetical episode from Armenian history. It is not a little singular, that, even as to the supposed reviver of Christianity in Armenia, in the fourth century, Gregory *Loosavorich* (the Illuminator), the ancient Greek ecclesiastical historians, from Eu-

sebius to Evagrius, maintain a total silence. 'Sozomen reports 'a tradition that Tiridates, king of Armenia, was converted by 'a vision, became a very zealous Christian, and ordered all his 'subjects to believe in Christ. But he says nothing of Gregory. 'Even the Armeniān Moses Chorenensis gives but a very brief 'account of him.' (p. 24.) If, then, such a person ever existed, there is strong reason for scepticism as to the whole legend respecting his acts and deeds, among which we find it recorded, that he 'baptized the king and the *whole nation* '!

Armenian history properly begins with Armenian literature. Whether we are right or not in conjecturing that the primitive civilization of *Assyrian* Armenia was Zendish, the Christian civilization of *Parthian* Armenia was certainly Greek, and the Armenian language appears to have been first written in the Greek character. When this character became *proscribed* by the Persians, Mesrob invented the Armenian alphabet,—as much, possibly, with a view to concealment, as for any other object. The Armenian version of the Bible, the oldest Armenian book extant, was translated from the Septuagint. The Armenian Church appears to have been originally considered as a branch of the Syrian; and two native Syrians had successively been raised to its patriarchal chair, previously to the great schism which originated from the council of Chalcedon. The Armenian bishops had unanimously assented to the decrees of the councils of Nice and Ephesus; but, under the influence, it is supposed, of the learned Syrian monk, Barsumas, (or Bardsumay,) they formally rejected, in the synod held at Vagharshabad, A.D. 491, the Chalcedonian decrees, 'at the same time most inconsistently anathematizing Eutyches.' On this ground, the charge of heresy is brought against the Armenian Church by both the Latins and the Greeks. The Georgian Church was represented by its *katholikos* and a number of bishops in the Armenian synod; but, within a century after, (A.D. 580,) in spite of the remonstrances of the head of the Armenian Church, the rejected decrees of Chalcedon were adopted by the Georgians, who have ever since formed a part of the Orthodox Greek Church.

The chief bond of ecclesiastical union, however, or, rather, the mark of ecclesiastical subjection, would seem to have consisted less in uniformity of creed than of language. The use of the Latin Ritual, next to an acknowledgement of the supremacy of the Romish bishop, forms the point of honour and token of conformity most peremptorily insisted upon throughout the pale of the Papal Church. The use of the Greek language is a not less essential mark of Greek orthodoxy; while the anti-Byzantine churches of the East have each their heretical language. We cannot, therefore, help regarding the Armenian heresy as manifested more in the rejection of the Greek as a sacred language,

than in the non-reception of the decrees of Chalcedon. All the great ecclesiastical schisms have been, at the bottom, *national* quarrels ; and the bond of nationality is language. Their mother tongue is the last thing which either a conquered nation or a persecuted church can be compelled to abandon. We have seen this exemplified in the religious fondness which the Irish cherish for their own tongue, which, although not that of their Church, is identified with it, through sharing in the persecution carried on against both by the ' Saxons.' It is not less strikingly displayed in the tenacity with which the Coptic, Syrian, and Slavonic churches adhere to the dead language embalmed in their church ritual. It is the only tie which connects them with their ancestry. The Eastern Churches are but the monuments of ancient nations ; sepulchral monuments, in which the dead commemorate the dead, their unintelligent worship being but a funeral service, a perpetual elegy.

No wonder, then, that it should notoriously form ' part of the ' policy of papal missionaries, to *denationalize* their converts, by ' substituting attachment to Rome and her children for patriotic ' partialities.' And this is effected very greatly by means of the language of the Romish ritual, which has served to perpetuate a despotism over the mind itself, and of the Frankish dialects of commerce. With the papal Greeks of the Archipelago, this process of denationalizing ' has been carried so far, that many who are of genuine Greek descent, consider it an insult to be called Greeks.

' The papal Armenians own the name of Armenian still, but they like the Franks better than their countrymen. Even in the interior of Turkey, 900 miles from Constantinople, a papal Armenian priest and his family, with whom Providence cast our lot for a night, announced themselves to us as brother Franks, (supposing us to be of course Papists,) and treated us with more kindness than we experienced from any other natives the whole journey ; at the same time that they exhibited a bitter enmity towards their Armenian neighbours \*. They naturally seek to learn the languages of their friends, and in fact, have for this purpose a flourishing school in Pera. A key to European intelligence is thus acquired, and they of course become more enlightened than their countrymen.' Vol. I. pp. 68.

The practical conclusion to be drawn from these facts, is, that, while to proscribe a language is the direct way to enlist in its favour all the energies of national attachment, the only avenue to the minds and hearts of a people is through their own mother tongue.

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\* May we not adduce as a parallel to this, the bitter enmity exhibited towards their Irish countrymen by those natives of Ireland who have become *denationalized* ?

With equal wonder and delight the natives of civilized and of barbarous lands hear proclaimed in their "own tongue wherein they were born", the wonderful works of God, or spell out the words of life in their own sacred character. Language is made up of moral associations; and it is with these, not with naked sounds, that we must find the means of connecting the truths we seek to impart. On the other hand, a re-action always takes place in the minds of a people, in favour of both the language and the persons of those teachers who have gained their confidence by this concession to their intellectual requirements and prejudices; and while we have more instances in history, of conquerors adopting the language of their vassals, than of their succeeding in naturalizing their own, the instructed seldom fail ultimately to adopt, to a greater or less extent, the dialect and literature of their instructors. It is by this re-action that the English language is spreading, and will continue to spread, all over the world. It might almost serve as the motto of missionary enterprise, **Translate and Conquer.**

Our introductory remarks have imperceptibly extended to a greater length than we had designed. We shall now proceed to lay before our readers an abstract of the very interesting narrative comprised in these Researches.

On the morning of the 21st of May, 1830, the two travellers took leave of Constantinople, and 'set their faces towards Armenia'. The north winds having set in for the summer season, it was deemed prudent not to risk the passage to Trebisonde, and the tardy movements of a caravan were declined for the more expeditious mode of travelling post under the escort of a Tatar guide. But they were outwitted by the wily Mussulman. He had contrived to engage himself in the same capacity to three Armenians and two Turkish merchants, who successively joined the party at different stations on the route; so that, with the addition of a second Tatar 'as an accidental companion', the party, by the time they reached Karajalar, consisted of nineteen horses, more than most post-houses could be expected to contain. They appear nevertheless to have lost little time, for on the 1st of June they entered Tokat. The rapidity with which they were hurried on, rendered the journey in fact extremely fatiguing. For instance:—

'Every stage, often thirty miles or more, is travelled without allowing our horses a drop of water, and our gait is frequently a rapid gallop; in enduring which the loaded animals especially exhibit a strength and hardiness that quite astonish us . . . . Beyond Karajalar, the same table-land continued, and our party moved over it, often nineteen abreast, upon an almost unbroken gallop for three hours to Kharajulen, where we stopped at 7 P.M. Had you seen us, loaded horses and all, bounding over the plain as if for a wager, the



scene would have amused you : unless perchance pity for the poor animals had produced an opposite impression. We should ourselves have dealt more mercifully with the poor beasts, and in fact with their riders, had we been our own masters. But, with a level road and good horses, the irresistible tendency of a Tartar is onward ; and our Mohammed Aga had no moderate share of the propensity of his profession. Having as usual anticipated us a little, he awaited our arrival at the post-house, and as we drove up in good spirits after a ride of at least 60 miles since the morning, exclaimed to his friends, *el hamd lillah alushdalar*, (thank God they have got used to it,) highly gratified by such a proof that we were now able to push on as fast as he wished.' Vol. I. pp. 84, 5.

In the seventh day's journey, five hours and three quarters beyond Tosia, the travellers came to the junction of the Derin-goz (a small and rapid stream which flows by that town) with the Halys, 'at a point where that river, after coming down from the east, suddenly turns northward.' We notice this statement, on account of the remark which accompanies it, in a note ; that 'Kinneir has mistaken these rivers, one for the other.' The Halys is now called, from the colour of its muddy water, *Kuxul-ermák* (red river). It takes its ancient name from flowing over a saline soil, or from the salt mines found near its borders. At Amasia, the ancient capital of Pontus, the route crosses the Iris, (now called the *Yeshil-ermák*,) which there flows through a deep ravine. The city is situated on both banks of the river, in the narrowest part of the defile, which it completely fills, lofty precipices overhanging it on either side, and an excellent bridge connects the two quarters. Tokat (*Eudocia*), 20 hours from Amasia, is situated on the south side of the same river, in the higher part of its valley. This is one of the most considerable places in Asiatic Turkey, containing, according to the information received from a respectable Armenian merchant, 4000 Turkish houses, 1350 Armenian, 500 or 600 Greek, and 70 Jewish : which would give a population of between 30 and 40,000 souls. Mr. Smith was disappointed, however, in its appearance and size. It is unwall'd ; all the houses, even to that of the governor, are of unburned brick ; and, 'if the streets are paved, as has often been mentioned in its praise, it is no more than can be said of most towns of any magnitude in Turkey.' Still, some of its edifices are of good size, and parts of it are 'tolerably neat for a Turkish city.' Apart from its commercial importance, this place derives an interest from containing the tomb of the Rev. Henry Martyn, who died there on his homeward route in 1812.

'His remains lie buried in the extensive cemetery of the Armenian church of Karasoon Manoog, and are covered by a monument erected by Claudius James Rich, Esq., late English Resident at Bagdad. An

appropriate Latin inscription is all that distinguishes his tomb from the tombs of the Armenians who sleep by his side.'

Mr. Smith considers Tokat as the best spot for a missionary station in Armenia Minor.

' Besides its own Armenian population, which is not small, it has a convenient situation in reference to several other places that contain many of the same people. On the west are Marsovan and Amasia ; on the north-east, Niksar ; and on the south-east, Sivas ; embracing, together with Tokat itself, not far from 24,000 Armenians, within a circle extending in the furthest direction not more than 80 miles from this centre, without reckoning any that might be scattered in villages. Whether there are many thus located, we did not ascertain by inquiry ; but we should expect to find them, in this their adopted country, not merely in the migratory and alien character of merchants and mechanics in cities, but in that of peasants cultivating the soil, as if it was their nation's home. In a word, Tokát is the spot to be chosen as a centre of operation for the Armenians of the Second Armenia, as Cesarea is, probably, for those of the First and Third Armenia, and Tarsus for those of Cilicia.' Vol. I. p. 101.

Tokat has been mistaken for the site of the ancient *Comana Pontica*. That city appears to have stood about two hours higher up the river, where some ruins occupy both banks, which are known under the name of Old Tokat. Mr. Smith visited the spot in his route to Niksar, and we must transcribe his description of this beautiful region ; premising, that he is rather sceptical as to the accuracy of the local tradition which makes *this* Comana the place where Chrysostom expired on his road to Pityus, in Colchis. He sees 'no reason why Comana in Cappadocia may 'not have been the place of his death.' The ruins at Old Tokat are all coarse and modern, except a few foundations.

' These,' continues Mr. Smith, 'bear marks of genuine antiquity, and I am inclined to believe the Armenian tradition which makes this the site of Comana. But the shrine of Bellona no longer creates here the luxury and profligacy of Corinth, nor do the remains, or even the tomb of Chrysostom, now attract hither the sympathies of christians for that persecuted man. Not a human being inhabits the spot, and a few uninteresting stones only distinguish it. Crossing the river here, we rode a few miles up its valley, which is fertile and considerably cultivated. Then turning to the left over a gentle eminence, we descended by the side of a noisy torrent, through a ravine thickly shaded with the oak, the beech, the plane, the maple, the box, the hazel, wild grape vines and roses, into the valley of Niksar. Though somewhat marshy, it is even more fertile and beautiful than the one we had left. We crossed it nearly at right angles, and passing the river of Niksar, (the ancient Lycus,) by a most bungling ferry-boat, we stopped at the town for the night, though but 9 hours from Tokat.

Niksar is but a corruption of Neocesarea, the town in Pontus which is known as the birth-place of Gregory Thaumaturgus. It occupies a gentle eminence at the foot of a range of mountains which forms the northern boundary of the plain. A citadel with a strong wall and gates still standing, contains the bazars and business, and forms the nucleus of the town; the deserted ruins of another fortress on a height above, throw around it an air of antiquity; and forests of fig, pomegranate, pear, cherry, walnut, and other fruit-trees, concealing the houses of the main body of its inhabitants along the sloping declivity below, give to it rural charms of the very first order. High on the north hangs the mountain clothed with the foliage of an almost impenetrable forest; and spread out on the south lies the plain, carpeted with the verdure of the smoothest meadow. A copious shower just after we stopped, gave the highest finish of freshness and life to the whole. In a word, the scenery of Niksar, united with that of many other places in Pontus of a similar cast, has stamped upon my mind an impression of that country, that would need very little aid from monastic propensities, to induce me to take up my residence with the shade of St. Basil in its beautiful forests. The town contains 600 Turkish, 120 Armenian, and 20 Greek houses; and in a distinct suburb, are 40 Greek houses more.

*June 4.* Our road from Niksar led us directly to the top of the highest peak of the mountain that rises behind it. The fatigue of the ascent was forgotten in the charms which surrounded us. At first, small ravines, wooded with walnuts, wild cherries, and other trees, formed channels for murmuring rivulets that descended to water the town. Nearer the top, a forest of lofty beeches shaded a ground beautifully studded with a great variety of delicate flowers. The top itself rose bare above all trees and shrubbery, and the very greenness of the sward which covered it, except where a drift of unmelted snow still lingered here and there, seemed only to give a finish to its baldness. From this elevated position, which it took us four hours to reach, we could look across the whole region of the Iris and its tributaries, to the snow-capped mountains that bound it on the south. Sitting down by a spring to eat a morsel of bread, we basked with pleasure in the rays of the sun, now raising the thermometer to only 56°, though they had so recently scorched us in the valleys below with a temperature of 100°.

Descending through a grove of pines, which in the inverted position of their limbs seemed to bear marks of the weight of wintry sleet and snows, we came soon into an open and beautiful grazing country. Level meadows and swelling hills, covered with the finest sward, interspersed with here and there a woodland, and intersected with rivulets of the purest water, seemed to give reality to the poetical charms of pastoral life. As we approached the log village in which was our post-house, a grotesque groupe, with pipe and tambour, headed by one in the costume of a zany, came forth to meet us; and imagination instantly seized them to complete the deception, by adding to the scene, Pan and the Satyrs in actual life, engaged in their favourite amusement. Poetry soon became prose, however, when, on entering

the village, we found that the head-man, being about to take to himself a wife, was keeping a feast of fifteen days, and these his musicians, hoping to add our present to his pay, had stopped a moment from celebrating his joys, to welcome our arrival.

‘The village is named Kötaly; it is 8 hours from Niksar. Its houses, which were few, were in the style of the best log architecture of the United States, except that they were covered with a flat terrace, which extended like a portico several feet in every direction from the body of the building. In one of these, we were furnished with better accommodations than we had had since leaving Constantinople. Our room was well floored and neatly ceiled throughout. A good fireplace, with jambs and hearth of hewn stone and an andiron, (unfortunately there was but one,) a rare article of furniture in Turkey, was supplied with a cheerful fire. Our modest and civil host soon furnished us with a frugal supper, and for the consideration of twenty-three cents provided a roasted lamb for to-morrow.—There are no Armenians in this vicinity, but a village not far distant has 30 Greek houses.

‘June 5. Apple and pear trees in blossom gave to our morning’s ride the charms of early spring; and an occasional glimpse of the snowy summits of the Janik mountains on our left, shewed that winter still reigned not far from us. Leaving the open grazing country after three or four hours, and crossing a succession of exquisitely beautiful lawns enclosed in a grove of pines, we were conducted at length up the long and narrow dell of Baghursak-deresy, among juniper and barberry bushes, into a continuous and dense forest. The prospect that burst upon us, as we unexpectedly issued from it in the afternoon, arrested us immoveably by its indescribable grandeur. We were on the edge of the elevated plateau to which we had ascended yesterday. So far below as to be but indistinctly seen, the river of Niksar wound its course through a ravine whose sides were lofty mountains. We stood on the top of one of them. Opposite to us, mountain rose above mountain with all the roughness of crag and precipice, till the summits of the furthest were whitened with wintry snows. Our stage was to end at the very bottom of the abyss. We worked our way without danger, though not without fatigue, down to the brink of a perpendicular precipice about 100 feet directly over the town in which we were to stop. Here some caution was required to avoid the serious accident of being landed in our post-house sooner than we wished; but at last, after a descent of two hours and a half in all, we safely reached the bottom.’ Vol I. pp. 103—107.

On leaving this place (*Koylisar*, or *Gokly-hissar*) the next day, the route for seven hours ascended the course of the river up the profound ravine above described. This ‘frightful pass’ led out to a high champaign country covered with green-sward, and surrounded with the snowy summits of the *Janik-dagh*. The mountains known under this appellation, are connected with a branch of Caucasus, which first separates Mingrelia from Georgia,

and, under the name \* of *Childir-dagh*, traverses the pashaliks of Akhaltsikhe (or Akhiskhab) and Kars; then, passing between Erzeroom and the south-eastern corner of the Black Sea, it receives the name of *Giaoor-dagh*, and finally, as it approaches its western termination in the plain of the Iris, that of *Janik-dagh*. After running for several hours over the table-land, the route descends into a warm valley watered by a small tributary of the Niksar river; from which a long ascent conducts the traveller to the elevated plains of Sheheran, the border district of Erzeroom. In Mr. Smith's map, however, we find it included in the territory of Gumesh-khaneh, a town between Sheheran and Trebisond.

'Sheheran is the last place mentioned in the journal of Martyn. How wearisome and painful must have been his journey of 170 miles over the mountains and valleys that intervene between here and Tokat, where his earthly toils ceased!'

The *derbend* (guard-house) of Fundukli-bel, a few hours to the west of Sheheran, was the limit of the advance of the Russians towards the west, in their last invasion of Armenia. From this vicinity, they are said to have penetrated through the mountains to the boundaries of the pashalik of Trebisond, within 18 miles of the sea. The Ottoman post establishment was completely broken up by the Russian invasion, so that, beyond Sheheran, the Tatar escort became of no advantage, and the Travellers found their *menzil-emry* (order for horses) of no use.

A gradual descent from the high, undulating ground of Sheheran led them into a broad and open plain, watered by a stream of some size, which, they were informed, flows by Niksar; and Mr. Smith concludes it to be the main branch (or rather head stream) of the river that bears that name, the ancient Lycus. The route, after leaving the plain of Chiftlik, lies for about three hours along its bank, till it enters a steep, wooded ravine, leaving the river descending from a snowy mountain on the south, called the *Chiman-dagh* (verdant mountain). All the way from Niksar, this same range had occasionally appeared, just south of the river, which takes its rise in its extreme and most elevated part, 'confirming what Strabo says of the Lycus, that it rises in 'Armenia.' The steep defile led to the naked summit of a narrow ridge which appears to separate the basin of the *Iris* (into which the Lycus pours its waters) from that of the *Akampsis*, now called the Jorokh; for, on descending into the plain on the eastern side, the Travellers crossed a considerable stream running northward, which, flowing by Baiboort, empties itself into the

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\* 'Called by the Greeks, *Moschici*, giving to the region the name of *Meschia*.' *Childir*, Mr. Smith supposes to be related to the *Chaldæi*, who once occupied those parts.

Black Sea, and is 'without doubt, the main branch of the Jorokh.' Here, then, says Mr. Smith, 'we may consider ourselves within the boundaries of Armenia Proper.

'The scenery around us is thoroughly Armenian; a mixture of fertility and bleakness; plains and hills clothed alike with the greenest sward, but not a tree or a shrub to adorn them. A green ridge called *Otlúk-bely*, with now and then a snow-drift by the side of our path, succeeded. Here, directly in the road and by the side of it, were several mineral springs issuing large quantities of gas, and depositing much yellow stony matter. One of them, in the valley of a little tributary of the Euphrates that rises here, had apparently raised a mound by its deposits nearly 25 feet in height. The water of all was without scent, and tasted much like the celebrated waters of Saratoga. . . At the first village in Armenia (*Kara-koolák*), it was very appropriate to be first introduced to almost the only accommodations the traveller finds in that country. We slept in a stable. . . We had left to-day the waters of the Iris, crossed those of the Jorókh, and come upon those of the Euphrates, for a small stream runs by this place on its way to the latter river.' Vol. I. p. 114.

In the next stage, they crossed another naked ridge, affording from the summit, 'a bleak and wintry prospect down upon an 'extensive mass of dark, snowy mountains to the south-east,' on the further side of the Euphrates. The descent led down to a pass of evil name, *Sheitan-deresy* (Satan's dell).

'Its appearance and reputation are almost equal to its name. At the crossing point, three profound ravines converge and unite in one. Their sudden windings and high banks of shelving, craggy rocks would conceal an army in ambush till you were in its midst. And the difficulty of the path, which winds over rocks and loose stones up an almost perpendicular ascent on either side, would cut off the possibility of escape. It is the third of the four dangerous passes of which our tartar had warned us; and, as proof that his fears were not groundless, he pointed to his thumbless hand, which had been maimed here, fighting with robbers. We shall not be charged with unusual weakness of nerves, if we confess that we stopped but a moment to collect some curious minerals that lay in the path, and took but a hasty draught of the limpid stream that runs through its bottom. We immediately came upon the northern branch of the Euphrates, and, after riding two or three hours along its northern bank, stopped in a small meadow to bait our fatigued horses in the grass. This river was considered the proper Euphrates by the Greek and Roman writers; but the Armenians give that honour to the *Murád-chai*. It is here enclosed by uninteresting mountains, with only a few stunted cedars to cover their barren rocks. Not an inhabited house appears near it for more than thirty miles; and occasional tombs of travellers, one or two of whom were tartars, that have been murdered by robbers, excite other emotions than one would wish to indulge when first coming upon so celebrated a river. While we were lounging under the trees of our



meadow, a thunder-storm passed over us, and, by its tremendous peals echoing from mountain to mountain, added a terrible majesty to the already gloomy scene.' pp. 115, 116.

Horses were no longer to be procured, and those which had brought the Travellers the last few stages, were knocked up. The only expedient was, to hire some carts of primitive rudeness, drawn by oxen. In this style, on the next day but one, the party entered the plain of Erzeroom, and reached a village two hours from the city. 'Ashamed to enter Erzeroom in carts,' they procured a few horses the next morning, and found the Armenian capital the head-quarters of the Russian army! The distance from Constantinople which the Travellers had thus accomplished in safety, is 262 hours, or about 786 miles.

Before we proceed with the narrative, we shall anticipate the information subsequently furnished respecting the other head stream of the Euphrates above referred to. In returning to Erzeroom from Tabriz, between Keleeseh, the last village in Persarmenia, and Bayazeed, the Travellers crossed a high and dreary mountain, covered almost entirely (in April) with deep snow, and which they suppose to be the *Niphates* of the Greeks, separating Persia from Turkey. From this mountain, they descended to the head of a plain extending towards the west, and crossed a small stream running in that direction, which Mr. Smith concluded to be one of the first branches of the *Murad-chai*. Turning northward, they came in full view of 'the back of Mount 'Ararat,' which presented much the same aspect as when viewed from the valley of the Aras. Continuing their journey northward over a few barren hills, they came in sight of Bayazeed, the capital of a pashalik, hanging romantically upon the side of a rugged precipice, which rises to some height above it, and is crowned with the citadel. The town, inhabited by about 190 Armenian families and between 300 and 400 Moslem, chiefly Kourds, was found in a miserable, ruined, and filthy state. On leaving Bayazeed, they turned westward into a broad plain, and in about an hour crossed a small stream running northward, which, they were informed, 'passes round the Magoo side of 'Mount Ararat, and falls into the Aras between that mountain 'and Nakchevan.' Towards the end of a most dreary stage, they crossed a small mountain covered with snow of some depth, and descended to Diadeen, a walled town, situated 'on the 'northern bank of the eastern branch of the Euphrates, now 'called *Murád-chai*, or the river of Murad.' The next day, they followed the uncultivated and deserted valley of the river westward to Uch-keleeseh, an Armenian convent; a distance of three hours. The convent stands on the south side of the river; and a few rods before reaching it, though the stream was swollen by the rain, a bridge of only three or four logs covered with weeds

and earth, conducted the Travellers over it without difficulty. Two miles lower, the road re-crosses the river by a stone bridge, and lies along its northern bank for several hours, through a tract of uneven woodless pasture, bounded by mountains, to where the *Kor-chai*, a mountain stream, falls into the Murad. At a miserable hamlet called *Kara-keleeseh*, a mile or two further, the *Murad-chai* turns to the left, towards *Melazgerd*, and finds its way through a mass of mountains, then covered with snow. The route, inclining more to the right, crosses in immediate succession some half-dozen tributary streams, at this season swelled by the melted snows. Beyond them, a somewhat more elevated, though level tract succeeds, extending to the mountains, which now bend southward, and cross the line of march. It is part of a continuous range, which sweeping round from Mount Ararat 'in a circuitous course,' towards the junction of the two head streams of the Euphrates, separates the valley of the Aras from that of the *Murad-chai*. The plain itself was covered with snow from one to two feet in depth, and in a melting state; and the passage of the mountain, the following day, was attended with considerable difficulty and peril. During one or two months in the year, the snow, they were assured, entirely disappears, and it is then passable with carts; but it must at all times be an arduous journey. From the multitude of abrupt ravines and ridges of which it is composed, it has received the name of *Gedûk-dagh* (fissure-mountain). *Dahar*, a Kourdish village in the heart of the mountains, is the last in the pashalik of Bayazeed, and in the proper country of the Kourds, of which this range is the western bound and barrier. To the east of it, the Mussulman population is as universally and distinctly of the Kourdish race, as that of Asia Minor is of the Tûrkish. From *Dahar*, the Travellers threaded, in their descent, an irregular tortuous ravine, in company with a dashing torrent which pours its waters into the Aras; and with it, were finally ushered into the open province of *Pâsin*, through the *Kara-derbend*, a remarkable pass between enormous buttresses of perpendicular rocks, seeming 'like nature's out-posts.' The country beyond, extending to the banks of the Aras, presents a surface of gentle undulations, covered with a soil apparently fertile, and admirably adapted to the cultivation of grain, but now uncultivated. A stone bridge of seven arches, called *chobân-kopry* (shepherd's bridge), is thrown over the Aras, where, coming down from the mountains to the south in which it rises, it meets the *Moorts*, one of its tributaries. At this point, the road from *Tabriz* falls in with that leading to *Erzeroom* from *Kars*. The snowy ridge which bounds the plain of *Pâsin*, separates it from the still loftier plain of *Erzeroom*, thus dividing the head waters of the Araxes from those of the Euphrates, as the ridge at the western extremity of the plain, separates the waters

of the latter river from those which reach the Black Sea by the Iris and the Akampsis.

With regard to the rival pretensions of the Erzeroom river and the Murad-chai to be considered as the true Euphrates, it is, we think, very apparent that the latter has the longer course, and must bring down the larger volume of water, although the former may possibly descend from the higher level. The plain of Erzeroom, situated in what is called High Armenia, is supposed to be 7000 feet above the level of the sea; and its climate may be judged of from the following description.

‘ From the 13th to the 22d of June, the thermometer ranged at mid-day, in the open shade, from 55° to 65°. We were hardly comfortable with common winter clothing; it rained every day, and the wind was cold and bleak. Indeed, the mountain just above the town, in a shower of the 15th, received an addition to its snow, and became completely white; and at our second visit, a snow-drift was lying in its streets the last of April. We could not learn that any species of fruit whatever is produced nearer than two or three days’ journey. Reflect now that fossil coal is unknown, and no wood is used except pine, and that brought from a distance of three days’ journey, and you will allow me to call the climate and the country inhospitable.’

Vol. I. p. 136.

On the other hand, the *Gedûk-dagh*, which separates the basin of the Murad-chai from that of the Aras, is described by Mr. Smith as the highest crossed in any part of their journey, the passage occupying six hours; and the plain of Bayazeed, almost encircled by the lofty summits of Ararat, would appear to be so much more wintry than that of Pasin on the Turkish side, as to indicate a very considerable elevation; and we strongly incline to believe that it will be found still higher than the plain of Erzeroom, and, in fact, the loftiest in Armenia.

This seems the best place to introduce a general view of the physical geography of this imperfectly explored region. Armenia, in the most flourishing period of its history, was divided into fifteen provinces, which were again subdivided into almost as many cantons as there are valleys in that mountainous region. In the centre was the province of Ararat, ‘distinguished,’ we are told, ‘for its extent and fertility;’ adjoining to which was that of Durooperan; and the others were situated as follows:—Oodi and Kookark on the north; Daik on the n.w.; High Armenia (Erzeroom) on the w.; Fourth Armenia on the s.w.; Aghdznik (Akhznik), Mogk, and Gorjaik (Gorshek), on the s.; Persarmenia on the s.e.; Vasbooragan\* on the e.; Sunik, Artsakh,

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\* ‘The largest and most important of all the Armenian provinces; the residence of the king and the *katholikos*’; called also the land of the Ardsrunians. Neumann’s Notes to the History of Vartan, p. 87.

and Phaidagaran on the N.E. These names, however, convey but little distinct information; we shall endeavour to reduce them to greater distinctness, by exhibiting their present political distribution.

		ARMENIA MINOR.	Modern divisions.
Ottoman.	{	First Armenia.	Pashalik of Kaiserieh.
		Second Armenia.	————— Siwas.
		Third Armenia.	————— Merash.
		ARMENIA MAJOR.	
Ottoman.	{	Fourth Armenia.	Pashalik of Diarbekir.
		Akhznik.	————— Orfah.
		Mogk.	————— Mosul ?
Persian.	{	Gorshek.	Borders of Kourdistan and Adj- erbijan.
		Persarmenia (or Parsga- haik).	
Russian.	{	Vasburagan.	Province of Erivan, and part of the pashalik of Van and Adjerbijan.
		Sunik (or Sisagan).	Province of Nakchevan, and part of Karabaugh.
	{	Phaidagaran (or Paidarka- ran).	The Karabaugh * and district of Ganjeh.
		Arzakh.	
		Oodi.	
	{	Kookark (the <i>Gogarene</i> of Strabo).	<i>Somkheti</i> or Armenian Georgia.
Ottoman.			
{	Daik (or Dahestan).	Pashalik of Akhaltsikhe or Ak- hiska.	
	Garin (or High Armenia).	Pashalik of Erzeroom.	
	Ararat.	Pashaliks of Kars and Baya- zeed.	
	Duroperan (or Turuberan).	Part of the pashalik of Baya- zeed and part of Kourdistan.	

Armenia, it will be seen from the above enumeration of its provinces, is an appellation applied to a groupe of countries, inhabited by different races, subject to different governments, and probably at no time united under one monarchy. We know not, indeed, upon what sufficient authority several of them are comprised in the list of Armenian provinces. The names, First, Second, Third, and Fourth Armenia, are of Roman origin, and denote provinces peopled chiefly by Armenian colonists, but forming

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\* 'Shoosha is the present capital of the Russian province of Karabagh, which embraces the ancient Paidagarān, with parts of Oodi, Artsākh, and Sūnik, and occupies the space between the Koor and the Aras at their junction.' Smith. Vol. I. p. 279.

no part of their original country. Still less is Akhznik, in Mesopotamia, entitled to be included; and in the History of Vartan, we find it expressly distinguished, from 'the land of the Armenians.' Kookark also, would seem to belong more properly to Georgia. Thus, we have reduced the fifteen provinces of Armenia to twelve. Of these, according to the learned Translator of Vartan, 'Great Armenia,' or that part which, on the division of the kingdom, fell to Persia, comprised the six provinces of Ararat, Vasburagan, Sunik, Mogk, Gorshek, and Parsgabaik, with part of Duroperan. But, as the provinces of the Karabagh, bordering on Albania, could not have belonged to 'the land towards the West,' which fell to the share of the Greeks, we must conclude that Arzakh, Oodi, and Phaidagaran were not then considered as part of Armenia. The Greek portion, therefore, must have consisted chiefly of what is now the pashalik of Erzeroom, the name of which indicates that the territory was considered as belonging to the *Rumi*, or Greeks.

Limiting our description to the above provinces of Oriental Armenia, which we may regard as Armenia Proper, we find the country to comprise the whole valley of the Aras, the Mesopotamia of the Aras and the Kour, the valley of the Murad-chai or Eastern Euphrates, and part of the elevated basins of Lakes Van and Ourmiah; the limits on the side of Kourdistan and Adjerbijan being doubtful, and varying at different periods. The latter country, the *Media Atropatene* of the ancients, is called in Armenian, *Mark*, i. e. frontier or border country; and it is probable that it was a neutral or disputed territory. Ancient Assyria seems to have extended northward to the boundaries of Ararat; and if so, it must have comprised the pashaliks of Van and Diarbekir, with Persarmenia, and probably part of Adjerbijan; answering, in fact, pretty exactly to modern Kourdistan. The kingdom of Ararat, referred to in the Hebrew Scripture, probably consisted of the modern province of that name and Duroperan, comprising the pashalik of Bayazeed, watered by the Murad-chai, and the whole of Kars, or the upper part of the basin of the Aras, with part of the territory of Van. The mountain to which Europeans give the name of Ararat, is known to the Armenian natives under no other name than *Masis*\*, while the Turks call it *Aghur-dagh*.

\* The name of Ararat is applied in Scripture only to a country, which is in one instance called a kingdom. The similar name of *Ararad* was given by the Armenians, long before they had received the Scripture account of the flood, by their conversion to Christianity,

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\* Can this word, by any transmutation of letters, be related to the *Baris* of Josephus? *Baris* signifies a ship.

to the central, largest, and most fertile province of their country; the one which, with the doubtful exception of some 230 years, was the residence of their kings or governors from the commencement to the termination of their political existence, and nearly in the centre of which this mountain stands. The singular coincidence argues much for the identity of the Ararat of Scripture with the Ararad of Armenia.'—Vol. II. p. 74.

Of this, we conceive, there can be no reasonable doubt. But which was the kingdom of Minni, mentioned as bordering on, yet distinct from, that of Ararat? As the former is mentioned *after* the latter, it was probably more remote from Judæa. If the word is related to Armenia, may it not have designated those provinces in the basin of the Araxes, which appear to have been the original seat of the Armenian monarchy; that is to say, Erivan, Nakchevan, and the Karabaugh? Ardashad, the Artaxata of the Greek and Roman writers, by whom it is so often referred to as the capital of Armenia during the first centuries of the Christian era, was situated at the junction of the Medzamor with the Araxes. The Medzamor, Mr. Smith remarks, was undoubtedly the river which flows by Ardisheer in Erivan, as there is no other of any kind between the valleys of the Zengy and the Arpa-chai. It enters the Aras a little above the convent of Khor-virab, about two hours from Ardisheer; and the Aras flows along in plain sight, about half a mile distant. The convent derives its name, which signifies 'a deep pit', from a celebrated cave within its precincts, in which, according to the legendary Historian of Armenia, St. Gregory the Illuminator was confined by King Tiridates for fourteen years, in the midst of serpents, and in the endurance of multiplied torments; from which the conversion of the king, by means of his sanctity and miraculous powers, alone released him. The Armenians regard the place with the most superstitious veneration, and it is hardly less an object of pilgrimage than Echmiadzin.

'Whether the legend that gave birth to the convent,' adds Mr. Smith, 'be true or false, it had undoubtedly gained currency while the location of Ardashad was yet well known; and that the Khor-virab was in the citadel of that city, is an essential part of the story. . . . The rocky eminence on which the convent stands, is the only spot adapted for a citadel; and the low soil around, being extremely moist, and in many places marshy, must render the spot, as was Ardashad, very unhealthy. We observed, however, no signs of former fortifications or edifices; and the *vartabed* (who said that his convent stood within the precincts of that city) confessed that no ruins of it are now to be found. We had from Khor-virab, our nearest view of Mount Ararat. The limit of the Russian territory here, is not the river, but the mountain. So that in Ararat centre the boundaries of the three empires of Russia, Turkey, and Persia.' Vol. II. pp. 85, 6.



On the other hand, the name of Ardisheer might seem to indicate that it represents the ancient capital; and near it are found extensive ruins, of which Sir Robert Ker Porter took a sketch in 1817.\* Mr. Smith thus describes the site.

‘ Within a few rods of Ardisher are the ruins of an ancient city, to the examination of which we devoted a part of the afternoon. Its citadel resembles an artificial hill, surrounded by a wall and a ditch. The city itself had double walls, which are now nothing but large mounds of earth, enclosing an extensive tract with one or two small villages. In no part did we discover any traces of stone work, and the whole seems to have been built, in the modern style of the country, of mud. The name of the modern village might naturally be expected to afford a clew to that of the ancient city; but the only trace I find of such a name in these parts, is, that Ardashad was called in later times Ardashar. The location forbids us to suppose that city to have been here. We were inclined to think that they are the ruins of Tovin, a city which, from its foundation in A.D. 350 to A.D. 859, was the capital of the country, and the name of which frequently occurs in history, especially during the reign of the Persian and Arabian governors. It was situated to the north of Ardashad, in a more healthy spot, on the river Azad or Medzamor; and its name signified a hill. A river, which must be the same, now comes down from the mountains here, and fertilizes a broad tract; and though it is so distributed into small canals for purposes of irrigation, that the main bed cannot be distinguished, one of the branches passes directly by the ruined walls.’  
Vol. II. pp. 86, 7.

If Tovin succeeded to the honours of Artaxata, it is not to be wondered at that (as in the case of Comana) the ancient name should have been transferred to the modern site. Erivan, which has since risen to be the capital, is situated many miles from the Aras, in a broken valley, through which flows the Zengy, the outlet of the Lake of Sevan, called in Turkish, *Gökcheh derya* (the azure sea). The city itself is without walls; but, about a quarter of a mile to the south, is the citadel, which is almost a distinct town.

‘ Erivan,’ says Mr. Smith, ‘ seems to have been first fortified and raised into importance, in the earlier reigns of the Sofian dynasty; and, though occasionally taken by the Osmanlies, it has, from that period, been considered the chief place in the Persian division of Armenia. Under the present dynasty, it was the residence of a governor with the title of *serdar*, who, for his power and the importance of his territories, ranked among the highest officers of Persia, until it fell during the last war into the hands of the Russian Emperor. By him it has been made the capital of the province of Armenia, which we found governed

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\* Mr. Neumann, following Injijean, says, ‘ These ruins are now called by the Armenians, ‘ the Deep Pit or Ditch.’ (Notes to Hist. of Vartan, p. 88.) He confounds them with Khor-virab.

by an Armenian with the title of prince and the rank of a general in the army.' Vol. II. p. 89.

The Russian province of Armenia comprises the two *ci-devant* Persian provinces of Erivan and Nakhchevan, so named from their capitals: the Arpa-chai forms the present boundary between them. Nakhchevan claims the honour of being the oldest city in the world.

' Armenian etymology shews that the name signifies, *first place of descent, or lodging*; (*Nakh*, first, and *chevan*, place of descent or lodging, corresponding exactly to *menzel* in Arabic;) and Armenian tradition affirms, that Noah first resided here after descending from Mount Ararat. Such a tradition can of course rest upon no satisfactory authority; but that the whole is not of Christian origin, is proved by the fact, that the name *Naxuana* is given to it by Ptolemy, and that Josephus, fifty years before him, affirms that the Armenians call the place where the ark rested, *the place of descent*. From the first mention of it in Armenian tradition as the spot where the family of Ajtahag (Astyages) was located, it is often noticed, both by native and foreign historians, as one of the most important cities in this part of Armenia. But so far back as the time of Chardin, it was a heap of ruins, and formed "in truth," says he, "a pitiable object." It is situated about two fursakhs from the Aras, on the edge of a higher level than the alluvial plain immediately bordering upon that river. Around and in the city are numerous gardens, which even at this season gave evidence, by the size of their trees and shrubbery, of extreme luxuriance; and the abundance of quinces, pears, apples, melons, pomegranates, grapes, and almonds, which stocked the bazar, confirmed their character for fertility. The grapes especially were almost unequalled in excellence, and seemed to deserve the honour of growing on the spot where "Noah began to be an husbandman, and planted a vineyard." The melons too were so plenty, that, together with bread, they seemed to form almost the sole food of the common people. But fruits, with all their charms, are here, as almost wherever they abound, both indicative and productive of disease, by the miasmata arising from the well-watered gardens which produce them, and the vapid diet to which they lead. Nakhchevan is as noted for its sickliness as for its fertility.

' The city was ruined during the last year, and its inhabitants have not yet recovered energy to rebuild it. Wherever you turn, nothing but dilapidated walls meet your eye; and these, being composed entirely of dried mud, of which almost every edifice is built, have a peculiarly "pitiable" aspect.'

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' Mount Ararat is situated N. 57° W. of Nakhchevan, and S. 25° W. of Erivan, on the opposite side of the Aras; and from almost every point between the two places, the traveller has only to look across the valley, to take into one distinct field of vision, without a single intervening obstacle, the mighty mass from its base to its summit. At Erivan, it presents two peaks, one much lower than the other, and appears to be connected with a range of mountains extending toward

the northwest, which, though really elevated, are in comparison so low, as only to give distinctness to the impression of its lonely majesty. From Nakhchevan, not far from a hundred miles distant, and also from our present point of observation, it appears like an immense isolated cone of extreme regularity, rising out of the low valley of the Aras; and the absence of all intervening objects to shew its distance or its size, leaves the spectator at liberty to indulge the most sublime conceptions his imagination may form of its vastness. At all seasons of the year, it is covered far below its summit with snow and ice, which occasionally form avalanches, that are precipitated down its sides with the sound of an earthquake, and, with the steepness of its declivities, have allowed none of the posterity of Noah to ascend it. It was now white, to its very base, with the same hoary covering; and in gazing upon it, we gave ourselves up to the impression that on its top were once congregated the only inhabitants of the earth, and that, while travelling in the valley beneath, we were paying a visit to the second cradle of the human race.

‘Two objections are made to the supposition that Scripture refers to this mountain when it speaks of “the mountains of Ararat.” One is, that there are now no olive-trees in its vicinity, from which Noah’s dove could have plucked her leaf. And it is true, so far as we could learn, that that tree exists neither in the valley of the Koor nor of the Aras, nor on the coast of the Caspian, nor any where nearer than Batoom and other parts of the eastern coast of the Black sea, a distance of seven days’ journey of a caravan, or about 130 miles in the circuitous route that would thus be taken. But might not a dove make this journey in a day? Or might not the climate then have been warmer than it is now? The second objection is drawn from the fact, that some of the old versions and paraphrases, particularly the Chaldee and the Syriac, refer “the mountains of Ararat” to the mountains of Kürdistan, where there is, not far from Jezeereh, a high mountain called Joody, on which the moslems suppose the ark to have rested. But if the ark rested on that, the posterity of Noah would, most likely, have descended at once into Mesopotamia, and have reached Shinar from the north; while, from the valley of the Aras, they would naturally have kept along on the eastern side of the mountains of Media, until they reached the neighbourhood of Hamadan or Kermanshah, which is nearly east of Babylon. Such is the route now taken every day by all the caravans from this region to Bagdad. The Armenians believe, not only that this is the mountain on which the ark rested after the flood, but that the ark still exists upon its top; though, rather from supernatural than from physical obstacles, no one has yet been able to visit it.’ Vol. II. pp. 60; 75—77.

This legend is as old as Berosus and Nicolaus of Damascus, both of whom are cited by Josephus. The former states, that some part of the vessel of Xisuthrus, which was stranded in Armenia, yet remained in the Corcyraean (or Cordyéan) mountains of Armenia; ‘and the people scrape off the bitumen with which it had been outwardly coated, and make use of it by way

‘of an alexipharmic and amulet.’\* Nicolaus, who flourished about the age of Augustus, merely states, that the remains of the vessel were long preserved upon the mountain.† They had in his time, it seems, disappeared. But that the ark rested upon the inaccessible *summit* of the mountain, is a childish legend. The only question is, whether *this part* of the Ararat mountains, (for Ararat, we have seen, is not the name of any particular summit,) was the place where the ark rested. If we are correct in limiting the original Minni (or *Αρμενία*) to the provinces of Erivan and Nakchevan, little doubt can be entertained on the subject; and both the local traditions perpetuated in the ancient names, and the argument suggested by Mr. Smith, confirm the supposition. These mountains, being connected with the Median or Kourdish range, may not improperly have been described under the name of Corcyraean (*εν τοῖς Κορκυραίων ὄρεσι*), by which word the Kordyéan or Kourdish is supposed to be intended.‡

It is a remarkable fact, that, while the valley of the Aras affords a ready descent from the mountains of Ararat, which has been a sort of highway from the time of Noah to the present day, the country enclosed by those mountains to the west and south, through which the eastern Euphrates descends towards Mesopotamia, the ancient kingdom of Ararat and the upper part of Assyria, have remained almost unknown and inaccessible. It is, we think, very apparent that the western writers had no knowledge of the Murad-chai, or of the region which intervenes between the basin of the Araxes and that of Lake Van and the head waters of the Tigris. What is still stranger, in Mr. Avdall’s map of Armenia, taken from that given by Father Chamich (or Chamchean) in his larger History, we find Erzeroom standing on the *Tigris*; and the whole arrangement exhibits a curious specimen of hypothetical geography, indicating the prevalence of singular misconceptions. Thus, Ararat seems to have been to the present day a centre of diverging nations, the barrier between the eastern and western portions of the elder world.

It appears from the Old Testament, that, bordering upon Armenia and Ararat, there was a third kingdom or state, known under the name of Ashkenaz, which Bochart supposes to be part of Phrygia bordering on the Hellespont, called *Ascania* by Homer. This is, indeed, taking a strange leap in geography; though one not quite so prodigious as that of the modern Jewish commentators, who render the word Germany! It is offered

\* Cory’s Fragments, p. 29.

† *Ib.* p. 49.

‡ Gorshek, the Armenian province bordering on Assyria, is probably related to the Greek word Korcyraean.

as a mere conjecture, but one of a more probable character, that Albania and Georgia are referred to under that name.

We trust that our readers will not have deemed this long geographical digression wholly uninteresting or unsatisfactory. It has cost us no small pains to reduce the imperfect information we possess to a consistent shape; and it must be left to future travellers to verify much that we have ventured to indicate. The present Travellers, however, have contributed most materially both to enlarge and to correct our previous knowledge of the whole region. Apart from historical associations, Armenia Proper would seem to be as uninviting and unpleasing a part of the world as any tract not absolutely desert can be; and if Noah made his descent upon Ararat, supposing the aspect of the country to have undergone no material change, one may readily imagine that the patriarchal family would lose little time in escaping to more genial regions. All the way from Tabriz to Erzeroom, 'a distance of more than 300 miles in a westerly direction, and nearly the whole breadth of Armenia,' our Travellers found no forest-trees, with the exception of a little cluster of pines at the Shepherd's Bridge, nor scarcely a wild bush, except in one small spot near the Murad-chai. The absurd notion, that the garden of Eden is to be sought for in any part of Armenia, is undeserving of serious refutation, since, wherever it was situated, it must be concluded that the Deluge would destroy every trace of it; and the description in Gen. ii. 10—14, if not, as Mr. Penn suggests, an ancient gloss, is certainly irreconcilable with post-diluvian geography. Mr. Smith refers to the notion that it was situated in the valley of the Aras, of which he gives the following description.

'The valley of the Aras is much narrower than that of the Koor. Of its comparative fertility we had little opportunity to judge, as our path rarely led us down to the alluvial which borders on the river. What we saw of it, however, and the extreme productiveness of the tracts watered by the two or three tributary streams that crossed our path, led us to think its fertility could hardly be exceeded. Yet in no case was any thing produced without constant irrigation, caused by conducting water, sometimes to a great distance, in artificial canals. Wherever a canal could not be made to reach, not only was no crop cultivated, but even grass seemed hardly to grow, and unsightly saline weeds covered with thorns, only added to the aspect of barrenness. If it be true, as some have imagined, that we are to look here for the site of Eden, surely in no part of the earth is the primeval curse more palpably inflicted, than in the original paradise of Adam. Nowhere is it more true, that man "eats bread in the sweat of his face," and nowhere are "thorns and thistles" more spontaneously produced. The mountains around, instead of being covered with trees as in the Kara-bagh, or clothed with verdant pastures as at Erzroom, present nothing but forbidding precipices of rock or of earth, apparently without even a spire of grass. Their variegated colours, however, from white to fiery

red, embracing in fact almost every shade of the rainbow, indicate that, though so miserably poor in the vegetable, they may be rich in the mineral kingdom. The whole scene of valley and mountain presents not a tree, except in the immediate vicinity of the villages. Their mud houses are frequently half concealed in the foliage of fruit-trees. Another of their features, also, not less unseemly than this was ornamental, deserves to be noticed. The cow-dung, which had been prepared for fuel during the warm months, was now piled in conical stacks at every door, and formed, by their height and number, wherever we went, a more prominent object than the houses themselves.'

Vol. II. pp. 79, 80.

But we must not indulge ourselves in further description. The remainder of this article we shall devote to the more important information to be collected from these researches respecting the moral and political condition of the Armenians.

The picture which is drawn of the religious state of this nominally Christian nation, is melancholy in the extreme. The darkest ignorance envelops both priests and people. The convents, instead of being asylums of learning or retreats from the passions that agitate the world, 'are the very centres of the most unprincipled ambition, of the darkest intrigue, and of the bitterest dissension.' 'Under the veil of celibacy is covered every species of unchastity.' Of this so thoroughly are the common people aware, that no man, the Travellers were assured, would put confidence in the continence of a *vartabed*. So infamous a reputation has Echmiadzin, the metropolitan seat of the Patriarch, that 'parents are reluctant to send their sons thither;' and this was assigned as the reason of its having no school! Instead of contributing to enlighten their nation by schools or by the publication of books, the monks seem not aware that those which are to be found in their libraries, were designed to be read.\* The character of the bishops is no better, and their income is derived chiefly from exorbitant fees and the most disgraceful simony. Their influence over the minds of the people, is very great; but the respect yielded to them, is the effect of fear, rather than of esteem. 'With them is lodged the tremendous power of excommunication, which is believed both to shut the gates of heaven effectually against all who incur its anathemas, and to

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\* Under such circumstances, it is satisfactory to learn that the monachism of Armenia is on the decline. A new convent was neither seen nor heard of by the Travellers, in any part of the country; but, in every province, the ruins of old ones are numerous. In Karabagh, three only are inhabited, and five have gone to decay. In Erivan, which, in Chardin's time, contained 23 for men and 5 for women, there are now but ten monasteries; and the only nunneries they could hear of, are two small establishments at Tiflis and Shoosha.



‘ bring along with it the severest temporal judgements upon their persons and property.’ The morals of the people are such as might be expected under the double yoke of Turkish oppression and ecclesiastical bondage. ‘ Lying is so common as almost to form a part of their nature. So blinded even is their conscience, as not to be easily persuaded to regard it as a sin. Mutual confidence, of course, hardly exists.’ ‘ Both Moslem and Armenians are sufficiently given to falsehood, but the latter more so than the former ’; and ‘ the kindred vice of profaneness, in all its varieties, is equally common to both sects.’ The condition of the women is not less degraded than in Mohammedan countries\*; and a strong prejudice exists against female education. As to education of any kind for even their boys, the common people shew little anxiety. The average number of adults who can read, is estimated at little more than two in a hundred. In Persian Armenia, there are no schools of any kind; and only fourteen native Armenian schools were ascertained to exist in the whole region over which the inquiries of the Travellers extended. In fact, few books are accessible; and a new one is an extremely rare phenomenon. Not a newspaper in the Armenian language exists. And their Scriptures and sacred books are in a dead language.

‘ It is a singular feature of the whole region of Armenia, that every sect and nation inhabiting it, Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Turks, Persians, and Kûrds, address God in an unknown tongue!’

Vol. II., p. 73.

The vernacular Armenian is in the usual state of an unwritten language, deformed by provincial dialects, and ‘ all so corrupt that the uneducated, it is believed, can no where understand even the general meaning of books in the ancient tongue.’

‘ These numerous variations, however, may be considered as embraced in *two* dialects, differing so that, while all who speak any of the branches of one of them are mutually understood, they are unable to comprehend a book written for those who speak the other. As one has Constantinople for its centre, it may be named the dialect of Constantinople; while the other, from its being spoken in Armenia, may be called after the celebrated mountain in the centre of that country, the dialect of Ararat. The former, it is believed, extends from the capital of Turkey through Asia Minor and the pashalik of Erzroom, and has borrowed not only many terms, but also forms of construction from the Turkish. The latter is spoken throughout the rest of Armenia, and both in the words used, and in their arrangement, is nearer

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\* In some respects, more so. In many places, ‘ parents even sell their daughters for the most criminal purposes;’ and the priests have been found to share in the gain! Vol. II. p. 153.

the original language. The missionaries here, from whom we received this theory, know that books printed for Constantinople are not understood in these parts, while their own in the dialect of Ararat have been found perfectly intelligible throughout the Georgian provinces, the pashaliks of Kars and Bayezed, the province of Aderbaijan, and even at Bagdad.

‘In the dialect of Constantinople, several works have been printed, especially at the press in Venice, and a translation of the New Testament has been published at Paris by the British and Foreign Bible Society. But in the dialect of Ararat, the books printed by the missionaries here are the only ones, so far as we learned, that exist.’

Vol. I. p. 299.

The Missionaries alluded to, are those stationed at Shoosha, sent out by the Missionary Society at Basle, respecting whose proceedings some interesting details are given; and the suggestions of the Author with regard to the best method of conducting future operations among the Armenians, claim the attentive consideration of the directors of Missionary Institutions. In many respects, the Armenian Christians seem closely to resemble, in their spiritual condition, those of the Greek Church. Piety is, perhaps, still more rare; but downright infidelity, says Mr. Smith, ‘is not an enemy with which the missionaries have had to contend.’

‘It hardly exists among the Armenians in these parts. The great evil is, a superstitious reliance upon the external observances of religion, to the neglect of its vitality. The common people have almost no idea of spiritual religion, nor in fact of any doctrines, but such as tell them when and how to make the cross, to fast, feast, confess, commune, and the like; and the only practical effect of their religion of course, is to cause the performance of such ceremonies. In this state their minds rest perfectly indifferent and spiritually dead. No spirit of inquiry has been found anywhere. Efforts to excite such a spirit, however, have not been in vain. The missionaries are indeed looked upon as chargeable with great heresies, and none the less so for being the followers of Luther and Calvin; who, probably through the influence of papal missionaries, are generally regarded as heresiarchs. But the Armenian church does not imitate the exclusiveness of Rome, in condemning as heirs of perdition, all who are without its pale; and its members are taught to regard other Christians as holding indeed to doctrines and rites inferior to theirs, but as members of the catholic church of Christ. Instead, therefore, of being turned away at once, the missionaries have found no difficulty in obtaining a hearing. They have been gratified also to find, that though the Armenian church receives as decidedly as any other, the canons and traditions of the Fathers in addition to the word of God, as its standard of faith and practice, still, the common sense of the community, when the question of paramount authority is started, always decides in favour of the Scriptures. They are considered and felt to be of binding authority, and an appeal to them in argument is generally final and satisfactory. Thus a firm support is found for appeals to the conscience; and the

common people have often been seen to feel the force of the plain preaching of the gospel, and to listen to it with interest. In some places, especially in Bakoo and Shamakhy, the most pleasing fruits have attended the dispensation of divine truth. In the former place, a few, and in the latter, twenty-five or thirty, meet together privately for the reading of the Scriptures and attending to other means of grace, and have virtually separated from their church. With them the brethren correspond by letter; and also send them religious treatises in manuscript, which, not being subject to the censorship, can be more explicit in doctrine than if they were printed. Encouraging hopes are entertained that they will persevere unto the end; and information as late as August 4th, 1831, says, "that many awakened souls in Shamakhy and Bakoo go on with firmness in the midst of the opposition they have to encounter." Vol. I. pp. 312—314.

As to the political condition of the Armenians, the rapacious encroachments of Russia must be regarded as, for them, a fortunate circumstance; for, although they have always been better treated by the Ottomans than any other class of their Christian subjects, still, they were exposed to both injustice and insult; and they have consequently hailed the brutal *Roos* as their deliverers. The tide of emigration is, in fact, flowing so strong into the Russian territory, as to threaten to leave the Ottoman provinces without a Christian population. Erzeroom, which, previously to the Russian invasion, contained 11,733 Turkish and 4645 Christian houses, (about 80,000 souls,) was found deserted by all the Christian population, except 120 Armenian and 48 Papal Armenian families; and of its former 6600 shops, 3000 were shut! Should an Armenian population again assemble there, it would be an important centre for missionary operations. The province of Erivan, on the other hand, which, before the war, contained only 12,000 families in 302 villages, is stated now to comprise a population of 14,000 Armenian and 8000 Moslem families, inhabiting 502 villages. Whatever be the motives of ambition which instigate the gigantic power of Russia in continually pushing forward her frontier southward and eastward, and whatever may be the ultimate political consequences of her aggrandizement at the expense of the two Mohammedan empires which are receding before her armies, the Christian politician cannot regard without satisfaction the political redemption of these countries from the blighting influence of Turkish and Persian barbarism and intolerance.

The length to which this article has extended, forbids our giving an account of the visit paid by the Travellers to the Nestorians of Ourmiah, who, of all the Oriental Christians, appear to exhibit the most favourable disposition for receiving the light of Scriptural religion. We rejoice to learn that the American Board of Missions have taken measures to commence a mission

among them ; and ' they hope soon,' we are told, ' with the leave ' of Providence, to occupy a number of new stations in that part ' of the world.' We cannot better conclude this article than with the following striking observations upon the importance of attempting the moral recovery of these nominally Christian communities.

' Another important consideration is, *the relation in which these nominal Christians stand toward Mohammedans.*—Their present influence is exceedingly to be deprecated. The moslem has hitherto known Christianity only as the religion of the Christians around him. And in such a position are they placed by his oppressive laws, that, in all the associations of his earlier and his riper years, they occupy the rank of despised inferiors. Such too, I am sorry to say, is their conduct, that he has ever been able to look upon the comparative practical effects of their Christianity and of his Mohammedanism with self-congratulation. Never in the course of their history, have Mohammedans been brought in contact with any form of Christianity that was not too degenerate in its rites, its doctrines, and its effects, to be worthy of their esteem. Preach to him Christianity, therefore, and the moslem understands you to invite him to embrace a religion which he has always regarded as beneath him, and as less beneficial than his own.

' But their influence may be made to be as salutary as it is now deleterious. Indeed the missionary, when he sees the pecuniary oppressions, civil disabilities, and systematic contempt, to which, after centuries of unshaken endurance, they still perseveringly submit for their religion, when a profession of Mohammedanism would at any moment bring relief from them all ; and is led to wonder at the steadfastness with which they have clung to the mere *form* of religion so long after they have lost its *power* ; will perceive in it the orderings of a wise Providence, that a door might be kept open through which missionaries may enter, and plant the standard of the cross in the centre of the otherwise impenetrable bulwarks within which Mohammedanism has intrenched itself. If corrupt forms of Christianity have prejudiced moslems against it, and the ungodly lives of its professors give them complacency in their own corruptions, present to them Christianity in its purity, exemplified in lives of piety, and their apology for rejecting it must vanish ; the glory of their own religion must be turned into shame. Let every missionary station raise up from the corrupt mass of nominal Christians around it, a goodly number of true followers of the Lamb, and it will be a city set on a hill which cannot be hid, a light to lighten the gentiles also. Had the churches of the East remained as when the apostles planted them, how long since would Mohammedanism have shrunk away from their holy contact ? Or rather, would it have ever existed ? Restore to them their primitive purity, therefore, and the prop upon which Mohammedanism has so long stayed itself, is gone, and it must fall. Remove it from the darkness, where, like an unsightly weed, it has grown so rankly, into the noontide blaze of true religion, and it must wither and die.' Vol. II. pp. 334, 335.

Art. II. *Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured, and Negro Population of the West Indies.* By Mrs. Carmichael, five years a Resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad. In two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 674. Price 21s. London, 1833.

**I**F these volumes had not a lady's name prefixed to them, we should be led to pronounce the book one of the veriest catch-penny publications that ever fell under our notice. The charge of twenty one shillings for two slight, trashy duodecimos of this description, is *too bad*. But perhaps the work is intended for the perusal only of the higher ranks, and the exorbitant price put upon it, is benevolently designed to preclude its falling into the hands of any in the lower grades of society, lest the picture of negro happiness which it displays, should breed discontent with their own far inferior lot in this country, where, 'as negroes who 'have been in England complain, "there is *noting* for *noting*,"'—and they should, with Admiral Barrington, wish they had been born West India slaves.

But seriously; that a woman should be found putting herself forward, or consenting to be put forward, as the vindicator of such a state of society as exists in the West Indies, is a circumstance which cannot but excite deep disgust. Mrs. Carmichael does not, indeed, defend the flogging of female slaves, the unbridled licentiousness of the slave-drivers, the tarring and feathering of missionaries, the burning of chapels, and the flogging of negroes for attending prayer meetings. She does not directly apologise for all these things; but she comes forward to tell us, that the abettors of all these things have been vilified,—that the slaves, whipped and unwhipped, are all most happy, the planters most humane and paternal, and the missionaries most mischievous. Either she believes all this, or she does not. If she does, she is the most credulous of dupes. If she does not, she only affords in her own person, a fresh illustration of the effects of 'a five 'years' residence' in the moral atmosphere of the West Indies.

With us, we must frankly confess, the testimony of a witness who had spent only five months in a sugar colony, would have much more weight than that of one who had spent five years under the same circumstances. If we wished to ascertain the internal condition of any of our gaols or penitentiaries, or the character of their inmates, we should not select the wife of one of the old gaolers as the most competent witness, nor even the chaplain's lady, especially if we knew that the said chaplain and gaoler complained loudly that the prison was vilified, and deprecated all mischievous interference with their respective prerogatives. Now it so happens that we have, in reference to the subject of slave-flogging, the evidence of this lady, five years a resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad, and, in flat opposition to it, the testimony of another witness who spent but three months in



Jamaica. It is true, that the former *ought* to know more about the matter, and it is difficult to believe that she does not. Nevertheless, we must deem Mr. Whiteley the more credible witness. First let Mrs. Carmichael be heard.

‘ It is a delicate matter upon which I am about to treat ; but I will not shrink from stating facts. The truth is, that there are few negro servants who have not at one time or other been whipped, though rarely after manhood ; that is, whipped with a switch, or, if for a very flagrant offence, perhaps with a horse-whip.

‘ Such punishments do take place on almost all estates, though not frequently, and, as I sincerely believe, never for faults which would not in England subject the offender to punishment of a far more serious nature. Now, without going farther, I would ask, in what does the young negro differ from the apprentice, the school-boy, or any young person in England? Are not thieving apprentices flogged,—and disobedient children, and idle school boys, and all, at the will, or caprice, it may be, of those who have authority over them? Or in what particular does the grown-up negro, who perjures himself or commits other gross offences, differ from the man who, for similar crimes, is sentenced by a magistrate to be whipped? If there be the same criminality, the punishment must be equally just. Does the proprietor of a negro not feel for his fellow creatures, upon such occasions?—some say, he cannot feel, he cannot be humane, if he punishes his negro. This, I need scarcely say, is miserable argument. Does the tender and affectionate, but conscientious parent, feel nothing for his child when he punishes it for the commission of a fault? Does the foreman of a jury not feel when he delivers his verdict of guilty? And will any one deny to a judge a kindly feeling—all sentiment of sympathy and pity, because he at times pronounces sentence of death upon the guilty criminal?

‘ Suppose a negro steals provisions from his neighbour’s grounds, though not at first to a great extent ; he is pardoned, but the master remunerates the other. The offence is committed a second time, and another pardon follows to the thief, and remuneration again must be made to the other slave, who, unless that were done, would beat the aggressor with the utmost cruelty. Is it not apparent in such cases, that some punishment is necessary? Now the question has hitherto been, *what* punishment? I admit the cruelty of all corporal punishment ; but we find the British legislature sanctioning the infliction of *murderous* punishment in the army and navy ; and why? because it is contended, the state of discipline required in the army, renders it necessary : and is it not certain, that a system of discipline is necessary in a colony where the negro population out-number the free, twenty-fold? Government, which settled the colonies, and sanctioned slave labour, no doubt perceived this ; and in granting the power of inflicting a corporal punishment to *one-eighth* part of the extent of that sanctioned in the army, conceived it necessary in the *then* state of West India society. It is a power which *may* be abused ; and which therefore ought not to be continued one hour beyond the time that necessity renders it imperative ; but I do not hesitate to say, that occasions do



arise, when that necessity is far more apparent than it ever is in the army, whether we look to the difference between negro and European character, or the danger of weakening the authority of the free, over the negro population; and I contend, that the slave proprietor, yielding to this necessity, does not prove that he is destitute of feeling,—for I have minutely examined the subject, and I never yet found in any one instance of corporal punishment, that the master had not been driven to it by a repetition of such conduct, to which no one, as a master, could submit.

‘It is true, that hitherto every proprietor of a negro has considered slavery to consist in his having power over his slave, in so far as to punish him to the amount of thirty-nine lashes. Now the point we have to attend to is, whether such punishments do ever take place to that amount; and if they do, what are the occasions upon which such punishments are inflicted?—have masters been actuated by caprice and whim?—and have they justly earned the character of inhumanity? Every thing I have seen leads me to state conscientiously, that the punishment of thirty-nine lashes seldom takes place; and certainly never for an offence that would not be followed, in Scotland, by transportation for life, and in England most likely by capital punishment. When punishment is considered necessary, I have too often witnessed the distress of a master; and have known myself what it was to feel real pain, when this had to be resorted to in consequence of serious misconduct in negroes, in whom I was really interested, and whose misconduct, I knew from experience, could not be otherwise corrected.

‘In former times, the managers employed upon estates were not always possessed of those patient and humane dispositions, which all who undertake the management of negroes ought certainly to have; but this remark I make not from my own personal observation, but from what I have often heard stated by many in common conversation, in the West Indies. They were seldom men of any education, and ignorant how to treat the negro; and there is reason to believe that they carried punishment to an unwarrantable length. But even then, there were many humane managers, whom the negroes looked up to with real regard.

‘Managers are now generally a different description of persons—many of them are well informed, superior men. If I am to believe the testimony of the negroes from many different estates, whom I was often in the habit of conversing with, the kindness of the managers on the different estates to which they belonged was conspicuous.

‘I do not feel inclined to have the same unlimited confidence in overseers; for, although they have it not in their power to exercise any cruelty upon the negroes, in the way of excessive corporal punishment, yet they can annoy them, in many other ways, especially by reporting faults in exaggerated colours.’ Vol. I. pp. 326—332.

Now for Mr. Whiteley.

‘I resided on New Ground estate, from the time of my arrival in the beginning of September, and, exclusive of some occasional absences, altogether full seven weeks; and, during that period, I witnessed with my own eyes the *regular flogging* of upwards of twenty negroes. I

heard also of many other negroes being flogged by order of the overseer and book-keepers, in the field, while I resided on the plantation, besides the cases which came under my own personal observation. Neither do I include in this account the slighter floggings inflicted by the drivers in superintending the working gangs,—which I shall notice afterwards.

‘ The following are additional cases of which I have a distinct recollection. But I have retained the precise date of only one of these cases (the 12th), from having found it necessary to destroy almost all my papers, in consequence of the threats of the Colonial Unionists.

‘ 1st. A slave employed in the boiling-house. He was a very stout negro, and uncommonly well dressed for a slave. He was laid down on the ground, held by two men, and flogged on the naked breech in the mode I have described, receiving 39 lashes. I was afterwards assured by one of the book-keepers, that this negro had really committed no offence, but the overseer had him punished to *spite* a book-keeper under whose charge the slave was at the time, and with whom he had a difference; and, as he could not flog the book-keeper, he flogged the slave. Such at least was the account I received from a third party, another book-keeper. I could scarcely have given credit to such an allegation, had I not heard of similar cases on other plantations, on authority I had no cause to doubt.

‘ 2nd & 3rd. Two young women. This punishment took place one evening on the barbecue, where pimento is dried. Mr. M’Lean, the overseer, and I, were sitting in the window-seat of his hall; and I was just remarking to him that I observed the drivers took great pride in being able to crack their whips loud and well. While we were thus conversing, the gang of young slaves, employed in plucking pimento, came in with their basket-loads. The head book-keeper, as usual, proceeded to examine the baskets, to ascertain that each slave had duly performed the task allotted. The baskets of two poor girls were pronounced deficient; and the book-keeper immediately ordered them to be flogged. The overseer did not interfere, nor ask a single question; the matter not being deemed of sufficient importance to require his interference, though this took place within a few yards of the open window where we were sitting. One of the girls was instantly laid down, her back parts uncovered in the usual brutal and indecent manner, and the driver commenced flogging—every stroke upon her flesh giving a loud crack, and the wretched creature at the same time calling out in agony, “Lord! Lord! Lord!” “That,” said the overseer, turning to me, with a chuckling laugh, “that is the best cracking, by G—d!” The other female was then flogged also on the bare posteriors, but not quite so severely. They received, as usual, each 39 lashes.

‘ 4th & 5th. On another occasion I saw two girls, from 10 to 13 years of age, flogged by order of the overseer. They belonged to the second gang, employed in cane-weeding, and were accused of having been idle that morning. Two other girls of the same age were brought up to hold them down. They got each 39.

‘ 6th & 7th. After this I saw two young men flogged (very severely) in the cooper’s yard. I did not learn their offence.

‘8th. On another occasion, a man in the road leading from New Ground to Golden Spring. We met this man while riding out, and for some offence which I did not learn, (for by that time I had found my inquiries on such points had become offensive,) the overseer called a driver from the field, and ordered him 39 on the spot.

‘9th & 10th. Two young men, before breakfast, for having slept too long. They were mule-drivers, and it being then crop time, they had been two days and a night previously at work without sleep. As the overseer and I were going out at day-break (the sun was not yet up), we found them only putting their harness on their mules. They ought, according to the regulations then prescribed on the plantation, to have been out half an hour sooner; and for this offence they received a severe flogging.

‘11th. A girl who had been missing for some days, having absconded from the plantation for fear of punishment.

‘I shall mention only two other cases which particularly excited my sympathy; for, after a few weeks, although my moral abhorrence of slavery continued to increase, my sensibility to the sight of physical suffering was so greatly abated, that a common flogging no longer affected me to the very painful degree that I at first experienced.

‘12. The first of these two cases was that of a married woman, the mother of several children. She was brought up to the overseer’s door one morning; and one of the drivers who came with her, accused her of having stolen a fowl. Some feathers, said to have been found in her hut, were exhibited as evidence of her guilt. The overseer asked her if she would pay for the fowl. She said something in reply which I did not clearly understand. The question was repeated, and a similar reply again given. The overseer then said, “Put her down.” On this the woman set up a shriek, and rent the air with her cries of terror. Her countenance grew quite ghastly, and her lips became pale and livid. I was close to her, and particularly noticed her remarkable aspect and expression of countenance. The overseer swore fearfully, and repeated his order—“Put her down.” The woman then craved permission to tie some covering round her, which she was allowed to do. She was then extended on the ground, and held down by two negroes. Her gown and shift were literally torn from her back, and, thus brutally exposed, she was subjected to the cart-whip. The punishment inflicted on this poor creature was inhumanly severe. She was a woman somewhat plump in her person, and the whip being wielded with great vigour, every stroke cut deep into the flesh. She writhed and twisted her body violently under the infliction—moaning loudly, but uttering no explanation in words, except once when she cried out, intreating that her nakedness might not be indecently exposed; appearing to suffer, from matronly modesty, even more acutely on account of her indecent exposure, than the cruel laceration of her body. But the overseer only noticed her appeal by a brutal reply, (too gross to be repeated,) and the flogging continued. Disgusted as I was, I witnessed the whole to a close. I numbered the lashes, stroke by stroke, and counted *fifty*,—thus exceeding by eleven the number allowed by the colonial law to be inflicted at the arbitrary will of the master or manager. This was the only occasion on which I saw the

legal number of 39 lashes exceeded, but I never knew the overseer or head book-keeper give less than 39. This poor victim was shockingly lacerated. When permitted to rise, she again shrieked violently. The overseer swore roughly, and threatened, if she was not quiet, to put her down again. He then ordered her to be taken to the hot-house or hospital, and put in the stocks. She was to be confined in the stocks for several nights, while she worked in the yard during the day at light work. She was too severely mangled to be able to go to the field for some days. This flogging took place on the 27th of September.

‘ 13th. The flogging of an old man, about 60 years of age, is the last case I shall mention. He was the third driver upon the estate,—there being five altogether, whose sole employment was literally *driving*, or coercing by the whip, the negro population to labour. With this old man I had had some conversation, and felt particularly interested in him, for his silvery locks and something in his aspect reminded me powerfully of my aged father, whom I had left in England. He had been upon the estate a great number of years. He told me, that not one of the negroes belonging to the gang he wrought in when he first came to New Ground, was now alive. He came up to the overseer’s door at shell-blow one day, and gave in, as is the practice, on a tally or bit of notched stick, his account of the half day’s work of the gang he superintended. The overseer was dissatisfied, said it was insufficient, and ordered him to get a flogging. The old man said, “Well, Busha, me could have done no better, had you been standing by.” Then, groaning deeply, he laid down his staff and whip, unloosed his clothes, and lay quietly down to be flogged without being held. One of the other drivers, who had been called forward, appeared very reluctant to perform the office; but, on the overseer swearing a rough oath or two, he proceeded to inflict the usual punishment of 39 lashes. The old man, looking up in the overseer’s face imploringly, cried out after every stroke for several minutes, “Busha! Busha! Busha!” but, seeing no signs of relenting, he ceased to call on him, expressing his feelings only by groans. I was deeply affected by the sight, and felt at the moment that these groans were an awful appeal to the judgment of Him who heareth the cry of the oppressed. When the punishment was over, and the poor man arose, the other drivers looked at each other and shook their heads, but uttered not a word. They dared not.’\*

Mrs. Carmichael denies, that negroes are hard worked in the West Indies at any time;—she denies that it is *possible* to overwork a negro. ‘Even if punishment, corporal punishment, were

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\* “Three Months in Jamaica in 1832.” By Henry Whiteley. A tract which we should apologize for not having long since recommended to the especial attention of our readers, had not its extensive circulation by the Anti-Slavery Society rendered it quite unnecessary for us to say any thing by way of authenticating its revolting statements, or commending them to public notice.

'resorted to, it is not,' she affirms, 'dreaded by them *half so much as work.*' (Vol. I. p. 96.) Cane-hole digging, which she says she has watched for a length of time, 'is literally nothing when compared with ploughing, reaping, or mowing,' in this country! 'The weight of the hoes *are* by no means unwieldy or heavy.' (p. 98.) We know not whether this last sentence is West India grammar; but the grammar is good enough for the bold untruth which it conveys, and for which an hour's handling of a West India hoe would be no disproportionate punishment.

But why notice these flimsy volumes? The West India question is settled; why rake up old quarrels, and waste time in afresh confuting detected and now useless falsehoods? Our answer is, that even such a work as this, despicable as it is in every respect, yet when puffed into notice by Quarterly Reviewers and the enemies of missionary labours, may have a pernicious influence, as seeming to possess the weight of personal testimony, to those who are not inclined to take the trouble of cross-examining the witness. The volumes abound with the most direct contradictions throughout, exhibiting an utter carelessness of assertion, or a very singular incoherence of ideas. But these inconsistencies of statement are such as it requires some little penetration to make palpable. We have amused ourselves by fancying Mrs. Carmichael giving evidence, upon oath, before a Committee of the House of Lords, or under the examination of a counsel. The following may be taken as specimens of what would have been the result.

Q. You resided some years in two of the West India Islands.

A. I was for five years a resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad, which I employed 'in minute personal investigation, keeping a journal of what I saw.'

Q. What was the general result of your five years' observation?

A. 'Though going out highly prejudiced on the popular side, I should be guilty of the grossest misrepresentation, did I not state things to be, *in all respects*, as regards master and slave, *totally the reverse of what the popular belief is.*' (Vol. I. p. 210.)

Q. You mean that there is no foundation for the belief that the slaves are over-worked, driven with the cart-whip, or otherwise ill-treated.

A. None whatever. '*I never saw a whip once used*, either by the driver or by any other person; neither did I ever hear a negro complain of such a thing, although I often used to make inquiry.' (II. p. 4.)

Q. Then they have no dread of punishment?

A. 'Even if corporal punishment were resorted to, it is not *dreaded by them half so much as work.*' (I. p. 96.)

Q. You mean to say that they are indifferent as to corporal punishment.

A. Quite the contrary. 'Old West India proprietors can recollect the time when the best negroes they had, looked upon flogging as no disgrace. No one can now say this is the case. I have known many negroes possessing such fine feelings, that, were they to be flogged, I feel confident that their first act would be to commit suicide,—though the majority of negroes have not indeed attained this mental superiority.' (II. p. 7.)

Q. Is it then the negroes of fine feelings only who dread punishment?

A. I do not say this. 'It cannot be denied that corporal punishment is a dread, and tends to keep all bad characters in order.' (p. 6.)

Q. And yet it is never employed?

A. 'In former times, the managers employed upon estates were not always possessed of those patient and humane dispositions which all who undertake the management of negroes ought certainly to have. They were seldom men of any education, and ignorant how to treat the negro; and there is reason to believe that they carried punishment to an unwarrantable length.' (I. p. 331.)

Q. Then the popular belief is correct as to *former times*. Has any other improvement taken place?

A. 'Managers formerly often lived very dissolute lives, and this was a matter deeply to be deplored.' (I. p. 332.)

Q. You said just now, that punishment is not dreaded by the negroes half so much as work. Do you mean to say that their work is so hard that they greatly dread it?

A. Not at all. But 'employment is their abhorrence, idleness is their delight.' (I. p. 96.)

Q. Then they are never found working voluntarily,—on the Sunday, for instance.

A. On the contrary; 'all the little boys and girls about the house, have one day for themselves every week—not a Sunday—to work their grounds. On such days they rise earlier, and work longer, than they are ever in the habit of doing for their master. They do often work their grounds on Sunday also; but there is no occasion for this: were they never to lift a hoe on Sunday, they would still have an abundance of food for themselves, their pigs and their poultry, and money for fine clothes also. I do not believe that either English or colonial law will prevent negroes from working on Sunday. "The love of money is the root of evil," applies with great force to the negro character; and I do not think, that if negroes had all the six days of the



‘ week to work their own ground, they would cease from labour  
 ‘ on the seventh. I do not of course speak of isolated cases,  
 ‘ but of the majority ; nor is there wanting practical proof of this  
 ‘ truth. Who labours more on the Sunday than the free  
 ‘ negro ? and even those born free are notorious for this.’ (II. p.  
 161.)

Q. Then, as they are not unwilling to work their own grounds,  
 it is perhaps the *nature* of the field work that they object to—  
 carrying the manure basket, for instance.

A. ‘ Their carrying manure in this way *appears* disagreeable  
 ‘ work ; but they laugh at the stranger who supposes it to be so  
 ‘ to the negro because it would be so to him. The truth is, in  
 ‘ so far as cleanliness is concerned, the negro is indifferent.’  
 (I. p. 105.)

Q. Are the negroes very uncleanly ?

A. Not so. ‘ The better sort of negroes have their dwellings  
 ‘ often extremely neat and clean : many a Scotch cottager might  
 ‘ blush to see them.’ (I. p. 130.) ‘ All head people upon estates  
 ‘ are uniformly well dressed, neat, and clean ; and though it is  
 ‘ in their own fashion, they look nicer and much cleaner than  
 ‘ English country people.’ (I. p. 153.) ‘ Negroes are extremely  
 ‘ fond of bathing.’ (p. 152.)

Q. And yet, as to ‘ personal cleanliness,’ you said, the negro is  
 ‘ perfectly indifferent.’

A. ‘ These sort of things do not affect their personal comfort,  
 ‘ because their whole habits and manners of life are different  
 ‘ from Britons : what are comforts and pleasures to them, would  
 ‘ not be so to us ; what we esteem as the comforts and luxuries  
 ‘ of life, they would neither thank you for nor make use of.’ (I.  
 p. 105.) ‘ The negro enjoys his calialou soup as much out of  
 ‘ his calabash, as the noblemen does his turtle soup out of the  
 ‘ finest chased silver.’ (p. 139.)

Q. Are we to understand you to say that the negroes have no  
 relish for the comforts and luxuries of life, and that they are  
 wholly strangers to them ?

A. Far from it. ‘ I can avouch that negroes are lodged in-  
 ‘ finitely better than, with few exceptions, the working popula-  
 ‘ tion of England. Negroes who live in town as domestics, have  
 ‘ always a boarded floor to their houses. I have seen a few single  
 ‘ men and women who had only one room, but such houses are  
 ‘ by no means common. They have good bedsteads, bedding of  
 ‘ plaintain-leaf, feather bolster and pillows, good blanket, sheets  
 ‘ and coverlet ; chairs, sofa, cupboard, and mahogany table. I  
 ‘ have frequently seen a side-table with tumblers, and shades for  
 ‘ the candle ; looking-glass, two or three boxes full of clothes,  
 ‘ showy prints in gilt frames, &c. &c. They always keep their  
 ‘ houses clean and tidy inside, and have a great variety of stone-

‘ ware in the shape of plates, tea-cups, &c. ; but these are seldom  
 ‘ bought by them, being generally stolen, and are regularly dis-  
 ‘ played merely for ornament—a calabash being the usual sub-  
 ‘ stitute for holding their victuals, and being equally clean with  
 ‘ a china bowl, it is preferred by them ; for it costs nothing.’  
 (I. pp. 140—141.)

Q. Nevertheless, the negroes are quite indifferent to the com-  
 forts of civilized society ?

A. ‘ Place the negro in a comfortable little cottage built after  
 ‘ the English fashion,—his neat fire-side,—his nice-looking bed,  
 ‘ blankets, and warm curtains,—a glass window ; give him an  
 ‘ English breakfast, tea, and supper, and also English clothing,  
 ‘ and you would make him quite as unhappy as an English  
 ‘ ploughman would be in a negro house with negro fare and  
 ‘ clothing.’ (I. p. 126.)

Q. The negroes then have no ‘ nice-looking bed ’ with blankets  
 and curtains ?

A. ‘ Negroes of character and rank, being more civilized, have  
 ‘ bedsteads with mosquito curtains, their bedding being for the  
 ‘ most part a bag filled with the dried plantain-leaf. This I have  
 ‘ myself slept upon, and used in my own family, and have found  
 ‘ it a very comfortable bed indeed. They have also a bolster  
 ‘ and pillows of the same materials ; blankets, (one Witney  
 ‘ blanket is given every year by the master,) a good sheet, and  
 ‘ very often a nice bed quilt : the two latter articles are furnished  
 ‘ by themselves.’ ‘ Many field people have bedsteads, and some  
 ‘ have curtains. The plantain-leaf bed is general, and blankets  
 ‘ are annually provided ; some have sheets ; but these are luxuries  
 ‘ which many of them do not value and would not use.’ (II.  
 pp. 129, 132.)

Q. You were understood to say, that the negroes would, by  
 having these things given them, be rendered very unhappy. Is  
 this found to be the result ?

A. There are ‘ some who do not consider household furniture  
 ‘ as a comfort, and they either spend their money in fine clothes  
 ‘ or in jewellery, or hoard up their savings.’ (p. 138.)

Q. But still, ‘ English clothing,’ you said, would make them  
 as unhappy as English ploughmen would be in negro clothing ?

A. I beg leave to correct myself. ‘ Negro clothing consists of  
 ‘ strong blue woollen cloth, the same that is generally worn by the  
 ‘ lower classes of females in Scotland for petticoats.’ ‘ Head  
 ‘ negroes upon estates, in full dress at holiday time, are extremely  
 ‘ gay. They have all fine broad cloth, either made into jackets,  
 ‘ such as gentlemen very often wear of a morning in the West  
 ‘ Indies, or coats : they have neat waistcoats, either of black  
 ‘ kerseymere, or white jean—as they are quite aware that a co-  
 ‘ loured waistcoat is not dress—their shirt is always of fine

‘ linen, and the collar of a fashionable shape, which, with the  
‘ cravat, is as stiff as any reasonable dandy could desire. White  
‘ jean, or linen trowsers, are the usual wear; all head people have  
‘ shoes, and all servants have stockings, and a long cloth coat;  
‘ this is given them by their master; but the country people often  
‘ purchase those articles for themselves. I have seen an estate  
‘ negro in St. Vincent, dressed at Christmas time as well in every  
‘ respect as any gentleman could be; and he was a slave whose  
‘ master was, and had been long absent: he told me every thing  
‘ he wore was of his own purchasing: he had a quizzing glass,  
‘ and as good a hat as any white man in the colony; he had a  
‘ watch ribbon and key, but whether or not he wore a watch, I  
‘ cannot tell, as I did not put the question to him; but I have  
‘ seen many with watches and seals. The more common field  
‘ people have equally good shirts, trowsers and waistcoats; but  
‘ they have seldom or ever long coats, though frequently good  
‘ broad cloth jackets; but the most common fashion for them is  
‘ white jean, or striped coloured jean jackets. They do not often  
‘ wear shoes, and never stockings. The boys are extremely well  
‘ dressed; and as they all receive a new hat at Christmas, this  
‘ adds to the general neat appearance of the negro population at  
‘ that season.

‘ As for the women, I hardly know how to describe their gala  
‘ dresses, they are so various. The wives or daughters of estates’  
‘ head people, have the best of course—if I except domestics,  
‘ who dress still gayer. They have fine worked muslin gowns,  
‘ with handsome flounces; satin and sarsenet bodices are very  
‘ common; their under garments are of the best materials, and  
‘ they have either good cotton or silk stockings; their kid danc-  
‘ ing shoes are often of the gayest colours, while their expensive  
‘ turbans are adjusted with a grace that makes the dress really  
‘ appear elegant. It is common for them to have not a hair dresser,  
‘ but a head dresser, or rather a turban putter on, upon such occa-  
‘ sions; and for the mere putting on of the turban, they pay a quar-  
‘ ter dollar,—not less than 1s. 1d. sterling!! This is a custom not  
‘ confined to domestics, but predominates throughout all ranks of  
‘ the female slave population. They have all beautiful handker-  
‘ chiefs upon their necks; some are of British manufacture, but  
‘ many are costly silk ones from Martinique,—while others wear  
‘ them of India muslin.

‘ The real value of their jewellery is considerable; it consists  
‘ of massy gold ear-rings, and rings upon their fingers, coral  
‘ necklaces, and handsome gold chains, locketts, and other orna-  
‘ ments of this description. The more common field female ne-  
‘ gro, very often if elderly, is decked out in a very large patterned  
‘ chintz; or perhaps the bodice is made of this, while the skirt is

‘ of muslin ; or, *vice versa*, the skirt chintz, and bodice and  
 ‘ sleeves muslin. They all have one really good necklace ; but  
 ‘ they often also wear along with it, half a dozen other necklaces,  
 ‘ of coloured glass beads, such as light blue, yellow, white, and  
 ‘ purple. Every negro has a garnet necklace ; all have ear-rings  
 ‘ and rings on their fingers : and at Christmas time, a handsome  
 ‘ new turban too is worn. The very youngest baby is well dressed  
 ‘ at such a time, and even for a child they scorn old clothes ; in-  
 ‘ deed, it rarely happens that the same dresses are worn twice at  
 ‘ Christmas. I have heard them say to each other, “ Look at so  
 ‘ and so, see how mean she be, she wore that very same dress last  
 ‘ Christmas.” ’ (I. pp. 144—47.)

Q. All these things make the negroes very unhappy : do they not ?

A. ‘ Really I do think that the negroes in full dress during  
 ‘ the holidays, contented and happy as they used to be, was one  
 ‘ of the most interesting scenes imaginable. Both men and  
 ‘ women have nice white pocket-handkerchiefs to wipe away the  
 ‘ perspiration ; and both sexes, young and old, are perfumed with  
 ‘ French lavender water : indeed ’—— (p. 149.)

Q. You have stated quite enough to prove how unhappy an English ploughman would be with negro fare and clothing. You will now be so good as to explain how it comes to pass that the field slaves often appear as if they had scarcely a rag to cover them.

A. ‘ This arises from two causes ; first, that a sense of decency  
 ‘ is scarcely known to the savage : another reason is, the heat of  
 ‘ the climate.’

Q. The negro then you consider as a savage ?

A. ‘ It is easy to trace the progress of civilization in different  
 ‘ negroes, according to their style of every-day dress.’ (p. 149.)

Q. You would then encourage a love of dress ?

A. ‘ As you value his true happiness, introduce no artificial  
 ‘ wants.’ (p. 139.)

Q. As all the negroes, whether savage or civilized, are well fed, never over-worked, always contented and happy, will you explain the decrease in the slave population ? Do they marry early ?

A. ‘ As soon as a negro girl attains the age of sixteen or seven-  
 ‘ teen, she probably *gets* a husband, and the male children, per-  
 ‘ haps a year or two later, *get* wives.’ (I. p. 131.)

Q. By ‘ getting husbands and wives,’ do you mean that they marry ?

A. ‘ Generally speaking, negroes live unbound by the ties of  
 ‘ matrimony. I need not tell the economist, how this state of  
 ‘ society tends to prevent the increase of population.’ (II.  
 p. 19.)

Q. Do you mean to speak of the slave population generally, or only of the field negroes?

A. 'Among coloured females, marriage is not very general.' 'It must be conceded, that, as a population, the free coloured class are peculiarly inclined to immorality.' (II. pp. 71, 74.)

Q. You are aware, nevertheless, that while the free population has increased under these circumstances, the slave population has decreased. Will you explain this?

A. I have been informed, that, 'during the continuance of the slave-trade, males greatly preponderated. I believe that this, combined with the frequent manumissions of negroes, will *fully* account for the decrease in the slave population.' (II. p. 19.)

Q. To what island do you chiefly refer?

A. 'During a residence of nearly three years in St. Vincent, I can recall to my recollection scarcely a single weekly newspaper where there was not one manumission; and I have read the manumission of six or eight negroes, all under one date.' (*Ib.*)

Q. You resided there from the beginning of 1821 till near the close of 1823?

A. Yes.

Q. It appears from the parliamentary returns, that, from Jan. 1821 to Dec. 1825, the manumissions in that island amounted to 380 on a population estimated in 1817 at 25,218, being, on the average, 76 per annum. The average decrease of the slave population during the same period, was about 125. Deducting 380 manumissions from 625, the decrease of five years, there is a net decrease of 245 within that period, or 1 in every 96, to be accounted for.

A. 'I took some pains to inquire into the matter. The first question I put was this:—during the continuance of the slave-trade, were there more males or females imported?' (*Ib.*)

Q. A very natural inquiry for a lady to make, who was studying population returns. But are you aware that, so far back as 1817, the numbers of males and females throughout the West India Colonies were close on an equality, and that at the present time, the females exceed the males?

A. 'Should any one consider my statements to be contradictory to each other, I can only say, that I state facts.' (II. p. 233.)

Q. You stated, in answer to some previous questions, that the negroes are so incorrigibly idle, as to dread the light and easy work of the plantations more than punishment. Have you ever heard of their working voluntarily for wages?

A. 'Some free labour, so called, has been performed in Trinidad, under the control of Government; but the labourers *work under compulsion*, in so far that no planter could have the

‘same means of inducing them to work as the Government has.’ (II. p. 278.)

Q. Will you have the goodness to explain what you mean by free labourers working by compulsion?

A. I mean, that ‘I do not believe the present generation of negroes will ever make fine sugar to any amount, unless by compulsory labour, which is no longer free labour, *and which I really do not see how Government could enforce.*’ (II. p. 281.)

Q. Very good. You have perhaps heard of free labour being employed in raising sugar in Colombia?

A. ‘To the shame of the mother country, who have neglected to send proper religious instructors to her negro population, this example also fails; for, however some Protestants may choose to smile at aught that savours of Popery, I can tell them, that, though Catholics do not teach their slaves to read, yet they most conscientiously teach them, by means of missionaries sent for the purpose, to fear God—to behave honestly, soberly, and respectfully to their masters, and to be industrious. The negroes of Caraccas and Colombia are, therefore, a far more instructed population as regards moral duties, and consequently more likely to act as free men ought.’ (II. p. 278.)

Q. Are the slaves of the Catholic proprietors better instructed in religious duties than those of the Protestants?

A. Decidedly. ‘What shall we say of the apathy of the Protestant Church of England, when we find the negroes who attend the Roman Catholic chapel, always so much better informed than those left by the Episcopalian church to glean an uncertain instruction. Some of the Laurel-hill children, who had attended the Roman Catholic chapel, crossed themselves when they answered who the Saviour was. Of a Holy Spirit, it might be said they had no idea; their only notion was confined to the word spirit or *jumbee*, the Devil, so that we had not only to teach, but to unteach; a still more difficult task.’ (II. p. 130.)

Q. You had to unteach the negro children who had been so well taught to cross themselves?

A. Yes, but ‘the Catholic children could all say the Lord’s Prayer and the Belief.’ (p. 131.)

Q. You are aware that Protestant missionaries of different communions have laboured among the negroes?

A. There were Wesleyan Methodists at St. Vincent.

Q. What was the result of their mode of teaching?

A. As to their sermons, ‘although as plain as sermons could be, I never found that one of our people, even the most intelligent, had gained one idea from them. I think I am justified in saying, that beyond encouraging the habit of attending Divine service, as regards the real conversion of the negro, it is nearly



‘ a hopeless method of instruction. I by no means despise the  
 ‘ endeavour to establish a habit of regularly attending Divine  
 ‘ service; and only mean to say, after having for many years  
 ‘ daily studied the negro character, as well as instructed them,  
 ‘ that, in my belief, a sermon preached in Arabic would be just  
 ‘ as efficacious as in English.’ (p. 223.)

Q. The Methodists do not, however, confine their labours to preaching: do they not teach the children any catechism?

A. Yes, but catechisms ‘ appear to me worth nothing as re-  
 ‘ gards the real instruction of the negro; and it seems strange  
 ‘ that, even at the present day, so very few people are at all aware  
 ‘ of the mischief that *parrot teaching* produces.’ (p. 224.)

Q. Is not the Roman Catholic teaching, *parrot teaching*?

A. I have before stated, that the Roman Catholic children are better instructed: although not taught to read, they always cross themselves in speaking of the *Saviour*, and can say the Lord’s Prayer.

Q. Upon the whole, you think that the Methodists do not know how to set about instructing the negroes?

A. ‘ Judging by the conduct of those negroes who were the  
 ‘ most regular attendants at the Methodist chapel, I am unwill-  
 ‘ ingly driven to the belief, that the Methodist missions have  
 ‘ done little for the cause of true religion, and have rather helped  
 ‘ to foster dangerous delusions. The Methodists have, I fear,  
 ‘ done harm; for they have diffused a general feeling among the  
 ‘ negro population, that abstaining from dancing, from drinking,  
 ‘ (a vice, by the way, which negroes are rarely prone to,)  
 ‘ and a certain phraseology, which is mere form on their part, is  
 ‘ Christianity. Now it would be much better, if the negroes  
 ‘ were taught that lying, stealing, cruelty, slander, and disobedi-  
 ‘ ence, were sins in the sight of God, rather than level their ana-  
 ‘ themas against dancing.’ (I. pp. 229, 30.)

Q. Do you mean to say that the Methodists do not teach the negroes to consider lying, stealing, &c. as crimes?

A. ‘ It is not my intention to represent the Methodists as ap-  
 ‘ proving or *disregardless* of the sins of lying, theft, &c. I only  
 ‘ mean to say, that they insist very much more upon the sin of  
 ‘ what they term “vain amusements and dress,” than upon lying,  
 ‘ theft, fighting, cruelty, and slander.’ (p. 230.)

Q. So that the negroes, in fact, have no correct moral notions?

A. I do not mean to say that. ‘ Negroes of decent habits say  
 ‘ their prayers morning and evening, and several have regular  
 ‘ family prayer, at which others attend, as well as the negroes of  
 ‘ their own family. All tolerably good negroes can say the Lord’s  
 ‘ Prayer, and many can say the Creed: they all know the sin of  
 ‘ swearing, lying, theft, &c.’ (p. 220.)

Q. You are now speaking of those taught by the Roman Catholic missionaries?

A. Oh, no, by the Methodists. 'I am convinced there is not a negro, old or young, who could not tell me, that one God made the world, and created mankind, and that He is all-powerful and all-seeing. Such questions as these I have proposed a hundred times to negroes of all classes, as well as to children, and I have always received a distinct and intelligent answer in their own dialect.' (*Ib.*)

Q. These negroes then have profited by the instruction they have received?

A. Not in the least. 'Strange as it may seem, I never asked a negro if he knew who was God's Son or the Redeemer of mankind, that he could answer. "Me never know 'bout him", was the universal answer. I have put this question to dozens of negroes of all ages who were in the habit of attending the Methodist chapel; nay, who had attended for years with regularity; and yet it appeared that not one of them had ever heard of the Saviour in so plain a way as to convey to him an idea of his Being.' (p. 221.)

Q. Notwithstanding that many of them can say the Creed, and several have regular family prayer, yet they are universally ignorant respecting the Saviour. Do the Missionaries then never preach about him?

A. I do not mean to convey that idea. But 'the Missionaries, though truly pious and excellent characters, are possessed of little or no discernment. The first time they see the emotion of a negro, when instructing him in religion, they are in transports of joy; enthusiastically persuaded that they have only to preach, and the bulk of the negroes will believe;—they forget that they are speaking to a people emerging only from a savage state; and that the emotions and feelings of an untutored savage, are not the same as the emotion and feeling of a civilized being, whose passions and emotions are artificially controlled. They know not the quickly passing feelings of a negro: and when they see him shed tears at the history of the sufferings of our Saviour, they too often set him down as a sincere convert, without waiting to see whether his emotion has been of such a nature as to produce any practical revolution in his conduct.'

(I. pp. 232—33.)

Q. Will you explain how the negroes who have no idea of the Saviour, and to whom a sermon in English is as unintelligible as if it were preached in Arabic, are moved to tears by the recital of the sufferings of the Saviour?

A. I speak of the effect of 'the system of instruction which I pursued with *my* negroes, in leading their minds from the simple

‘ apprehension of a God to the truths of the Gospel and the comprehension of a Saviour.’ (I. p. 222.)

Q. To what do you attribute the incompetency of the Wesleyan Missionaries, or their want of success in communicating distinct ideas on these subjects?

A. ‘ I do not think any person of cool judgement will ever expect much to be done in the instruction of the elder negroes, beyond what might be effected by personal exhortation and explanation given familiarly, and, in a great measure, delivered in their own *patois*, upon the simple doctrines of the Bible.’ (I. p. 248.) ‘ I cannot help adding to this notice of the Wesleyan Missions, that the discouragement given to social recreations, and especially to dancing, is far from favourable to their utility.’ (II. p. 238.)

Q. To what other circumstance besides their disapprobation of the African dances, do you attribute the inutility of the Missionaries?

A. To the want of a previous knowledge of the world; to their ignorance of the state of any society at home, except what is generally called, “ the religious world.” ‘ The Missionaries, although often pious and *not unlearned*, are ignorant of the world, and so very unpolished as to render it impossible for them to mix in the *good society* of the West Indies.’ (II. pp. 232, 233, 235.)

Q. This is the reason that they do not succeed in instructing the negroes respecting Jesus Christ?

A. Yes.

Q. From the *good society* of the West Indies, they obtain, it may be presumed, no countenance.

A. That is not exactly the case. ‘ On many of the St. Vincent estates, the Wesleyan missionaries preached, and had also schools for religious instruction. There is even, if I mistake not, more than one private chapel upon some of the estates, supplied by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries, *built by the proprietors* of the estates. I am, at all events, certain there is one such, which is regularly so supplied; and although the proprietor be himself a steady and conscientious member of the Church of England, he built this chapel in order to procure regular instruction for his negroes. I have several times attended evening service in the Wesleyan chapel, and found the congregation numerous; far exceeding that of the Established Church. Many of the most respectable members of the white population were present; although the majority were always coloured and black. The congregation invariably listened with attention, and the utmost decorum was uniformly preserved; save and except the too frequent groans and deep sighs, to which I have already alluded.

‘ Although the white and coloured population who attend the Methodist chapel, were of course, in general, able to understand the discourse, I feel convinced (after having devoted myself a good deal to the instruction of negroes) that the slave population comprehended almost nothing of it.’ (Vol. I. pp. 236—37.)

Q. But you are not aware that any prejudice against Wesleyan Missionaries existed among the colonists?

A. ‘ In many cases I observed decidedly the reverse, and did, indeed, hear at all times a general regret that the Church of England had not attended to the spiritual instruction of the West India colonies as she ought; nor am I aware of any apology she can offer. I had heard men in authority speak well of the Missionaries in St. Vincent; nor ever, until that year, did I hear one word said, implying a suspicion that they had any secret influence over the minds of the negroes. It was upon occasion of Sir Charles Brisbane, the then governor of St. Vincent, making some remark opposed to what I had ever heard of the Methodists, that I said, “ I thought your Excellency had a good opinion of them, and that you had subscribed to their Society.” — “ So I did,” answered his Excellency: “ one must often hold a candle to the devil in this world.”’ (II. pp. 234, 5.)

Q. Meaning the missionaries?

A. Yes: and Sir Charles added: “ I’ll tell you what,—if there was a disturbance in the island, the Methodists would have more power than you are aware of.” I answered, that I hoped they would employ it judiciously. “ Well, then,” said his Excellency, “ don’t you see, that it is very necessary to keep them in good humour, and give them a subscription?”’ (II. p. 235.)

Q. But you did not agree with Sir Charles?

A. ‘ Up to the period of my leaving Laurel Hill, I thought the Missionaries well intentioned.’ (p. 237.) ‘ The Missionaries have been often decidedly opposed in the West Indies since 1825, there can be no doubt; but the whole fault rests with themselves. Had they acted a candid, straight-forward part, they would have fared very differently; but they have never come forward and made one single, honest, manly denial of all the calumnies spoken and published against them. One such avowal would have effected more than all the reiterated and accumulated assertions of the planters.’ (II. p. 244.)

Q. You mean, had the Missionaries come forward to deny the calumnies propagated against themselves—

A. Oh no; *they* have not been calumniated—I mean the calumnies against the planters. Had the Missionaries, as I have done, come forward to assert that the whip is scarcely ever used by the driver or any other person, or to deny that the slaves are over-worked, or otherwise than happy and contented, their avowal would have

gained belief more than the reiterated assertions of the planters, which no one believes.

Q. And because they have not come forward with these assertions, they have 'fared' as they have done?

A. Yes; 'the feeling of confidence in Dissenters, which once existed to a great extent in the West Indies, is now thoroughly destroyed, and can never be restored. Therefore, no plan of instruction, when the teachers are not to be *bonâ fide* members of one or other of the Established Churches of England and Scotland, will ever meet with encouragement from the planter.'

(II. p. 248.)

Q. Is it then your opinion, that no other teachers should be tolerated in the colonies?

A. 'No advice or interference ought to be used, to prevent the negro from attending what place of worship he might prefer, be it the Episcopalian Church, or a Roman Catholic or Dissenting chapel: nor should any allusion to distinction of sect be permitted. Religious party-spirit *must be crushed*, if good is to be done.' (p. 255.) 'Let party-spirit be forgotten. But let there be one restriction; that the teachers be members of the Established Church.' (p. 254.)

Q. Which Established Church; that of England or of Scotland?

A. It does not signify which, as 'no allusions to distinction of sect are to be allowed.'

Q. You left the West Indies, it is believed, eight years ago.

A. Yes, in 1825.

Q. And your volumes were prepared before 'the *agitation* of the West India question by the *present* Government,' and were on 'the point of publication with the special recommendation of an *influential body of men*.' (*Advert.*)

A. Yes, but 'the negotiation' unluckily went off; and I have been obliged to risk the publication on my own account.

Q. Have you any further remarks to offer?

A. I beg leave to repeat, that, 'should any one consider my statements to be contradictory to each other,' I cannot help it.

The witness is directed to withdraw.—And so much for Mrs. Carmichael, 'five years a resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad!' Such is the stuff that, with Quarterly Reviewers, passes for veracious authority!

Art. III. *A View of the Early Parisian Greek Press*; including the Lives of the Stephani; Notices of other contemporary Greek Printers of Paris; and various particulars of the Literary and Ecclesiastical History of their Times. By the Rev. W. P. Greswell. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 844. Oxford, 1833.

**I**N our own times, the earliest English printers have had their names honoured, and their 'worthy deeds' celebrated, by their countrymen, in a manner which has afforded Bibliographers a large measure of the pleasure most in accordance with their pursuits and wishes. The institution of the Roxburgh Club, the rank and character of its members, and their proceedings, are well known testimonies to the merits of the distinguished individuals who introduced the art of printing into England. The value of the works, however, which they issued from their presses, is too inconsiderable to admit of their taking a place among the most eminent typographers to whom the literary part of the world will confess their highest obligations. "The History of Blanchardyn and the Princess Eglantyne," printed by W. Caxton, sold at the Duke of Roxburgh's sale for £216;—"The Boke of the Fayt of Armes and of Chyvalrie," by Caxton, which brought at the same sale £336;—"The Golden Legend, or the Lives of the Saints," by the same printer;—"The Boke of Good Manners," by Wynken de Worde;—"A Lytyll Treatise of the Horse, the Sheep, and Goos," by Wynken de Worde;—are precious gems to the modern collector; but, as monuments of the state of learning in Britain, at the close of the fifteenth century, they cannot be greatly estimated. Caxton printed, in 1481, "The Boke of Tulle of Olde age and Tullius his Book of Friendship, translated by Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester;" and, at a somewhat later date, Terence, the Eclogues of Virgil, and Cicero's Offices, were printed at the first established presses of England. These were the only classical books issued by English printers in those times. It was not before 1543, that a Greek book was printed in this country. In that year, Cheke published, with a Latin version, two of Chrysostom's Homilies.

With the state of printing in England, its progress on the Continent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, forms a remarkable contrast. From the date of the Mentz Bible, 1450, to the end of the sixteenth century, the number and variety of extensive and costly works issued from the presses of Italy, France, and Germany, were very great; and the learning and enterprising spirit of the printers are not less to be remarked, than are the productions by which their names have been transmitted. Among these, the Stephani hold high rank. They contributed most materially, not only to the diffusion and increase of literature, but to the advancement of religion. Con-



nected with the Reformers, they employed the art in which they had made distinguished proficiency, to aid the cause, the successes of which were working towards the deliverance of mankind from ignorance and the thralldom of superstition; and their services are worthy of our grateful remembrance as Protestants, not less than as scholars. Most of the early continental printers were scholars of distinguished reputation: the attainments of some of them were most remarkable, and their indefatigable assiduity and devotedness to the employments in which they laboured, almost peculiar to themselves. Mr. Greswell's volumes are principally a record of the Stephani; but they comprise accounts of Colinaeus, the Wechels, and other early typographers; and the literary and bibliographical details of the work, are accompanied with interesting sketches of the rise and progress of the Lutheran and Calvinian Reformations.

The honour of printing the first entirely Greek book, is claimed for Milan. Specimens of Greek printing are found in some of the early Latin books which issued from the press, such as the Lactantius of 1465, and the Aulus Gellius and Apuleius of 1469; but the first work in which Greek letters are used throughout, is, "*Lascharis Grammatica Gr. Mediolani, ex recognitione Demetrii Cretensis, per Dionysium Paravisinum.*" Mr. Gresswell has not given the date of this rare volume, which is 1476, and of which, we remember, a copy was sold some years ago in London for £37. A Greek psalter was issued from the Milan press in 1481. Venice commenced Greek printing in 1486, when a Greek Psalter, and the *Batrachomyomachia* of Homer, were executed; the former by Alexander, the latter by Leonicus, both Cretans. Milan and Venice had thus taken the lead in this new department of typography. But in the year 1488, their productions were far surpassed by the publication of the works of Homer at Florence, in two volumes, folio. This splendid book, *Homeri Opera omnia, Græce*, on which bibliographers have lavished so many expressions of warm admiration, was conducted through the press by Demetrius Chalcondyles, at the expense of two Florentine citizens, and is described as 'an instance of art, starting as it were from its first rudiments into sudden and absolute perfection.' A copy of the second volume of this magnificent edition, on vellum, was purchased at the sale of Mr. Dent's library, in 1827, by Payne and Foss, for £142 16s. An edition of Isocrates, *Græce*, very beautifully executed, and exhibiting a text reputed to be remarkably pure and correct, was, under the care of Demetrius Chalcondyles, issued from the Milan press in 1493; and six years afterwards, the same city was distinguished for the earliest edition of Suidas, the price of which, as we learn from an amusing Greek dialogue between a bookseller and a student, prefixed to the work, and written by Stephanus

Niger, a native of Cremona, and disciple of Demetrius Chalcondyles, was three crowns.

‘In 1496, Florence produced the celebrated *editio primaria* of the works of Lucian, *Luciani Opera, Græce*; of which the printer’s name is not specified. But amongst the most interesting typographical curiosities of these times, are certain antecedent impressions of Florence, *anni* 1494, which, under the direction of Joannes Lascaris, were executed *litteris capitalibus*. These were *Anthologia Græca*; *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica, Gr.*; *Euripidis Medea, Hippolytus, Alcestis, et Andromacha, Gr.*; *Callimachi Hymni, Gr.*; *Gnomæ Monostichoi ex diversis poetis, et poematum Musæi, Gr.* six distinct impressions: the printer, Laurentius Francisci de Alopa, a Venetian: all bearing date in the same year, 1494.’ Vol. I. pp. 6, 7.

Whether these impressions were antecedent to the *Editio primaria* of Lucian, is at least questionable: that they all bear date in the same year, 1494, is certainly said in error. The *Gnomæ* is without date and note of place or printer’s name. So are the Callimachus and the four tragedies of Euripides. The Apollonius Rhodius is dated at the end, Florence, 1496. These are all in capital letters, and, from the resemblance which they have in common, bibliographers assign them to the press of Alopa and the superintendence of Lascaris; but the manner in which they are described in the preceding paragraph, would convey incorrect information, and requires to be noticed as we have done. We may add, that the impressions enumerated amount to but five; the Musæus is annexed to the *Gnomæ Monostichæ*, on the reverse of the last leaf of which his poem commences. In 1830, Evans sold a copy of the Callimachus for £85; and at the same sale, the Euripides brought £36 15s.

‘To Joannes Lascaris the verification and introduction into use of GREEK CAPITALS are attributed: and it appears from these specimens, he thought it expedient that the whole text of each Greek poet, the *pars libri nobilior*, as Maittaire expresses it, should be printed *litteris majusculus*, and the scholia or notes only in the smaller character. The fine capitals of Lascaris were, as we know, admitted into use by subsequent printers only so far as to distinguish proper names, and the commencement of poetic lines or verses; and, in some early editions of the Greek scholiasts upon Homer and Sophocles, to distinguish the whole words or passages of the poet commented on from those of the annotator.’ Vol. I. p. 7.

Aldus Manutius was not the first, but he was one of the most zealous and enterprising of the early printers of Greek books. His edition of Aristotle, 1495–1498, on account of its skilful execution, the learning which it displays, and the beauty of the volumes, has secured to his name a distinguished celebrity as an editor and printer. The Musæus quarto, *sine anno*, is believed to have been the first printed of the Aldine editions of the Greek

classics; which are generally without accompanying Latin versions, though, in the case of the Musæus, the translation of Marcus Musurus is inserted. Some of his works are so disposed as to allow the Latin to be entirely separated from the Greek text, or to be incorporated in the same volume with it; a mode of printing which was adopted by the Foulis family at Glasgow.

In 1507, the first Greek book was printed at Paris. This was a small elementary work containing a Greek alphabet, rules of pronunciation, and various *sententiæ et opuscula*. It was edited by Francis Tissard, a native of Amboise, who had received instruction in Greek from Demetrius Spartiata, and who, on his return to Paris from Italy, where he had cultivated classical literature, warmly exerted himself to promote the study of the Greek language. The printer was Ægidius or Giles Gourmont, who assumed the title of '*Primus Græcarum litterarum Parisiis Impressor.*' Gourmont's press was afterwards superintended by Aleander, the well known adversary of the Lutheran Reformation. Iodocus Badius Ascensius, who commenced his typographical career at Lyons, removed to Paris, and began to print there in 1498. The issues from his press were very numerous, including almost every important Latin classic. He was employed by the celebrated Gulielmus Budæus to execute the *editiones primariæ* of his learned works; of which the *Commentarii Linguae Græcæ*, fol. 1528, is distinguished for its accuracy and beauty. Badius's impressions of Greek books were but few. One of his daughters became the wife of Robert Stephens.

Gulielmus Budæus, who is probably the most distinguished of all self-educated scholars, and whose acquirements placed him so high amongst the most learned as to leave but few names in possession of so much celebrity, is very properly noticed by Mr. Greswell, in his account of the productions of Badius's press. He was a native of Paris, and was born in 1467, of an ancient and honourable family. A very superficial initiation in the Latin language, was all the advantage that he acquired from the schools of Paris; and his subsequent study of the civil law at Orleans was but to little purpose. On his return home, he was for a time entirely negligent of literary improvement, but afterwards devoted himself to study with such excessive ardour and application as induced not only a disinclination to all pleasurable enjoyment, but a total disregard of health and natural rest. Without the direction of preceptors competent to guide him in the choice of authors and to regulate his studies, he read without discrimination, and with but little success. He found his error, and corrected it by studying only the most approved writers, particularly Cicero without note or comment; and by frequent retrospection and the comparing of passages, he made the authors, whose works he perused, their own expositors. 'By this method in a few years,

‘in private and without the aid of instructors, he acquired an extraordinary familiarity with the Latin classics, orators, poets, and historians.’ Intent on the acquisition of Greek literature, he procured at great expense the assistance of Georgius Hermonymus, who taught Greek at Paris about 1491, ‘*sed talis, ut neque potuisset docere, si voluisset; neque voluisset, si potuisset.*’ To this Professor, he owed but little obligation. He was more fortunate in obtaining the notice of a noble Greek of high character and attainments, Janus Lascaris, who rendered him the most essential services, and allowed him the use of his choicest books and manuscripts. Budæus was wholly absorbed in study, never suffering himself to be diverted from his learned pursuits by considerations of health, personal indulgence, domestic business, or any other care. ‘Whatever book he had taken up for perusal, no obscurity deterred him; no variety induced him to lay it aside, till he had arrived at the end of it.’ That such application must be at the cost, not only of many comforts, but of sacrifices the most valuable, we learn from such details as the following:

‘Such were his powers of memory, that what he had once learned or known, he never forgot: and he was sometimes observed to repeat long passages, which he had not read for many years, not only agreeably to the sense, but in the very words of their authors. By persevering in the systematic application before described, he is said to have perused all the writers of Greek and Roman antiquity; and to have acquired an extensive knowledge of all the sciences then held in estimation. But far from being ostentatious of his learning, he seemed rather studious to conceal it; and seldom opened the stores of his knowledge, unless when consulted, and at the request of his friends.

‘As Budæus thus appeared unremittingly devoted to study to the extreme hazard of his personal health, his father and his friends were frequent and urgent in their remonstrances, which however were unavailing. At length, therefore, the apprehended effects of excessive thought and application began to shew themselves. He lost his former spirits and cheerfulness, and became dejected and unsociable. His hair fell off, his countenance was pale, and his body emaciated: and a settled malady, of a species then novel and surprising to his physicians, but which was probably a hypochondria of the most distressing kind, tormented him at frequently-recurring periods for the space of twenty years. Alarming affections of the head, and a frequent sense of stupor and drowsiness, increased the catalogue of his infirmities, and proved the bitterest annoyance of his studious hours: to relieve which, his medical advisers vainly had recourse to severe measures, and even to cauterizing the integuments of the cranium with a hot iron. Yet, what is most surprising, we are assured that, in the midst of all these bodily sufferings, Budæus commenced, finished, and published his most elaborate works.’ Vol. I. pp. 48, 49.

Budæus lived in times of the greatest excitement (from 1467

to 1540), but took no public part in the great events and questions which so deeply interested and engaged most of his literary contemporaries. Superior erudition, especially Greek learning, was considered as an indication of heresy, and the spring of the dangers by which the Church was threatened; but the character of Budæus was never brought into suspicion, nor is there any reason for supposing that the religious innovations of his own age were at all pleasing to him. The Reformation owes much to Erasmus, but to Budæus it owes nothing.

‘His *Commentarii Linguae Græcæ* has been generally acknowledged as a production of immense erudition; and continues to possess the suffrages of the learned of our own fastidious times. Composed on a plan entirely novel and extraordinary, it diffusely exhibits the richness of the Greek tongue, and its affinity with the Latin; but is more especially adapted for the illustration of the Greek orators and forensic proceedings, and, in conjunction with them, of the Latin also.’ Vol. I. p. 50.

The *Commentarii L. G.* were highly appreciated by Professor Porson, who, we believe, entertained the design of preparing an abridgement of this work: a reduced arrangement of its contents would be a useful manual.

Of Henry Stephens, or Estienne, the founder of the illustrious family of printers commemorated in the volumes before us, the personal memorials are very scanty and uncertain. At what precise time he commenced his employment as a typographer, would seem to be a point which bibliographers have not been able to determine. He appears as one of the printers of the University of Paris in 1496. An impression of the *Ethica*, and some other treatises of Aristotle, in Latin, dated 1504, is subscribed, *per Henricum Stephanum in vico clausi Brunelli e regione scholæ decretorum*; and shews that he was then a separate printer. The productions of his press are not in general remarkably superior, in point of professional execution, to those of his contemporaries. He died in 1520.

Robert Stephens, the son of Henry, was born in the year 1503. He seems to have been indebted for his early opportunities of instruction in classical learning, to the place which he held in his father's establishment. In 1522, he became the assistant of Simon de Colines, or Colinæus, who had married the widow of Henry, and had the direction of his father-in-law's press.

‘In this character, he superintended an impression of the *Novum Testamentum, Latine*, in 16mo; which was executed with great elegance and accuracy after the Vulgate translation, but with the addition of certain corrections by the juvenile editor. After the account given in our last section of the temper of these times, it will not appear surprising that this publication should have excited the jealousy of the Sorbonne divines, who were dissatisfied both with such



an attempt to disseminate the sacred Scriptures, and with the freedom of Robert's corrections: and thus, even at this early age, he found himself involved in the suspicion of heresy. We have his own testimony to shew that the hostility of these divines, which pursued him through life, had its origin with this commencement of Robert's professional career. No sooner had the before-mentioned impression appeared, than they began to exclaim against him as a corrupter of the sacred text; declaring that those who presumed to print and vend such impressions of the Holy Scriptures, were deserving of capital punishment. Robert informs us that he endeavoured, but in vain, to justify his corrections by critical reasons and theological arguments. This was indeed only to aggravate the offence. They were not sparing of their invectives against his temerity, from the chair and the pulpit; but studiously avoided all personal discussions with him of a literary or controversial nature: and this cautious procedure, Robert imputed to a consciousness of their own incapacity and gross ignorance.'

Vol. I. pp. 190, 191.

These Sorbonne divines were most admirably qualified to be the guardians of the Church in the darkest ages. They condemned the proposition of Erasmus and Luther, that to burn heretics was contrary to the spirit of the Gospel; and one of them is said to have declared, in a tone of self-gratulation, that, during a period of fifty years, he had not known what the term *New Testament* meant. Jacques le Fevre, the learned editor of the *Quincuplex Psalterium*, and one of the professors in the university of Paris, who had Calvin and Farrel among his scholars, published a tract *De tribus Magdalenis et de unica Magdalena*, in which he maintains that Mary, the sister of Martha and of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, out of whom Jesus cast seven demons, and the "woman that was a sinner", were all distinct persons. This was no novel opinion, the Greek fathers having given the same interpretation to the passages in which they are mentioned. But the Latin fathers will have them to be the same; and the Sorbonne doctors, adopting their sentiments, denounced the other opinion as a heresy, and would have burned Le Fevre for asserting it, if he had not been protected by Francis I., who held his learning and his merits in high estimation. It is not easy to imagine the vexatious annoyance which the interference of a body so remarkable for their stupidity and bigotry must have occasioned to an enlightened and liberal printer like Robert Stephens, who was furnishing the means of knowledge, and stimulating the inquiries of his contemporaries by the numerous issues of the sacred Scriptures which proceeded from his press.

In 1525, Robert Stephens commenced his impressions with an edition of *Apuleii liber de deo Socratis*, 8vo.; and in the following year, he printed *Ciceronis Epistolæ ad familiares*, 8vo. From that period till his retirement from Paris in 1552, 'the productions of his press were multiplied with increasing enterprise,



‘activity and perfection.’ Among these were, the *Latinæ Linguæ Thesaurus*, the *Biblia Sacra*, *Ciceronis Opera*, and numerous other works, of which a description will be found in these volumes. Some of these provoked anew the hostility of the Sorbonne divines, who continued their implacable persecution against him. In 1540, he was honoured with the title of *TYPOGRAPHUS REGIUS IN GRÆCIS*; and, by his exertions, Greek printing was advanced to a superiority of technical beauty and excellence, which all historians of the press have united in celebrating. His Greek impressions were of great variety and extent, among which, the magnificent *NOVUM TESTAMENTUM*, Græce, 1550, folio, is particularly distinguished. The figure which this splendid volume makes in the criticism of the Greek Testament, on account of its relation to the *Textus Receptus*, and the marginal references to MSS. which it exhibits respecting the reading of 1 John v. 7., is well known. Mr. Greswell devotes some pages to the vindication of Stephens from the charges directed against him by Porson, and refers to accident or the learned printer’s error, the misplacing of the semicircle, which, in its present position, has been the occasion of so much discussion. This impression of the Greek New Testament was very offensive to the Sorbonne divines, whose virulent opposition involved Stephens in very vexatious troubles, from which he sought and found refuge by removing to Geneva, where he carried on his typographical employments till the period of his death in 1559.

Thuanus has bestowed the highest praises on this most eminent printer, and asserts, that more real lustre and glory were reflected upon the reign of Francis I. by the genius and exertions of this single individual, than by all that monarch’s achievements, whether in peace or in war. Robert Stephens well merits a place among those distinguished men who contributed to the establishment of Protestant principles, by exciting attention to the genuine Scriptures, and enlarging the circulation of them. His numerous editions of the Bible and of the New Testament, at a time, when the fiercest opposition was directed against those who disseminated them, rendered him a most efficient coadjutor of the Reformers. It is to these men that we should be found rendering honour. The achievements of the sword have recollections attending them, which we may well exchange for those which are awakened by the pen and the press; and we may cherish the hope, that the opinions and proceedings of a civilized people will, in future, be more in consonance with the dictates of wisdom, and with the justice due to the memories of the best benefactors of mankind, than they are at present.

Henry Stephens, son of the first Robert Stephens, was born at Paris, in the year 1528. From a very early period of life, he was passionately devoted to the study of the Greek language,

which, contrary to the prevailing practice, he learned previously to the Latin. His education was conducted with all the advantages which could be derived from the erudition and vigilance of his celebrated parent. He became a pupil of the Greek professor, Petrus Danesius, and, at the age of seventeen, attended the public lectures of Jacobus Tusanus, and subsequently those of Adrianus Turnebus. He attained great excellence in calligraphy, and was distinguished for the beauty of his Greek characters. In the year 1546, according to Maittaire, Henry was associated with his father in his typographical labours, for whose impressions of Dionysius Halicarnasensis, and the '*O mirificam*' New Testament, he collated the MSS. of the royal library. The death of Francis I. was an inauspicious event to the family of Stephens; and, in 1547, Henry set out on his travels, to explore the literary treasures of other countries. He spent three years and a half in visiting the different cities of Italy, and was particularly interested in the employments which he found at Rome, Florence, and Naples. At Padua, he enjoyed a literary intercourse with Jean Bellievre, ambassador of the French king to the Swiss cantons, and formed an acquaintance with Robortellus and Dionysius Lambinus. At Venice, he became acquainted with Muretus, and, after visiting Genoa, returned home in 1549. In the following year he was in England, which he left in 1551, with an intention of returning through Flanders and Brabant; and in the close of the year he again reached Paris. The Protestantism of Henry Stephens is not questioned. Whether he accompanied his father to Geneva, is uncertain. In commencing his printing establishment at Paris, he does not appear to have been annoyed by any vexatious opposition, either from the Sorbonne, or any of the other enemies of his father.

In the twenty-sixth year of his age, 1554, Henry Stephens published the *Editio Princeps* of Anacreon, Gr. et Lat. 4to.; 'one of the most finished and beautiful of all his impressions.' In the close of the same year, he revisited Italy, and examined the libraries of Venice; and soon after his return to Paris in 1556, he resumed his typographical operations, which he continued with unabated ardour through a long succession of years. For an account of these, we must refer to the volumes before us. His residence was divided between Paris and Geneva; the most important of his impressions relating to classical and general literature being executed in the French metropolis, and those of a theological kind in the latter city.

'Few ever experienced more vicissitudes in the literary walks of life, or more discouraging reverses of fortune. Perhaps no individual scholar ever rendered greater services to literature; yet none ever found his own erudition turn to less account. Henry Estienne might justly be numbered "*inter litteratorum infelicissimos*." He moved oc-

casionally in the train and splendours of courts: he lived in intimacy with the rich and the great: yet poverty was his prevailing lot. '*Aliis recludit thesauros; sibi ipsi, pro thesauro carbones reperit.*' When we consider the interruptions, difficulties, and discouragements, with which he was almost constantly compelled to struggle, our admiration of his patience and perseverance, and our astonishment at the number and magnitude of his literary achievements, must be proportionably increased.' Vol. II. pp. 368, 369.

It is melancholy to relate, that this enterprising and erudite printer, at the age of seventy years, and suffering at once under an entire decay both of external fortunes and of mental powers, finished his mortal career at Lyons, in an hospital of that city, in the year 1598.

There are some literary works which will ever be regarded with astonishment at the indomitable courage and perseverance of their authors, and with admiration at the immensity of the learning which they display. Of this description is the '*Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae, ab Henrico Stephano constructus,*' published in 1572. Only the most enthusiastic zeal for the advancement of Greek literature could have induced Henry Stephens to have projected and executed a work of such magnitude, in the completion of which so many difficulties were to be overcome. It was suggested to him by the '*Thesaurus Latinæ Linguae*' of his father. In its preparation and printing, he laboured with invincible patience, almost exhausting, as he informs us, the whole of his slender means, before the work was brought to its conclusion. Not long after it was issued from the press, its sale was materially obstructed by the publication of Scapula's *Lexicon Græco-Latinum*; and Henry Stephens was thus defrauded and mortified by the appearance of a work which was essentially an abridgement of his own invaluable volume. Of Scapula himself scarcely any thing is known. In his epistle to the Senators of Berne, prefixed to his *Lexicon*, he mentions that he had received his earliest education at Lausanne, and, at the time of his contemplating the publication of his work, was discharging some public literary function there under the patronage of the senate. From these circumstances the Author of the volumes before us concludes, that he belonged to the Reformed persuasion. The Epistle contains some passages which appear to us decisive on this point:—'*vos Deus opt. max. ex densa errorum et superstitionum caligine ad apertam verbi sui lucem evocare dignatus est.*'—Such language as this could have proceeded only from one of the Reformed.

'Uniform tradition asserts, that he had been for some time employed in the printing-office of H. Stephanus; not perhaps in the mere mechanical department, but probably as a corrector; and that as the sheets of the *Thesaurus Græcus* were printed off, he surrepti-

tiously compiled his own abridgement, extracting more particularly such parts as were most upon a level with the capacities of young students. Thus Scapula is said to have formed his well-known *Lexicon Græco-Latinum*; which, according to the general opinion of the learned, first appeared *anno 1579*. The date indeed annexed to the Dedicatory Epistle of that Lexicon, in its first impression, is said to be 1570; which would imply that it was anterior to the *Thesaurus* itself: but as no reason can be assigned for deliberate falsification in this particular, it must be considered as an error of the press, 1570, for 1579. The most modern editions of Scapula omit the epistle or address, "*Senatoribus inclytæ Bernatæ reipubl. ;*" but in an impression, *Aureliæ Allobr. 1609*, the time and place of its composition are thus remarkably specified: *Basileæ, octavo Kalend. Decemb. M.D.LXXIX. quo anno Bernensi Scholæ coronide imposita, Lausannensis Gymnasii fundamenta jacta sunt, &c.*—Vol. II. pp. 282, 3.

The Lexicon of Scapula was first published in 1580. A copy of the original edition is now before us; *Basileæ Ex Officina Hervagiana per Eusebium Scopium. Anno Salutis MDXXC.* To this, the Epistle is prefixed, addressed to the Senators of Berne, concluding with the date and note of time as quoted in the preceding extract from the impression of 1609. In the address which follows, '*Lectoribus Græcæ Linguae Studiosis,*' Scapula claims the merit of originality for his work, and describes the plan of it as being the result of his own reflection and judgment. To this preface Mr. Greswell refers, in some strictures on Scapula's injurious treatment of H. Stephens, in audaciously disputing with him the glory 'of the invention,' by which, in the *Thesaurus*, the celebrated printer had arranged the words of the Greek language after a new method. On the reverse of the title-page of the first edition of Scapula's Lexicon, there are some curious verses, in which the claim of novelty is very boldly urged. They are as follows.

' *IOAN. SC. lectori.*

' *Momus ait nihil esse novi dare lexica : verùm  
Hoc ego contendo lexicon esse novum.  
Esse novum nihil est, inquit, nisi conferat : atqui  
Non caret hæc novitas utilitate sua.  
Quæ prius hîc illic variè dispersa iacebant,  
Hîc sunt ad proprium cuncta reducta locum.  
Hîc voci sedes defertur prima parenti;  
Quam eerto soboles ordine subsequitur.  
Hîc multa à nullis tractata prioribus insunt,  
Fertilis ex doctis Hellados hausta libris.  
Nil igitur temere statuas : sed perspice, lector,  
Maturo expedens singula iudicio.  
Tum si quod studiis opus afferat hocce levamen,  
Faverit optatis aura secunda meis.  
Si minùs id prosit, sequere utiliora docentem :  
Ingenii vires quod poluere, dedi.*

Dr. Busby, it is said, from a strong feeling of indignation against the literary dishonesty of Scapula, actually forbade his scholars the use of his Lexicon. His plagiarism may be condemned by us without our proscribing the use of a work which has obtained the approbation of so many of the learned, and compared with the cost of which, the purchase of the Thesaurus is prohibitory of its acquisition to many, who may derive from the former the most substantial advantages. It should not be forgotten, that Scapula's work was not sent into the markets of literature immediately on the publication of Stephens's, as a rival to it: eight years intervened between the two publications, and this was a considerable interval, during the whole of which the value of the Thesaurus was not depreciated by any condensation of its contents. We may take the present occasion to notice the beautiful and excellent edition of Scapula, printed at the Clarendon press, and which, like so many of the works issued from it, is most creditable to the parties who directed and superintended its publication.

It has been much questioned, whether the copies of Stephens's Greek Thesaurus are all of one edition; and many have been of opinion, that what was ostensibly a second edition, was in reality nothing more than a renewed issue of the original work, with some changes in the title and preface. Krohn, however, appears to have set this question at rest, and to have proved that the work was actually reprinted, in the second instance, without a date, though, as he determines, previously to the year 1591.

It is well known that an edition of Stephens's *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae* was lately published in this country from the press of Mr. Valpy. From the first announcement of the intention of the projectors of this new impression, to reprint the work in a form and with improvements suitable to the era of its modern publication, they received every encouragement from the cultivators of Greek learning; and the ample patronage which was extended to the undertaking, shewed that the proposal of those who had taken it into their hands was well timed. The subscription was altogether unprecedented. For a work of such magnitude and of such a description, no fewer than one thousand and eighty-six names were obtained, and about one hundred of these were those of subscribers for large paper copies. The small paper subscription was one guinea for each part, and for the large paper copies, two guineas. The original proposals announced that the work would be completed in twenty-four or twenty-five parts, and in the course of four or five years. The prospectus, we believe, was issued in 1809 or 1810. The first part of the work was not published till March 1816, and the last part was issued in December 1828. But, instead of twenty-four or twenty-five parts, it was extended to thirty-nine. About twenty years were

in this manner occupied in the preparation and in the printing of the new edition of the Thesaurus;—an ample space, we should suppose, for even such a republication as the one in question, with all the additions and improvements intended to be introduced into the work. A fair occasion was furnished to the Editors, by having in their hands an undertaking of this magnitude and character, of obtaining reputation for themselves, and of doing honour to their age and country. It will not, however, we believe, be generally acknowledged, that they have entitled themselves to the approbation of their subscribers and the public by the manner in which they have executed this literary enterprise. The extensive additions made to Stephens's volumes supply very abundant testimonies to the industry of the Compilers, and shew how successfully the inquiries of the Editors, in respect to the materials necessary for the enlargement of the Thesaurus, have been answered. An immense accumulation of matter has been obtained, and the original work has by this means been very considerably augmented. The proper use of the materials prepared for a work of this kind, is, however, in respect to its literary and philological advantages, of more importance than the mere quantity of them. From the editors of a republication of the Greek Thesaurus of Henry Stephens, intended to correspond to the expectations of scholars in the present advanced state of literature, we look for higher qualifications than mere industry,—for the faculty which shall manifest itself in nice and needful selection, in correct discrimination, and in luminous and judicious arrangement. With these qualities, the Editors of Stephens do not appear to have been highly gifted; and the work which they have issued as an Improved Greek Thesaurus, comes far short of the excellence which it ought to exhibit, and which the funds contributed towards its completion, as well as the time occupied in its preparation and progress, should have ensured. It is much to be regretted, that the execution of the work is not more worthy of the several announcements which gave promise, that the long cherished wishes of all who cultivate Greek learning were about to be accomplished, in their being presented with the Greek Thesaurus of Henry Stephens, in an improved edition, honourable to the projectors, and invaluable to themselves; since there can scarcely be even a remote probability of another attempt to engage the patronage of scholars for a series of volumes so large and costly. \*

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\* We will avail ourselves of the present occasion, to refer to Mr. Valpy's edition of the Delphin Classics with *Variorum* Notes. The prospectus announcing the publication of this undertaking stated, that it would comprise 130 parts at £1 1s. each part to subscribers, and that the work could not be subscribed for in separate parts or authors,



To those who take pleasure in the perusal of literary history, to professed scholars and critics, and to the collectors of rare and primary Greek impressions, Mr. Greswell's volumes will furnish both instruction and abundant gratification. The interest and utility of them are much increased by the concise, but clear and correct sketches which he has introduced, of the civil and religious transactions of the periods which they include. Mr. Greswell's qualifications for the work which he has thus ably executed, are well known; and we are happy in testifying not only to the merits of the work, but also to the candour and uprightness of the Author.

In the account of Postel, (Vol. I. p. 155.) that scholar is said to have 'first brought into Europe the Syriac version of the New Testament.' This ancient Translation (the Peshito) was originally brought into Europe by Moses of Mardin, and was edited by Widmanstad, assisted by Postel.

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but only as a whole collection. The following note is appended to the prospectus. 'As some gentlemen have not yet sent in their names as subscribers, on the supposition that the work will hereafter be offered for sale at a *lower* price, Mr. Valpy begs to state, that, to prevent such depreciation, he has printed but very few copies over the present Subscription (971 large and small).' That the work is now accessible to purchasers on much easier terms, and can readily be obtained, any one may ascertain for himself, who will look into a bookseller's catalogue. We know that the entire series of volumes, or a selection of any Authors, at the option of the buyer, may be had for less than *one-fourth* of the original cost. It is notorious too, that a very considerable number of copies is on sale. It is, we think, important that the attention of those who patronize large and expensive works should be directed to cases like the present. It is the original subscribers to a work who enable a publisher to prepare and issue it; and they should certainly be saved the mortification of seeing the set of books for which they have paid a liberal price, common in the market at a greatly reduced valuation. It cannot certainly be otherwise than vexatious to a subscriber to this republication of the Delphin Classics with *Variorum* notes, to learn that his friend or his neighbour has purchased for less than thirty pounds, precisely the same books for which he gave *one hundred and thirty*!—and that any Authors included in a collection may be bought separately, which he could not obtain as a subscriber, without buying the entire series. We do not, in these representations, do more than state facts; but the inquiries which they suggest, are important in reference to the interests of learning.

Art. IV. *Sermons* by the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton. 8vo. pp. 590. London, 1833.

**WE** are not among the number of those critics Mr. Hamilton refers to in his Advertisement, with whom style is every thing. There are some preachers and writers whose style we think essentially faulty, formed on a bad model, or deformed by vicious taste, yet to whom we cannot deny a high merit which redeems their faults, and makes them dangerous by the lustre which it throws over them. Dr. Chalmers is a preacher of this class: his style is peculiarly his own, and, being native and vigorous, it answers well as the vehicle of his singularly vehement eloquence. But it cannot be necessary to point out, how insufferable would be the faults of his style in an imitator. Mr. Irving's florid modern-Gothic style, notwithstanding the palpable affectation which disfigured it, was in like manner rendered subservient to a powerful impression, till the orator became lost in the fanatic. The style of a person's composition is often very much the result and reflection of his mental temperament. Strength united to impetuosity displays itself sometimes in a lawless force of expression, which commands, rather than pleases; while the not unfrequent combination of warmth of feeling and energy of character with mental indolence, may be detected in the fitful inequalities of style, the mixture of strength and weakness, by which another writer is characterized. A tinge of pedantry (often mistaken for affectation) is the natural result of vanity; while an affected style is rather the result of ambitious effort, and may be equally unconnected with an artificial character. A vehement dislike of the tame and common-place is extremely likely to lead a young writer into the opposite fault of grandiloquence. And there are some writers who may be compared to performers who, not being well taught at first, continue, after they have acquired the art of playing with effect, to finger badly. But, whatever be the faults of style and manner with which a preacher or writer is chargeable, it is in his power to render them so subordinate to the matter, and purport, and aim of his composition, as to render criticism a cold and unseasonable impertinence.

When a young aspirant after literary honours, yet in the first efflorescence of juvenile vanity, prints his maiden production, the Critic has a stern duty to perform, which may seem as unkind as the wind that strips the trees in spring of the false blossom. It is then, if ever, that criticism is useful. But, when years have fixed the taste and naturalized the manner of a writer, whatever were his original faults, it is, we are well persuaded, nearly as useless as it is invidious to blazon them.

Should these remarks appear inapplicable to the subject in hand, we must throw the blame upon Mr. Hamilton, who, anticipating that his *'style'* will be, as usual, severely attacked, should

'criticism deign a notice,' scarcely does justice either to himself or to the critics he seems to fear. We had never the pleasure of hearing him from the pulpit; but we have always understood him to be a very effective and powerful preacher, of which these Sermons contain, indeed, sufficient evidence. Nineteen years spent in the honourable discharge of the pastoral office in one place, give a title to higher respect than all the graces of composition could win from us as critics; and we know not why Mr. Hamilton should have indulged in the sarcasm veiled under the declaration, that he will still 'stoop, if the censor be of a sufficient order of intellect to warrant a jest and sneer.' The nature of the themes he has chosen, would preclude a jest, as much as the talents he possesses, would raise him above a sneer.

Were we to say that the style of these Sermons is their distinguishing recommendation, we should say what is not true, and what, if true, would be but a poor compliment. Mr. Hamilton's style is certainly more nervous than graceful, more oratorical than accurate\*, more copious than select. It bears the stamp also of a certain mannerism, which, whether the manner be good or bad, is a fault. But, having said thus much, we shall not expend a word more in verbal criticism; but proceed at once to notice the more substantial qualities of the volume.

The Sermons are eleven in number: as the volume extends to nearly 600 pages, it will be inferred that they are of very unusual length. We do not consider this as a fault in compositions prepared for the press; and we take it for granted that each of these sermons embodies the matter of several as originally delivered. The subjects are as follows.

'I. The Inviolability of Christianity, Gal. i. 8. II. The Counsel of Gamaliel examined, Acts v. 38, 39. III. Moral Means preferable to Miracle, Luke xvi. 31. IV. The transcendent Love of Christ, Eph. iii. 19. V. Incarnate Deity, Phil. ii. 5, 8. VI. The Atonement, John i. 29. VII. The Christian Doctrine of Divine Grace, Rom. xi. 6. VIII. The Son of God anticipating his Reward, Heb. x. 13. IX. The Heavenly Country, Heb. xi. 6. X. Deism no Refuge from Judgement, Rom. iii. 6. XI. Jesus Christ Creator and Lord of the Universe, Col. i. 16.'

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\* Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether the inaccuracy is typographical or not: *ex. gr.* 'Men who affect their desire of miracle.' (p. 113.) Men may affect *a* desire, or may *assert* their desire. To inspire a zest (p. viii.) is, perhaps, a mistake for, impart a zest. The following sentence is too elliptical to be intelligible: (p. 517.) 'The concession of such a Being is inconsistent without a moral character, and his moral character is inconsistent without an assent to Christianity.' 'Substitutionary concert,' (p. 349.) is a phrase bordering on enigma.

It will be seen that most of the subjects are such as are involved in the controversy with the Unitarians, and the sermons may be characterized as mainly argumentative. Mr. Hamilton has shewn himself, not only in this volume, but elsewhere, a zealous champion and a powerful advocate of the truth. If not always a very close logician, he is a skilful and formidable polemic, and he wields with peculiar force the weapons of caustic rebuke and sarcasm. Yet, these sermons are by no means of a dry polemical cast. On the contrary, they abound with admirable statements and forcible appeals, adapted to enforce, as well as to vindicate the great doctrines of Christianity. The Author will, however, be thought, by the majority of his admirers, most at home in dealing with the opponent and the sceptic. In the following passage, taken from the first sermon, the Preacher with great force maintains the inference deducible from the apostolic protest, Gal. i. 8, that 'the import and construction of the Gospel cannot be vague and indeterminate.'

'It cannot be reasonably doubted, that the first Christians, whatever were their "differences of administrations and diversities of operations," had a "like precious faith," and a "common salvation." They coincided in "the first principles of the oracles of God," in "the principles of the doctrine of Christ." They "obeyed, from the heart, that form of doctrine which was delivered them." "The form of sound words" was inculcated with the precision of a lesson, and the authority of a law. The characteristic of the Gospel was alleged to be its *truth*. This was, to the sophists of that era, a strange and novel pretension. To require faith to a testimony, only so far as conformable to fact, only so far as supported by evidence, appeared to them a startling affectation. Yet, this was the tone which the primeval disciples assumed; and as *history proved* what religion hallowed, we need not wonder at their port of magnanimity and valour. "They could do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." Hence their belief was definite and avowed. Neither did confusion cloud their judgement, nor strife divide their interpretation, nor suspicion canker their "singleness of heart." "Sound and good doctrine" they opposed to "fables;" "love of the truth" united them; they were encouraged to come to "the knowledge," and bidden to "the acknowledging," "of the truth." With this the Apostles were "put in trust;" they were "stewards of the mysteries of God." Their power was ample; they "were teachers in faith and verity." They wore the manner of conviction the most entire and unshrinking, and justified their followers in its adoption. The language current among them was, "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day." "Hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before Him." This was no conjecture, but assurance; no faltering, but infallibility. So "established, strengthened, and settled" were they, so "rooted and built up," borrowing the description from the tenacity of the root and strength of the building, that the

language of the text would neither sound profane nor even forcible: it struck in with so unhesitating a sentiment, so strong a vow. They consequently affixed particular significations to what they called "the present truth," and would not brandish the curse to defend what was equivocal in its nature, or interminable in its controversy. The Gospel called up a certain set of ideas, a particular class of propositions, in their minds—they had "the full assurance of understanding and of faith"—they "understood what they said and whereof they affirmed."

' But such statements are frequently contested in our times. It is denied that there was uniformity of opinion, that Christianity is dogmatic, that the Saviour dictated a particular creed, that the Apostles were authorized to propound one. The following disclaimer is employed as a general abandonment of all such claim, "Not for that we have dominion over your faith." But though the first sight and sound of this language might seem to leave them to any latitude of principle or interpretation, the slightest inspection of the context, and the absurdity of the contrary supposition, will refute the gloss. Paul disavows all use of tyrannic power through the means or by the circumstances, of their religious profession: he will abstain from all such stretch of his influence, and abuse of their confidence: but he subjoins what denotes any thing rather than a license for the indifference of sentiment, "For by faith ye stand." "The foundation of the Apostles" was one of inspired teaching and ordinance, not that of the sinner's dependence for acceptance: and their foundation was held together by "Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone." They were commissioned to "teach all nations,"—they were "set for the defence of the Gospel,"—they were the accredited representatives and organs of the ascended Messiah,—they were filled with the spirit of his mission and knowledge of his will,—they were in "his stead,"—and spoke and wrote with that awful impress and emphasis which He imparted to them when about to leave them: "As my Father has sent Me, even so send I you!"

' In the fixed character, we recognize the true perfection, of the Gospel. It is the same through all ages, not changing to every touch, and varying beneath every eye—but unfolding the same features, and producing the same effects. It is a system of particular tenets—these, it is important to recollect, are *truths*, and partake of the necessary unchangeableness of all which can boast this designation. The evidences of truth may differ, but it cannot be more or less than truth. "The word of the truth of the Gospel" has the same strict meaning, the same express design, as of old: and he who adds to it, or takes away from it, offers it an equal indignity, and does it an equal wrong.

' Amidst the conflicts of opinion, rife and strenuous as they are in modern days, it is an anxious inquiry, a solemn problem, *are we right?* Do we "know the truth?" The anathema which is prefixed to this Discourse, never could have been uttered unless the Gospel had been limited to a distinct meaning, had been susceptible of a certain interpretation. How important that we escape it by renouncing "any other Gospel!"

' How shall we know when we have attained to a just apprehension of "the faith once delivered to the saints?" It will be easy to charge

us with arrogance: it will be foolish in us to shrink from the accusation.

Is the Gospel "worthy of our acceptance?" Is it sufficiently clear and perspicuous to be conceived? We would avoid all naked and unprotected assertions, but maintain that a believing knowledge of it may be acquired, that such a perception should be allowed a place in the mind, to the exclusion of all distracting doubt and misgiving; and that we are warranted in resting these immoveable conclusions on the laws of moral certainty.

We do not make light of *scriptural investigation*. This is the basis and index of all genuine belief. We possess a divine revelation. When it is the part of science to anticipate the facts of Nature and bend them to its preconceived theory, then may it be wise and legitimate to forecast what such revelation should contain, and to measure it by that self-formed standard. The inductive principle, which is our familiar boast, is often reversed when the sacred volume is the subject. Men of any thought see indeed, the dilemma of inconsistency into which an open violation of it would sink them—but mixing the rules of inquiry with the business of *internal evidence*, they set their assumptions against the plainest dictates and soundest criticisms. All they do is prompted by their care of the divine character, and their reverence for the divine code, which otherwise would be left profanely compromised and cruelly exposed! We, however, do not fear but that God "will have pity on his holy name," and cannot suppose that he will "disgrace the throne of his glory." We do not presume to be more tenderly jealous of his honour than himself. And taking with us "the Scriptures which are able to make wise unto salvation," we embrace all their inferences as well as facts, doctrines as well as testimonies—relying on the veracity, committed to the scope, and abiding by the conclusions, of the whole. "What saith the Scripture?" is our only demand; what it saith is our only criterion.' pp. 9—14.

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There is another spirit at work among us. It can inculcate a due firmness of erroneous opinion, it only condemns as rude and dictatorial, the adoption and retention of opposite sentiment. It is charitable, in its own favoured phrase, towards all the doubting and unconvinced; it can show favour to the honest infidel, however impetuous and professed. Its contempt is reserved for those who, having with certainly no less honesty read the word of God and searched the Scriptures "whether these things are so," maintain their most cautious impression, and uphold their most deliberate judgement. This contempt would fall strangely upon those who are celebrated for continuing in "the Apostles' doctrine;" and it might invert itself and become apology for those whom the same record condemns. Might it not advance in extenuation of those who "were ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth," that they were unfettered by prejudice, and still prosecuting inquiry? and offer in exculpation of "unstable souls," that they were only seeking truth wherever it could be found, keeping their minds open and their studies unpledged, ready to obey all possible convictions?



But the "truth as it is in Jesus," is contained in that Word which is *truth itself*: there is laid up as in a casket and hallowed as in a shrine. No change can pass upon it. It bears the character of its first perfection. It is the wisdom of God and the power of God. Like the manna and the rod in the recess of the ark, it is the incorruptible bread of heaven, it is the ever-living instrument of might, without an altered form or superseded virtue. "He who runneth may read." Nothing but clouds of unholy passion or of mental vanity can obscure it. It is only impervious to the "desires of the *flesh* or of the *mind*." "If our Gospel be hid, it is hid to them who are lost." And such is its simplicity when men read it as learners and receive it as sinners—that we can dare a contradiction to its plain interpretation, and feel that if "an angel from heaven" were so to belie it—torturing it by sophistry, annulling it by conjecture, and recasting it by prejudgment, he should suffer the "curse" which dreadfully guards our faith from every violation.' pp. 21—22.

Having shewn that, if this first proposition is true, the Gospel cannot be set aside by any *new interpretation*, the Preacher proceeds to establish the positions, that it cannot be set aside 'by any *counter-argument*,'—'by any *better substitution*,'—'by any *Divine appendage*,'—or, lastly, by any successful *opposition*. The sermon closes in a very animated and glowing strain of eloquence.

'It is observable with what intense complacency and delight the being is regarded by the moral universe, who is engaged in the promotion of Christianity. Honours surround him, welcomes pursue him, and a chorus of benedictions bursts upon his head: "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace!" But if its herald be thus honoured and greeted, however mean in himself, as loathed is its adversary however mighty. And did an angel, though he could "set his right foot on the sea and his left on the earth," preach any other Gospel, the curse of heaven and earth should scathe him, and he should "be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit!"—But oh, ye blessed ministering spirits, to whom such an act is most alien and averse, we do not dread, we cannot depreciate, your interference! By all your loyalty to truth, by all your fervour of benevolence, ye could not do it! Ye are gathered together with us in Christ! Ye sing in concord with the redeemed from among men! We will not wrong, by such a doubt, natures so pure, beings so kind; while we feel that the argumentative supposition, by its tremendous force and glaring impossibility, only more plainly assumes, and strongly establishes, how perfectly ye must be abhorrent of the treason, and incapable of the blasphemy!

'And these contemplations tend to impress us with the purposes of Jehovah, amidst all the fluctuating scenes of time. It is the Gospel which gives them their meaning. Insulated from this, they pass without coherence, and are laid without plan; they are convertible to no use, and descriptive of no moral. But the Divine purpose thus ex-

plains itself. By the light it casts upon them, innumerable events become manifestly uniform and consistent. The end of all things is to perpetuate and diffuse the only remedy for human guilt and sorrow. But for this, our history would be no more drawn out, and our planet cease to roll. This is the cause of Him who hath "the government on his shoulder;" and to this trust there is universal subordination. And he hushes and binds the elements, speaks the calm, commands the pause, and in it the voice of mercy may be heard, the appeal to sensibility may be urged, "Be ye reconciled unto God." The dispensation of the Gospel—with all the state of a *reign*, the munificence of a *gift*, the fidelity of a *testimony*, the sureness of a *promise*—stretches itself out to the utmost limit of mortal interests. It shall endure co-ally with man. Every breath we draw, every moment we exist, every step we take, is beneath this dispensation of grace. To us it calls, every where it finds a voice, and it shall accent the "last syllable of recorded time." To give it an ampler theatre, all nations shall be subdued unto it; and the ages are held back that it may obtain a longer opportunity. The final convulsion is arrested—the Father, who hath "put the times and seasons in his own power," checks their flight; the Saviour, "expecting until all his enemies become his footstool," is content to wait: and the "souls under the altar" refrain their importunity, and rejoice in the delay. Its trumpet of jubilee shall never be silenced, save by the trumpet of judgment: its light shall never fade, but in the embers of the last conflagration; its "joyful sound" shall never die, except in the uproar and crash of dissolving worlds; its "lively hope" shall only be buried in the grave, and under the wreck, of the universe. All things must be destroyed ere it lose its power or abdicate its claim. The massive architecture of the heaven and the earth takes it into their date, and suspends it on their durability. It lasts while they can last. It only ceases when the mountain sinks, when the ocean dries, when the poles refuse to turn, when the skies shrivel up like a burning scroll—when "heaven and earth shall flee away!" And even then its dispensative form alone is affected—its principles are invariable and indestructible—are of "the things which cannot be shaken"—and shall expand through a still more congenial medium and worthy economy, whose sphere is "in the highest," whose glory is "in light," and whose consummation is "God all in all!" Feeble are our present thoughts, confused our perceptions; we see every thing as from behind a cloud and in a disproportion. Our convictions are more like conjectures, and our speculations, dreams. We "know in part" and therefore perplexedly. Our conceptions are infantile, and as infantile as our minds. But we shall soon emerge from this state of crude fancies and immature ideas. Worthy sentiments and feelings will fill up our souls. Each view shall be as a ray of light striking its object, and each song be the very echo of its theme. Then shall we adequately understand why Apostles kindled into indignation, and shook with horror, at the idea of "another Gospel;" and why even Angels themselves must have been accursed had it been possible for them to have divulged it!

' "The word of the Lord endureth for ever. And this is the word which by the Gospel is preached unto you." Amen.' pp. 51—54.

'The Atonement' is the title and subject of the longest and most elaborate discourse in the volume, occupying nearly 80 pages, and containing some splendid passages. We pass it over, however, to select from the ensuing discourse on the Christian doctrine of Divine Grace, a characteristic specimen of the Preacher's powers when the occasion affords scope for his powers of irony.

'The more ignorant and audacious contention, that human actions can literally challenge and deserve approval and favourable recompense,—that they can, though the agents are utterly depraved, be the subjects of merit,—when thus boldly declared and contumaciously urged,—is generally discarded. Against this more stupid avowal and wanton bravado of error and self-righteousness, we are not often cited to appear. The hostility is more subtle, more evasive; the wolf wears the sheep's clothing; Satan is transformed into an angel of light;—it is not the analysis of the substance, but the detection of the enemy!—But they who oppose the doctrine of the atonement, have been incited to allege an incompatibility between it and the grace for which we plead. With considerable adroitness, they present themselves as champions of the free favour which contemplates sinful man, at the same moment in which they despise the great expedient by which it only can be justly revealed, and consistently sustained.

'Hateful hypocrisy! Whence this unwonted part, this sudden zeal? Where is the braggart morality of the philosopher and worldling now? How is it that the boast of merit and the urgency of claim no longer swell on high? Strange proselytism and marvellous transformation! They are guided only in their blasphemy of their Saviour's name, and their rapine on the Saviour's Gospel, by the fear that grace, in such a connexion, will not be worthily free or adequately spontaneous! How have they been misunderstood! They could not concur with us, because we were not unequivocal as themselves in spreading the honours of infinite grace! They would go further, but we stop short in its full exhibition and fearless averment! They would apply a principle to all its extent, which we gainsay and cramp! True it is, that neither the sound or signification was until now so rife and lavish! But then the emergency that may be served—the success that may be won! Hitherto they kept their mouth with a bridle. The fire was shut up in their bones. The power of repression at length yielded. The holy indignation made a way for its lightning. Who would not make the grace of God a watchword, even if the idea be despised in the heart, if by its prepossessing character and vulgar association a deeper thrust be aimed at Christ's pre-eminence, and a darker slur be cast on the peculiarities of Christ's Gospel! The opposition, by these means, is so consistent and so characteristic! Their jealousy of grace is sensitive to that degree, that they cannot endure the Cross as an adjunct, or Him who hung upon it as its dispenser! Conjectural criticism, materializing scepticism, flippant invective,—the arrogant monopoly of reason, the supercilious contempt of the catholic faith, the treatment of the blood of the covenant as a common thing, and the paring down of our religion to a meagre nullity,—all originate

in profound homage and meek submission to the pure and uncompounded grace of God !

‘ It is thus the sophism is enunciated:—Redemption supposes the infliction of the penalty, though it be shifted from the individual delinquent to his substitute ; this is to attribute it to barter and compensation, and not to mercy ; to describe it as actually purchased, and not freely bestowed. “ For,” say our opponents, “ that which you call mercy is not free—your Surety has paid the ransom, has cancelled the claim. Our archetype of mercy contradicts such notions. It asks no victim, it exacts no term. Therefore the doctrine of grace is our peculiar tenet, for we supplicate as a pure favour what you may sue out as a strict right.”

‘ “ Our soul is exceedingly filled with this contempt.”—The answer to this shallow parade of reasoning is as easy as undeserved. No lion need come out of Lebanon to tread down the thistle. The following observations may not be inapposite or useless.

‘ *The atonement is the effect of divine grace and placability.*

‘ Its oblation produced no change in the Divine mind. Jehovah is not merciful because Christ has died, but Christ has died because Jehovah was merciful. The Father sent the Son. It pleased the Lord to bruise him. God is never said to be “ reconciled in Christ ;” but as in “ Christ, reconciling the world to himself.”

‘ *Christianity, whatever may be its compensative principle, is entirely independent of man in its contrivance and provision.*

‘ “ The grace which bringeth salvation ” is, in no sense, impaired by any arrangements which had a reference to ourselves. Antecedent questions of justice and satisfaction, could not injure the display of that love which was equally in the Father and the Son ; which was equally evinced in *inflicting* and *enduring* death. It wears but one expression towards us,—who, instead of making overtures of peace, still need a creative and a resurgent power to induce us to fall in with them,—who, instead of selecting the Mediator, now only call him the Lord by the Holy Ghost,—who, instead of approving and welcoming the remedy, were scandalized, until another mind was given, by its refusal to us of the smallest share in its honours.

‘ *The death of the cross is only a means to the most benevolent end.*

‘ We must reason inversely to all general modes of argument, if we can imagine that the grace, which is spread throughout the plan, is weakened, or depreciated, by the existence of certain moral difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. The benefaction is not commonly reduced in its value by its cost, nor a deliverance by its peril. There *must* be a maintenance of right, there must be a resentment of sin : but these preliminaries shall all consist with the pardon of those to whom the violation of that right, and the commission of that sin, have been traced. Is the grace of God the greater, or the less, when encountering no difficulty, or when encountering it to overcome it ? Is the grace of God more brightly, or more faintly, glorious, when associated with moral principles, or when disregarding them ? It is easy to speak of grace, disjoined from the atonement, as unconstrained ; but that which recognizes an atonement, is perfectly, absolutely, so, for it effectuates

its purpose by the atonement ; and, if *constrained*, is only held to what is right by the immaculateness of its nature, in the same manner in which God cannot err, or lie. Who is affected at the thought of Divine benevolence, when nothing urges, and when nothing opposes, it ? Who is not affected when the strait and struggle of human fondness are borrowed to inculcate the infinite effort of that love which surrendered the ineffably endeared “ Beloved,” who was in its bosom ; when we are left amidst the pantings of wonder, the musings of gratitude, with such an intensitive, transcendental description as this, “ He spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all ” ?

‘ So the Bard represents the Messiah addressing the Eternal Father :

“ Man shall find grace ;  
And shall grace not *find means* that finds her way,  
The speediest of thy winged messengers,  
To visit all thy creatures, and to all  
Comes *unprevented, unimplor’d, unsought* ?  
*Happy for man, so coming* ; he her aid  
Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost ;  
Atonement for himself or offering meet,  
Indebted and undone, hath none to bring.”

‘ *The Gospel, while it upholds the claims of the divine law, has an exclusive bearing upon us as sinners.*

‘ Let the awful negotiations between the Father, who is in the Son, and of the Son, who is in the Father,—who are one—be whatever they were,—the sinner has no righteousness or claim. There may be a moral necessity that he shall be saved, but that necessity is perfectly foreign to any thing in himself. God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, but it is only through the countenance of mercy he can smile upon our lost condition. We can only be seen, and treated with, upon that level. We can only hope that through the grace of our Lord Jesus, we shall be saved. We can suppose a case in which the loss of a soul should be an injustice to the Saviour’s desert, and a robbery of his reward ; but that injustice and robbery could not pass through him, and retain the same character toward the soul that was lost. That soul would have justice done to it : its salvation being a question not of justice but of grace.

‘ *No blessing of the Gospel is, in any legitimate sense, the subject of purchase.*

‘ Such phraseology is, at least, without the sanction of Scripture, if it be not in contradiction to it. Christians are “ the purchased possession ;” they are “ bought with a price.” But the “ sure mercies ” of the covenant are thus unfitly represented. God was ready to forgive and sanctify, but there was an impediment. This was none other than the inconsistency into which these acts of favour would hurry him, if unattended by a fulfilment of his holy law. The atonement is the removal of that impediment in the prevention of that inconsistency : “ the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ,” henceforward, had merely to flow without check or restriction.’

pp. 360—366.

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In a note, Mr. Hamilton remarks, that 'it is strange how this *vendible* language was introduced,' which lends countenance to Socinian objections. The error appears to us to have originated in a misinterpretation of Eph. i. 14; \* nor is it the only instance of an error founded upon a solitary passage of Scripture misunderstood. We agree with the Author in deeming such language unwarranted by Scripture, and liable to mischievous perversion. At the same time, the objection founded upon it, is as futile as it is disingenuous. Surely, the metonymy is, after all, not very violent, by which the redemption of a captive is spoken of as the purchase of his freedom. Christ has bought the Church of God "with his own blood:" he "gave his life a ransom for many." This is the Scriptural metaphor. Should we say that, in purchasing the Church, he procured for believers all the blessings involved in its redemption,—that, in ransoming his people, he purchased salvation for them, we should use language less strictly correct, but still of nearly equivalent import.

Although we purposely refrain from verbal criticism, we must remark, that Mr. Hamilton is chargeable with inadvertence in remarking (p. 519), that 'righteousness is more naturally connected with the enforcement of a sentence upon guilt.' The term and the idea which it is intended to convey, are precisely opposite to this, denoting vindication, as opposed to condemnation. Our Translators have involved the doctrine of justification in verbal obscurity by their strange inattention to the different acceptations of the original word. Mr. H. does not affect criticism. At p. 552, he adduces phrases from the Old Testament, as indicating personal distinctions in the Deity, which cannot, we think, afford a *safe* basis for the argument. We shall make room for one more specimen, and we can find nothing that we think more striking than the solemn appeal which closes the third sermon.

'There exists another form of objection: it regards the texture of the revelation *itself*. It can transfer the charge from the *evidence* to the *shape*. It is contended that it might have been composed on a fitter model, and in a more transparent style. There is a demand for more explicit definition, more fixed terminology, more consequential reasoning. To this we reply that Scripture was written on certain principles. The *first* was to exercise the mind—in comparing the whole, in developing the spirit, in drawing the inference; its meaning is clear, but it is not presented in rudiments, propositions, and axioms. It is to be sought, to be digested, to be systematized. However tech-

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\* 'περιποίησις, quam Latine vertimus, *Acquisitam hæreditatem*, non est regnum cœlorum aut beata immortalitas, sed ipsa Ecclesia.' Calv. in loco. The comment indicates the prevalence and source of the error, which did not originate with 'the Nonconformist fathers.'



nicalities are avoided, there is "a proportion of faith."—The *second* is, to be a perpetual *test* to our state of disposition. To the pure, to the meek, to the upright, to the docile, to the humble, it shows its truth. These "see it," "taste it," and have "all riches of the full assurance of understanding." No dimness pervades Divine revelation; the "light that is in us is darkness:" no veil is upon it; it is "upon our heart." And so long as "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God," no argument could prove them to his judgment, no language could simplify them to his apprehension, no recommendation could endear them to his heart.

' And let us remember that often as this excuse has been alleged, this plea adopted,—it was never heard by Heaven but to be disowned and refused. And that surrounded by all the information, and possessed of all the warning, which shall ever be imparted to us, it becomes us now to decide. In vain we wait for another economy of things. In vain we ask for a more auspicious era. "There shall be no sign given." "The dispensation of the fulness of times" has evolved the last truth, and counsel, and hope. And now eternity unfolds its motives to urge our decision. There is a disclosure of heaven and hell.—*The term for prayer is short.* This is a duty at least as important as that of intelligent conviction. Yet has it no scope in the place of torment. It can only ascend to Abraham's bosom to be rejected. It may expostulate, but it is beaten back upon the suppliant wretch. "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near." "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved."—*There is no term to retribution.* "The great gulf is fixed." Some may speak of the disciplinary flame. They may point their unhappy proselytes to the pit, as only a longer and rougher path to heaven. They may describe the misery of the lost as curative and salutary. But how have they learnt to solve the difficulty which he, who "was called the friend of God," confessed? or contrived to throw the cross-way over the abyss, impassable to spirits which might attempt the flight to soothe the lost, or escape to the blest?

' Oh, it is plainly, incontrovertibly true, that we all sin, and all disbelieve, against declarations more pointed, against facts more stupendous, than any miracles. It is certain that nothing preternatural could conquer the apathy and the malignity which these cannot subdue. "We have a more sure word" of testimony than the gorgeous vision of "the holy mount." What could arouse, what impress, what soften, us, if we can hear that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," without rapt attention and bleeding emotion; if we can gaze on "Jesus, who hath delivered us from the wrath to come," without a weeping eye and a breaking heart? These are the higher wonders which men resist; the spectacles of merciful power, of unalterable love, which they withstand. He, who was "in the bosom of the Father," has tabernacled on an earth which was "made by him and for him," and was "God manifest in the flesh." The nature He assumed was the awful device and instrument for a sacrifice, which received all the merits, and developed all the purposes, of the Indwelling Divinity. He went down into the state of death: though the "Living Being, he was dead:" He rose from the grave, and bore our nature and our cause with him, not only as the subject of his ad-

vocacy and government, but as an essential of his Person, and the crown of his Glory. It were easy, after evading and opposing these truths, to deride the most dazzling sign, and mock the most solemn voice, of the Almighty—to “run upon him, even upon the thick bosses of his bucklers.” *Now* this conduct may find some apologist, and shelter itself in some pretext! *Now* it may be thought a honourable candour, if some doubter shall exclaim, “Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian!” *Now* it may seem no insolence to assert, that the religion which four thousand years were required to reveal, only failed to convince,—that the sentiments, with which it was greeted, only fell short of a conviction that it was true,—and that the creature, to whom it was addressed, did all but embrace it! But *then*, when all hearts are exposed—but *then*, when all men are arraigned, unbelief shall stand recorded and accursed, as the blasphemy of rebellion, as the extravagance of infatuation, as the madness of folly! No palliative will then occur, no sophism then flatter! “They shall proceed no further!”

‘Your faith, your obedience, are at this moment demanded upon substantive grounds, upon all-interesting reasons: you have the complement of evidence, and the accumulation of impression: justice dictates nothing superadded, and mercy asks no more! Therefore, “Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above) or, who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is, the word of faith, which we preach; That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.”’ pp. 160—163.

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Art. V. *Christian Self-Dedication and “Departure.”* A Discourse occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Joseph Hughes, A.M. One of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Delivered to his Congregation at Battersea, on Sunday, Oct. 13, 1833. By John Sheppard, Author of “Thoughts on Private Devotion”, &c. 8vo, pp. 40. London, 1833.

**I**N noticing a single sermon, we generally feel to be doing what may seem to require an apology to the ninety-nine authors of the sermons that we cannot notice. But the occasion of the present Discourse, together with the interesting particulars which it contains in reference to the last days of the much honoured and esteemed Co-Secretary to the Bible Society, will render all such apology, in the present instance, superfluous. Nor shall we stop to make any comment upon the circumstance that this is a *lay* sermon. Mr. Sheppard, although not ‘in orders’, is assuredly a *clerk*; although not a pastor, he is a religious teacher, whose writings form his best testimonials; and his intimacy with Mr. Hughes will explain his having been selected by the family to pay this tribute to his memory.

No more appropriate text could have been selected, than that which Mr. Sheppard chose for the occasion; 2 Tim. iv. 6; and

the first part of the discourse contains an able exposition of the passage, as illustrative of the state and temper of the devout Christian at the approach of death. Mr. S. then proceeds to 'adduce an apposite instance of this union of feelings in the honoured friend whose departure' he was called to improve. After very briefly adverting to some characteristic marks of true discipleship which were prominently visible in his life, the Preacher delineates the state of mind in which, willing to live, yet ready to depart, his deceased friend awaited the approach of the summons.

'He loved life, for he loved the *duties* and the *toils* of life. He rejoiced to serve "the Lord who bought him," and his fellow-immortals ransomed by the same "precious blood." He could say, with far more truth than the poetic heathen, "Labour is itself a pleasure." And therefore when first the obscure summons of death appeared, it was not readily interpreted, nor then wholly welcome. He would fain have done something more for a dark and self-deluding world. He had his deep affections also. The ties of kindred, those so long cherished, and the new and *secondary* parental ties, (in the love of children's children,) were twined about his heart. His susceptibility, also, peculiarly shrank from the sharp pain which art inflicts to heal; yet when this became needful, he bore it with resigned fortitude; and when the announcement of approaching mortality was distinct and unequivocal, he was at once "ready to be offered;" when he knew and felt that the time of his "departure" was indeed "at hand," he was possessed with a strong and earnest "*desire* to depart and to be with Christ, which is incomparably better." This desire was expressed (as I learn from the record of a pious friend, who loved his graces and watched by his death-bed,) in close combination with a deep humility. On that occasion, when he had said, "Pray that an abundant entrance may be administered into glory,"—the writer replied, "We are *sure*, dear Sir, *you* will have an abundant entrance, but the churches all pray for your restoration to health; we cannot spare you from earth yet." On which he rejoined, "*Do not* be sure on the ground of *merit*; never for a *moment* connect such an idea with any unworthy services of mine. When I am with Christ, I would come again to you, and tell you *how* much better it is to be with Christ; *but this cannot be*." At another time he said to the same friend, "Oh, that precious blood;" then, after a short pause, and agitated with much feeling, he added, "I have *no wish*, *no wish*; to be restored to greater usefulness would be indeed a blessing; but to be beyond the reach of transgression, never to have a cloud pass over the mind—to be filled with the fulness, (he again repeated)—to be filled with the fulness of God: think what *those* words contain." Nor were his best earthly affections quenched or obliterated, as some would unnaturally have them be, in the transcendent hope of being with his Saviour and his God. When his son had read to him some passages of the invaluable Howe, he quoted a simile of that great man, whom he termed a kindred spirit with Hall, "on the key being turned to admit the soul into Paradise," and then added, with an inexpressible

look of anxiety and tenderness, "O, to meet children and grandchildren there."

The before-mentioned friend and her husband coming to take leave of him, he raised both his arms, and laboured to express his joy at embracing them once again;—then, with extreme difficulty, (for breath and voice were nearly gone,) he said—"If we are the children of God, we are indestructible."

When a friend observed that it must be peculiarly gratifying to know that so many kind friends felt a deep sympathy in his affliction, Mr. Hughes added,—“and shall not the *Friend* of my friends watch over me with his parental eyes?” On another occasion, when receiving assistance from several, he said,—“There are *many helpers*, but *one Saviour*.” He desired his son to write to his old and valued friend, Mr. Foster, and acquaint him “that his life was quivering in the socket;” he heard with peculiar satisfaction the reply of that eminent man; and when his son read the following words from his letter, But, O, my friend, whither is it that you are going? *Where is it that you will be in a few short weeks or days hence?*—he lifted up his hands expressively, as much as to reply, “To heaven I am going, there to dwell with God and with Christ, and with the spirits of just men made perfect:” adding at its conclusion, “*There is genius and piety; I am glad that you elicited that letter.*” But while he well knew how to estimate and prize the union of piety with genius, he equally knew how to honour and value piety in its *lowliest simplest guise*. He said to a kind attendant, “Mary, a disciple and friend of the Saviour, I am glad *you* are come to us in affliction; this is a painful dispensation, but there is so much mercy mixed with it,—O, *help me to praise my God!*” “The next morning,” this pious attendant adds, “Mrs. Hughes asked where she should read; he said, the 15th chapter of Exodus; he afterwards repeated the second verse, ‘*The Lord is my strength and my song, and is become my salvation,*’ &c. and referred to the twenty-third and two following verses, saying, that ‘the waters of Marah, at this time, were sweetened with the consolations of the gospel;’ and adding—‘Thy word can bring a sweet relief, for every pain I feel.’” She adds, “As we afterwards stood by him, he said,—‘Walk in humility; live not for yourselves; live much for others; may the Lord bless you and guide you.’” Speaking of his little flock, he said,—“Give my love to them, tell them I bear them on my heart.” The same kind and devout witness and helper of his faith relates,—“In the evening of the Wednesday week before his departure, a candle being placed on the table, I asked if the light was not too much; ‘No,’ he said, pointing with his finger to the skies, ‘*there is a light which no mortal eye can behold; read me the 19th verse of the 60th chapter of Isaiah: I long to be emancipated!*’” After asking the time of the day he would often say, “So much nearer to the kingdom.” “I think it was the Friday or the Saturday before his departure,” this christian attendant continues, “he said,—‘I am in some dismay as it regards the future; I do not mean as it respects another world; *there is nothing dark behind.*’ ‘I fear lest I should in the trying hour dishonour God by any expression indicating impatience.’ I replied,—‘That grace which has been manifest in your life, and has triumphed in your affliction, will support you and triumph over all your trials.’”

in your death.' 'I know,' he said, 'that His grace is sufficient for all things, in life and death.'"

A short time before his decease, Mr. Hughes tendered his resignation to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with which he had been identified from its foundation, and of which he might claim to be considered as the father. His letter on this occasion, which has found its way into the public prints, our readers will, we think, peruse with interest.

'Gentlemen,—For several weeks I have been seriously considering the duty of absorbing personal considerations in the value of a great and prosperous institution, calculated to promote the interests of the present and all future generations. Hence I am at length brought to the conclusion, that it becomes me, without delay, to resign the office which I have borne in the society since its commencement—an office in the execution of which I trust I have not been useless, and in connection with which I have assuredly enjoyed peculiar privileges and distinctions. I refer to the connection into which it has brought me with our revered President and Vice-Presidents, with the members of our successive committees, with colleagues departed and surviving, and with other fellow-Christians, too estimable to be forgotten, but too numerous to be specified. I cannot forget the kindness of so many hosts and hostesses through the counties, nor the grateful fellowship experienced among the pious persons of the various religious communities.

'In one word, the office has, I believe, greatly helped me in the way to heaven; but now my great Lord seems to say, "I have dissolved the commission—thy work in this department is done: yield cheerfully to my purpose, and prepare to enter those blessed abodes where the labours of the Bible Society shall reveal a more glorious consummation than the fondest hope had anticipated!"

'I thank you, my dear friends, for your sympathy, and all your expressions of esteem and kindness on former occasions, and now so tenderly repeated in the hour of serious conflict and trial.

'May God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts and strengthen your hands, and especially direct you in the choice of a successor, who shall diminish the regret which you may feel at parting with an old coadjutor, and one who hopes to meet you in that world to which the Bible guides our joyful and undeceiving hopes. Very dear friends, I am, most affectionately yours,

'Battersea, Aug. 26th, 1833.'

'JOSEPH HUGHES.'

We understand that Mr. Hughes has left materials for a memoir of the first seventeen years of his life, which, with some of his remains, will probably be given to the public. Of the last nine and twenty years of his life, the records of the Bible Society furnish the history; and the public may be said to have been the constant witness of his labours. His acts of kindness and generosity, indeed, were known to few besides the objects of them. Never was any one who enjoyed so large a share of public notice, more free from ostentation; and his unassuming manners, simplicity of character, catholic spirit, extreme prudence, and serene piety, rendered him peculiarly qualified for the honourable post he was called to occupy. He had well "fulfilled his course."



## Art. VI. THE ANNUALS.

*The Landscape Annual for 1834. The Tourist in France. By Thomas Roscoe. Illustrated from Drawings by J. D. Harding.*

**A**LTHOUGH we cannot admit that Italy has been exhausted of picturesque subjects for the pencil, or ever can be, we are not displeased, nor will the public be, at finding the scene of Mr. Ritchie's travelling sketches, as well as Mr. Roscoe's historical illustrations, in their *Annals* for the coming year, laid in France. Hitherto, that country has been traversed, rather than explored by our tourists and artists; and although its high routes are as familiar as the road from London to York, it abounds with scenes and objects of interest visited by few. France can boast of no Rome, or Florence, or Venice, or Bay of Naples; and it is comparatively poor in historical associations, except those which are connected with early English history or feudal romance. But this exception is a most significant one. The romantic associations inspired by the baronial castle, the mouldering abbey, the Gothic cathedral, the scenery of France continually calls up; nor are there wanting the Roman remain, the aqueduct or amphitheatre, to recall days of higher antiquity; while the high lands of Auvergne, and the loftier mountains which skirt the southern and eastern borders, afford abundant specimens of nature's loftier style of beauty, where wildness blends with grandeur.

The *Landscape Annual* contains twenty-six plates from beautiful drawings by Harding; an artist who, in purity of taste and clever management of his pencil, without trick or mannerism, is surpassed by few of his rivals. The scenery is laid chiefly in Auvergne and the Valley of the Rhone. Clermont-Ferrand, the capital of the Puys de Dome, Royat, Thiers, Le Puy, Polignac, Vic, and Aurillac, furnish the picturesque subjects of fourteen plates. Montpellier and Montferrier, the Amphitheatre at Nismes, Avignon and its vicinity, and Lyons, supply the remainder. The view of the amphitheatre at Nismes is crowded with life and interest, and great pains have been bestowed upon it by the engraver (J. B. Allen). 'Royat' does high credit to both artists; a praise which may be emphatically applied to the frontispiece and title, to Chateau Polignac, and to one or two others; but some inequality in the execution must be expected, and the burin has not in every instance been completely successful. Upon the whole, however, it is a charming set of plates. Mr. Roscoe has executed his task very respectably, and has given us a pleasing variety of topographical description and historic anecdote. As a specimen, we take part of the entertaining account given of the Castle of Polignac.

One of the principal points of interest attaching to the town and vicinity of Le Puy, is the extraordinary character of those volcanic



rocks which seem to surround the place on all sides. That of Corneille, which directly overhangs it, assumes the singular cubic form which prevails so generally, and has a very picturesque appearance. The adjacent one of Polignac rises about half a league from the town; it is of an oblong sort of square, cut perpendicularly in three sides, and presents one large flat surface above, which was once the site of the castle bearing the same name. It is now only a broken mass, or rather a hedge of ruins, of which the strangely wild, yet picturesque aspect, at once arrests the eye of the beholder. So much was Arthur Young, in his agricultural tour, struck with its romantic appearance, that, losing sight of fat soils and heavy produce, for a moment, he declared with enthusiasm, that, were it his, he would not part with it for a whole province.

The lofty and singularly situated position of this ancient castle, is seen to great advantage from the spot which the artist selected for his sketch. The mountainous character, and the general sterility of the country, give to its ruins an additional air of wildness and desertion; and the same heavy and mournful aspect extends over the surrounding scenery, which is no way relieved by the rude monumental relique displayed, in the accompanying view, in its executive character of the cross. In the immediate neighbourhood, however, are several little villages, which, with their castles or churches erected upon the summit of the hills, give relief to the eye of the traveller; and, in many respects, if we allow for the prevailing want of foliage, remind him of some parts of Italy, from which the style of architecture, and the decoration of the houses, sometimes appear to have been borrowed.

After long research amidst the various relics of the decayed chateau, was discovered that celebrated head of Apollo, often mentioned by M. de Faujas, and other writers. It is a piece of rude sculpture, round and massy; the mouth is open, as if in the act of speech; "and, doubtless for this reason," says a French writer, "it must have belonged to some divinity which gave forth oracles." The nose has been partially mutilated, as is the case with most part of the ancient statues. The beard, the hair, and the eyes are in tolerably good preservation. The head is supposed to have belonged to a temple of Apollo, of which the site, rather than the ruins, is pointed out near the antique castle; and on this authority, etymologists ventured to give the Latin words *Apollinis sacrum* to the family name of Polignac;—a name now so vividly impressed upon the page of history, as to call for no adventitious aid from Heathen deities to perpetuate it. Instead, however, of the foregoing, M. de Faujas, with laudable zeal, has substituted the reading of *Pod-omniacus*, conformably with the Latin name given to the castle by Sidoine Apollinaire, whose words are exactly,—*nam vetus nomen arvis Podomniacus*. Now M. de Faujas ingeniously extracts the *pod* out of *podium*, which signifies *hauteur*, and *omniacus* from *omniacus*, deriving it from *omen*, an oracle. This last explanation, we conceive, renders the etymology of the house of Polignac the most satisfactory and edifying of the whole. Sidoine, more than once, makes mention of it, as if he considered it were his own peculiar patronymic. When chosen Bishop of Clermont, it is pretended that he caused his brother to be elected Viscount of Velai, and from that

noble stem have sprung the successive Counts of Polignac; whose name, observes another French writer, ought, strictly speaking, to have been formed of two Latin words, *Apollinaris arx* (or read, *orux*) a new etymology which we willingly leave to the taste of amateurs. In the same castle, was born the Cardinal of Polignac, a celebrated diplomatist in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth,—more fortunate than his descendant, and the author of a Latin poem, entitled the *Anti-Lucrèce*; though it seems no way to have emanated from the *Arx Apollinaris* before mentioned. Nor do the early historical allusions to other members of the family, tend to create a favourable opinion of its good fortune. In the reign of Charles VI., we find mention of a gentleman of the court, called the Bastard of Polignac, and in connexion with an event of a tragical nature, both as regarded his own fate and that of his royal master. He died by the king's hand, as they were passing through a forest between the towns of Mons and La Flèche at noon day.'

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It may be remarked as somewhat singular, that while one king of France with his own hand deprived a Polignac of his life, an individual of the latter name should, by his counsels—an odd sort of retributive justice—have deprived another king of France of his crown and kingdom. It is not less strange, that the successor of Charles VI. should have been residing, at the time of the king's death, within the precincts of the village of Polignac (at the chateau d'Espailly).'

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*Heath's Picturesque Annual.* Travelling Sketches on the Sea-coasts of France. By Leitch Ritchie, Esq.

Mr. Ritchie has taken us a coasting tour, in company with his friend Stanfield, whose love of the sea, all who gaze on his sea-views are in danger of imbibing. It is announced, however, that with this volume Mr. Stanfield's engagement terminates, and the tour hitherto pursued, closes.

'We have,' says Mr. Ritchie, 'crossed France, Switzerland, the Alps, Sardinia, the Milanese, the Lombard-Venetian kingdom, and the Tyrol. We have descended the Rhine, along the frontiers of Bavaria, and the old Palatinate—and through Prussia and Holland to the sea. We have traversed Belgium, and skimmed' (in the present volume) 'along the coasts of Picardy, Normandy, and part of Brittany. Our plan, we say, is filled up; our task accomplished. Ours! O vanity of authorship! We have all the time been trying to amuse the reader while he was gazing at Mr. Stanfield's pictures. Here, Stanfield and we part. . . . In our next journey we shall enter upon old ground, which we know we shall make new by the assistance of a mighty master in the powerful and the original. Our comrade and travelling companion—worthy to take the place of Stanfield—will be Cattermole, a master whose forte lies in the union of the historical with the landscape styles of painting.'

This announcement is intended, we presume, to be enigmatical. Mr. Cattermole's forte lies very much in architectural designs; and if it is intended to present to us, in the next volume, specimens from his pencil of the rich and characteristic ecclesiastical architecture of Normandy, we shall be extremely well pleased with the arrangement. That province will of itself supply ample materials, as Dawson Turner's volumes and Mr. Wood's *Letters of an Architect*, to say nothing of Mrs. Stothard, amply evince. Mr. Ritchie will know well how to turn the labours of his predecessors to good account, mingling his own graphic sketches and imaginative snatches of lay or legend with more staple materials.

The present volume contains twenty-one plates, the subjects of which are as follows: Dieppe, Calais, Abbeville, Eu and Tréport, Fécamp, Havre, Harfleur, Caen, Mont St. Michel (four), St. Malo (five). Some of the subjects are not a little indebted to Mr. Stanfield's management for their scenic effect. But this is not the case with Mont St. Michel, which appears to have fairly seized upon the artist's imagination, and made him confess himself mastered by nature. When Mr. Stanfield returned from the spot, he told the Author, that he 'could not rest night or day for thinking of this wonderful scene.' Consecrated as it is by tradition, as well as guarded by nature, it would have been the very place for Walter Scott to have peopled with the creatures of romance. Mr. Ritchie has not lost the opportunity afforded him for some brilliant writing.

Imagine a desert of sand, consisting of eight square leagues of surface, traversed by several rivers, the waters of which in some places spread themselves out in the form of a lake. Carry your eye beyond this desert of sand to a still mightier desert of sea, which you will know by its deeper colour; and just before arriving at the margin (not easily ascertained) of the latter, build up a granite rock crowned with towers, on a base of a quarter of a league in circumference, to the height of five hundred feet. This is Mont-Saint-Michel at the reflux of the tide. Then fancy that the desert of sand was but a dream, and that the great ocean fills the whole area indicated by the form of the land as its natural territory; and rear, in the midst of this waste of waters, the same granite monument. This is Mont-Saint-Michel four days before and after the new and full moon. The towns which surround, at a greater or less distance, this wonder of nature and art, are, Granville on the north, Avranches on the north-east, Pontorson and Dal on the south, and Cancale on the south-west. The open sea extends its apparently interminable length to the west.

Mont-Saint-Michel was originally called Mont Belenus, if we are to believe the antiquaries,—who are your true poets,—and this name, which the Druids gave to the sun, is the Baal of Scripture, and the Belus of the Assyrians. It is, at all events, a remarkable etymological coincidence that, on the same grèves, within half a league of Saint-

Michel, there is a rock (also a very singular object) called formerly Tumba, now Tumbeleine—*Tumba Beleni*!

The Druids reigned at Mont Belenus till the era of Augustus, or perhaps till the times of Tiberius or Claudius; and the shell-collars, that are sold to-day at Mont-Saint-Michel, are referred to customs connected with their rites. When the granite altars of the Druids were finally destroyed, the rock received the name of Mont-Jou, or Moas Jovis, and a temple of Jupiter was raised upon its pinnacles; but in the year 313, after the edict of Constantine was promulgated, by which every man was allowed to worship his own God, it was inhabited by some Christian hermits, who built a monastery called *Monasterium ad Duas Tumbas*, the neighbouring rock being included in the same district.

In 708, St. Aubert, the twelfth bishop of Avranches, built a church on the spot, with some cells round it, consecrating the holy ground to St. Michel;—but it appears that it was not till the archangel—the chief of the knights of heaven—struck the negligent priest a blow upon the forehead with his finger, that he executed the will of God. The scull of St. Aubert may be seen to this day, or was so lately, in the church of St. Gervais at Avranches, with the impress of the angelic thumb on the frontal bone.

The fortress raised in the midst of this vast desert is worthy of its situation. There is an air of the fantastic about it, without which it would be out of place. You feel, on leaving the habitable earth, that you are entering a new world, more wild and extraordinary than any your imagination ever shaped out of the golden clouds of sunset; and an ordinary building, however beautiful or majestic, on that lonely rock, would shock you by its incongruity. The annexed view conveys as perfect an idea of the scene as can be contained in so small a space; but it requires a fine imagination to carry out the thought with which the mind of the painter was labouring. This, in fact, is the very region of fancy. It is neither the earth, nor the sea; but a debateable land, haunted only by those outlaws of the mind which disclaim the control of sober reason.

It is maintained by some antiquaries, that Saint-Michel was once situated in the middle of a vast forest, submerged by successive irruptions of the sea in the sixth century. The best proof they offer is a map, constructed by a canon of Coutances, in which the road is carried through the forests of Pissy and Chesay to Valognes, leaving Saint-Michel to the right, at some distance from the sea. The trees, also, that are constantly found among the sands, with their roots and branches entire, are supposed to strengthen the testimony.

However this may be, the sea, there is no doubt, has at various times made frightful ravages in this part of the coast of France. The commune of Bourgneux was submerged in the fifteenth century; and those of Saint-Louis, Mauni de la Feillette, and Saint Etienne de Palnel, met at different periods the same fate. The ruins of the last-mentioned place were discovered in a storm in 1735, and the streets of the town, and foundations of the houses, plainly distinguished. For the purpose of opposing these terrific visitations, there is a dyke, five

leagues long, which protects a superficies of ten square leagues from inundation; but notwithstanding all the efforts of man, the sea sometimes bursts its limits. On the sixth of March, 1817, at the spring tide of the equinox, it overflowed the low lands of the country to a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles from the dike, carrying with it whole herds of cattle that were grazing peacefully on the pastures where they had been born.

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The rock is almost encircled by walls, flanked with towers and bastions. At the gate we saw on each side the antique cannons taken from the English, one with a stone bullet in its mouth; and, having gazed, with as much humiliation as we could muster, at these trophies, we passed into a court, where there is a guard-house, in which strangers are usually searched and disarmed. This ceremony, however, was omitted with regard to us; the pen, we suppose, (although in reality a much more powerful weapon than the sword,) not being ranked in the list of offensive arms. On going through another gate, we were in the town of Saint-Michel—and a more dirty and wretched society of hovels we never saw. . . . .

The subterranean excavations are the most curious of the sights which the place affords. They consist of cellars and powder magazines; the vaults in which are the wheel and cable used for weighing heavy goods from the sands below; the prisons under this vault; and the *oubliettes*, those frightful dungeons, the way to which is narrow and labyrinthine, and which are entered by means of a trap-door.

But the truth is, we saw nothing within, which equalled the view without. The buildings rise, vault after vault, far above the rock; and the church stands in great part on pillars constructed to serve for its foundation. The view from the platform before its portal, comprehends the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, the road of Cancale, and the towns of Avranches, Dal, and Pontorson, with the vast sands of the grève on one hand, and the open sea on the other. Above these, on the clock tower, is the *promenade de petits fous*; and twenty-two feet still higher, the *promenade des grands fous*; signifying by their names the relative degrees of sanity of those who choose them for their walk. On the summit of all is a telegraph; but the gilded statue of Saint-Michel, mentioned, by M. de Thou, as forming the pinnacle of the temple, exists only in history.

This long and capital extract must suffice as a specimen of the present volume, which will need little recommendation to those who have made themselves acquainted with its predecessors. We are not in critical mood, and must leave our readers to find out the faults for themselves. To the lovers of light reading, the history of Mons. Cabrieux, 'the twelve sons of Tancrède', and 'the desperado of Fecamp' will be attractive titles. 'The Black Chapter' is, unhappily, not too black for truth; and were it not too long, and almost too horrible for our pages, we should have transcribed it. For our own part, we feel most indebted to Mr.



Ritchie for the solid and valuable information which is scattered through his pages.

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*The Oriental Annual.*

A new competitor for public favour appears this season, under the title of "*The Oriental Annual*," containing twenty-five engravings from drawings by William Daniell, R.A., illustrative of Indian scenery, in which that artist so peculiarly excels. The idea of the work is a happy one; and if the British public could be brought to take any interest, any thing like proportionate and appropriate interest, in the magnificent empire which Providence has conferred upon Britain, and which has rendered her the arbitress of the political condition of 150 millions, and mistress of the East, the volume could not fail to be successful. It is by means of the pencil, indeed, that India will most readily be familiarized to the public, and an interest be created in its scenery, monuments, and inhabitants, which may hereafter be turned to important account. The descriptive and narrative matter is supplied by the Rev. Hobart Caunter, who having resided for several years in the country, has been enabled greatly to enhance, by the interest attaching to a personal narrative, and the knowledge derived from familiarity with the scenes, the value of the publication.

The drawings—to begin with the most attractive feature of an Annual—are twenty-five in number. Two are portraits, Mahadajee Sindia and the Queen of Candy: the others present a well chosen variety of landscape, architecture, and groupes illustrative of India's zoological wonders. Among the latter, a party of wild elephants, an elephant in full caparison, and a vulture and alligator, fighting for a dead elephant, are characteristic specimens of Mr. Daniell's spirited style. 'The Talipât-tree' rises in the midst of a most lovely Cingalese landscape. The Fall at Pupanassum—the river is not named—is an exquisite plate. Then we have, the Mausoleum at Raj-mah'l; the magnificent mausoleum of Shere Shah; the Taj Mah'l at Agra; the temple at Mahabalipoor; and various pagodas, mosques, and ghauts, such as every where give to Indian scenery so peculiar and picturesque a character.

Mr. Caunter lands us first at Madras; he then sets out, in search of the picturesque, for the Seven Pagodas, one of the most remarkable monuments in the South of India. The sea which washes them, has gained much upon this coast; and it has encroached to some extent, Mr. Caunter says, upon the walls of Madras, within the recollection of many persons now living. To this statement is appended a note, in which Bishop Heber is incorrectly represented as affirming, that the sea had receded from



*all* parts of this coast. The Bishop's words are: 'There are some small remains of architecture which rise from amid the waves, and give a proof that, in this particular spot, *as at Madras*, the sea has encroached on the land, though, in most other parts of the Coromandel coast, it *seems* receding, rather than advancing.'\* Mr. Caunter will excuse our saying, that he ought not to have trusted to his memory, in charging the good Bishop with inaccuracy; and we are somewhat surprised at the sweeping terms in which he concludes the note.

The mistakes into which Bishop Heber has naturally fallen, from his inexperience of many of the subjects upon which he touches, and which a more intimate acquaintance with them would have enabled him to correct, causes the Anglo-Indian reader to regret that his journal was ever published: it is full of inaccuracies, and is often very foolishly quoted as an authority where it is least to be relied on.

We do not deny that there is some foundation for the latter remark; and mistakes, it was inevitable that the Bishop should fall into. At the same time, all things considered, they are surprisingly few, and detract but little from the substantial merit of his Journal, which, were its intrinsic value much less than we are disposed to assign to it, it would have been unpardonable to withhold. No work has, perhaps, so powerfully contributed to create an interest in the minds of general readers in this country, respecting India; and all that was wanted, to render the publication extremely valuable, was, a competent Editor. Mr. Caunter will perform a valuable service by taking every fair opportunity of correcting the inaccuracies he refers to; some of which, indeed, are noticed by the Editor of the *Modern Traveller*,—a work which does not appear to have fallen in his way.

After describing the Coromandel coast, Mr. Caunter, in his seventh chapter, transports us to Ceylon, and thence to the Ganges. Without deigning to notice Calcutta, he hurries us up to Rajmahl, where the country begins to rise from the level plains of Bengal, into the first chain of hills: we are then carried delightfully up the stream to Benares and Cawnpoor, whence the tour is prosecuted over land, to Agra, Delhi, and Hurdwar. This whole route is rich in interesting objects; yet, it affords but a glance at the boundless variety which India comprehends.

"Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book" is a splendid affair, admirably fitted for the drawing-room table. It is in quarto, and contains thirty-six plates, of all sorts of subjects,—British and Foreign: the Caves of Ellora and Exeter Cathedral, the banks of the Jumna and Grasmere lake, Bejapoor and Preston, portraits of Kemble and Bishop Wilson, the Dancing Girl and the

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\* Heber, Vol. III. p. 216.

Dutchess of Sutherland. Few of the designs are new, but they are a rich selection. The Oriental views are from Captain Elliott's Sketches, comprising some of the most interesting scenes in India; and the whole are exquisitely engraved. The letter-press consists of poetical Illustrations, by L. E. L. The plates of Eastern Scenery are illustrated by a connected tale of 'hope, love, and sorrow'; the English landscapes by detached poems of very unequal merit, but altogether exhibiting a very rare facility and versatility of talent. The following stanzas are recommended by their subject, and they are the most suitable extracts we can find.

### ‘ THE MISSIONARY.

- ‘ It is a glorious task to seek,  
Where misery droops the patient head :  
Where tears are on the widow's cheek,  
Where weeps the mourner o'er the dead.
- ‘ These are the moments when the heart  
Turns from a world no longer dear :  
These are the moments to impart  
The only hopes still constant here.
- ‘ That hope is present in our land,  
For many a sacred shrine is there ;  
Time-honoured old cathedrals stand ;  
Each village has its house of prayer.
- ‘ O'er all the realms one creed is spread,  
One name adored, one altar known ;  
If souls be there in doubt or dread,  
Alas ! the darkness is their own.
- ‘ The priest whose heart is in his toil  
Hath here a task of hope and love ;  
He dwells upon his native soil,  
He has his native sky above.
- ‘ Not so beneath this foreign sky ;  
No so upon this burning strand ;  
Where yonder giant temples lie,  
The miracles of mortal hand.
- ‘ Mighty and beautiful, but given  
To idols of a creed profane ;  
That cast the shade of earth on heaven,  
By fancies monstrous, vile, and vain.
- ‘ Here the pale priest must half unlearn  
The accents of his mother tongue ;  
Must dwell 'mid strangers, and must earn  
Fruits from a soil reluctant wrung.

- ‘ His words on hardened hearts must fall,  
Hardened till God’s appointed hour ;  
Yet he must wait and watch o’er all,  
Till hope grows faith, and prayer has power.
- ‘ And many a grave neglected lies,  
Where sleep the soldiers of the Lord ;  
Who perished ’neath the sultry skies,  
Where first they preached that sacred word.
- ‘ But not in vain—their toil was blest ;  
Life’s dearest hope by them was won ;  
A blessing is upon their rest,  
And on the work which they begun.
- ‘ Yon city, where our purer creed  
Was as a thing unnamed, unknown,  
Has now a sense of deeper need,  
Has now a place of prayer its own.
- ‘ And many a darkened mind has light,  
And many a stony heart has tears ;  
The morning breaking o’er that night,  
So long upon those godless spheres.
- ‘ Our prayers be with them—we who know  
The value of a soul to save,  
Must pray for those, who seek to shew  
The heathen hope beyond the grave.’

A second volume of “*The Landscape Album, or Great Britain illustrated,*” contains fifty-nine views of English and Scottish scenery, by W. Westall, A.R.A., engraved chiefly by Finden, with brief descriptions by Thomas Moule, Esq. These views have, we believe, appeared in Numbers. We know not what more we can say of such a volume, than that it is a cheap and elegant ornament for the boudoir or library,—just such a book as it is pleasant to have at hand to look through in an idle interval, while waiting till a shower is over, or till dinner is announced ; and out of fifty-nine views, it is probable that every who takes it up will find two or three that will derive additional interest from his being able to say, ‘ I have been there.’

Having disposed of the *Landscape Annuals*, we now come to speak of those which have, perhaps, prior claims upon our notice, both as having led the fashion, and as making higher pretensions to literary excellence. Ackermann’s *Forget-me-Not*, Watts’s *Literary Souvenir*, Pringle’s *Friendship’s Offering*, and Hall’s *Amulet*, so well keep up the average of their respective and distinctive character and attractions, that our reviews of the former volumes would serve equally well for those of the present season. They have, as before, many writers in common, and

each a little coterie of its own. Among the old contributors, the reader will be pleased again to meet, in more than one, with Miss Mitford, Miss Lawrance, Mrs. Howitt, and others of the gifted sisterhood; also the Rev. C. B. Taylor and some of the great anonymous. But, to confess the truth, we have not yet had time fairly to inspect and critically to weigh the merits of each of these volumes, and must therefore postpone all further account of their contents. The Amulet is studded with brilliant embellishments, which will be favourites in the print shops. Donna Maria is an exquisite engraving, but we are afraid that her Faithful Majesty will never be quite so fine a woman. The Souvenir also has a rich set of plates. Ackermann's are, as usual, book-plates, sufficiently good for the purpose, but with no higher pretensions,—except one, Hamilton's Revenge, from Franklin, which is a gem; we should perhaps add, an interior of a Church, by Prout. But more of these in our next. In the mean time, we occupy a spare page with two poetical specimens.

#### ‘ HYDER ALI.

‘ Round him rang the jewelled chain,  
     On his brow the jewels shone,  
 O’er him swept the tiger vane,  
     Shield of warriors were his throne;  
 ‘ Circled with ten thousand steeds,  
     Fleet as wind and fierce as flame,  
 Foremost where the battle bleeds,  
     Dark Mysore, thy Sultan came.

‘ Down the Ghaut the tempest poured—  
     Living storm of man and steel—  
 Thousand thousands, horde on horde,  
     Sword in hand and spur on heel—  
 Rushing like the thunder-stroke,  
     Seen a cloud but felt a fire:  
 Down the burning tempest broke:  
     India was a funeral pyre.

‘ Kingdom of the palaces!  
     What avail thee, proud Bengal,  
 Mighty rivers, circling seas,  
     Mountain ridge, and battled wall!  
 Hyder o’er thee shakes his spear,  
     O’er thy plains his riders sweep;  
 Child of agony and fear,  
     What hast thou to do but weep!

‘ Come, thou rooter up of thrones !  
Come, with scimitar and brand ;  
Vishnu from his temple groans ;  
“ Smite the stranger from the land ! ”  
Strength be in thy lance’s thrust !  
Glory sit upon thy vane !  
Make the heavens at last be just :  
Hindustan is free again !

*Forget me Not.*

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‘ OH, MAID OF THE TWEED.

AN EMIGRANT’S SONG,

BY THOMAS PRINGLE.

‘ Oh, Maid of the Tweed, wilt thou travel with me,  
To the wilds of South-Africa, far o’er the sea,  
Where the blue mountains tow’r in the beautiful clime,  
Hung round with huge forests, all hoary with time ?  
I’ll build thee a cabin beside the clear fount,  
Where it leaps into light from the heart of the mount,  
Ere yet its young footsteps have found the fair meads,  
Where ’mid the tall lilies the antelope feeds.

‘ Our home, like a bee-hive, shall stand by the wood,  
Where the lory and turtle-dove nurse their young brood,  
And the golden plumed paroquet waves his bright wings  
From the bough where the green-monkey gambols and swings ;  
With the high rocks behind us, the valleys before,  
The hills on each side with our flocks speckled o’er,  
And the far sweeping river oft glancing between,  
With the heifer reclined on its margin of green.

‘ There, rich in the wealth which a bountiful soil  
Pours forth to repay the glad husbandman’s toil ;  
Content with the present, at peace with the past,  
No cloud on the future our joys to o’ercast ;  
Like our brave Scottish sires in the blithe olden day,  
The heart will keep young, though our temples wax gray ;  
While love’s olive plants round our table shall rise,  
Engrafted with hopes that bear fruit in the skies.’

*Friendship’s Offering.*

## ART. VII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Fifth Part of the New Translation of the Holy Bible, from the pure Hebrew only, by John Bellamy, will appear in a few days. The Sixth Part is in the press, and will be published with all possible dispatch.

Vol. II. (and last) of Humming Birds, with upwards of Thirty coloured Plates, forming Vol. III. of Jardine's Naturalist's Library, will appear shortly.

British Tariff, for 1833-4; with the Consolidation of the Laws of the Customs, just enacted; and containing the Duties payable on Foreign Goods imported into Great Britain and Ireland, the Isle of Man, the Island of Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, and the British Possessions in America, &c. &c.; forming a ready reference for Officers of the Revenue, Merchants, Ship-owners, Brokers, and Agents, Captains of Ships, Warehouse-keepers, Wharfingers, Gentlemen Travelling Abroad, and all Persons Trading in Articles of Foreign Production. By Robert Ellis, Esq., Principal Computer, Long Room, Custom-house, London, Compiler of the "Custom Laws," &c., preparing.

Nearly ready for publication, Principles of Political Economy, deduced from the Natural Laws of Social Welfare, and applied to the Present State of Britain. By G. Poulett Scrope, M.P., F.R.S., &c.

In the press, to be published on the 1st of November, in One Vol. 8vo, Lectures on Christian Ethics, or Moral Philosophy on the Principles of Divine Revelation, delivered at the Congregational Library in May last. By the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., being the First Series of an Annual Lecture to be delivered at the above Institution.

In the press, and will soon be ready, Letters by Martha Muir, with an Introductory Memoir, by the Rev. D. Macfarlan, Minister of Renfrew. Martha Muir was an eminent private Christian, a Native of the Parish of Renfrew, who died in that Parish on 1st December, 1831.

In the press, and expected to be published in January next, a Pocket Expositor of the New Testament, by T. Keyworth.

Sir Richard Phillips's Dictionary of all the Arts of Civilized Life, explanatory of useful Processes, Manipulations, and Operations, according to the latest discoveries, will appear in a few days.

Nearly ready, the Christian's Golden Harp, or Promises of Scripture in Verse. By W. C. D. Dedicated, by Permission, to James Montgomery, Esq.



On the 1st, of November will be published in demy 8vo, the first number of "Miller's Gardeners' Dictionary," as it was last revised by himself, those passages alone being modified, which the labours of scientific gardeners have since shown to be either erroneous or useless. The department of gardening, and that portion of botanical science connected with it, will be brought down, as nearly as possible, on the principle of Miller's plan, to the level of the knowledge which has been acquired on this great subject up to the present day. But the new work will be upon the whole a substantial copy of Miller's Gardeners' Dictionary, added to which will be copious information and directions in the several branches of agricultural labour, included under the heads—1. Agricultural Chemistry and Mineralogy, including the composition and application of manures, the selection of soils for particular purposes, &c. &c. 2. Agricultural Zoology, comprehending the treatment, improvement, &c. of all animals connected with or employed in farms. The whole is under the superintendence of a society of gentlemen eminent in the sciences which form the subject of these volumes. Every Number will be embellished with two beautifully engraved steel plates, of Plants, Agricultural Implements, Plans of Gardens, Farms, and every modern improvement in husbandry that requires illustration by design, &c. The whole Work will be completed within Twelve Months.

In the press, and will be published early in November, in two Volumes 8vo, illustrated by numerous Fac-simile Engravings on steel and wood, Roman Coins, from the earliest period of the Roman Coinage to the extinction of the empire under Constantine Paleologos, with observations on some of the most remarkable, and notices of the Prices at which the rarest coins have been sold during the last Thirty Years, by John Y. Akerman. This Work will contain accurate descriptions of the several thousand Coins struck during the Republic and the Empire of the Romans, and will be extensively Illustrated by Engravings executed in the first style of the Art, from the originals in the British Museum and in the Cabinet of the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris, as well as from those in several valuable private Collections in this and other countries. The unique specimens are numerous; and their authenticity has been attested by the most experienced Numismatists. A very limited number of copies will be printed in royal 8vo. with India proofs.

In the press, to be published by Subscription, in 12mo., The Commentaries of John Calvin on the Epistle to the Romans. To which is prefixed his Life, by Theodore Beza. Translated by F. Sibson, A.B., Trinity College, Dublin.

Nearly ready for publication, Narrative of a Tour in the United States, British America, and Mexico, to the Mines of Real Del Monte, and to the Island of Cuba, by Henry Tudor, Esq., in 2 Vols. 8vo.

In the press, An Essay on the Roman Villas of the Augustan Age, their Architectural Disposition and Enrichments, and the Remains of

**Roman Domestic Edifices discovered in Great Britain.** By Thomas Moule. In One Volume, demy 8vo.

Mr. Curtis is preparing for publication, *A New Map of the Eye*, after the manner of the Germans; also, a *Synoptical Chart of the various Diseases of the Eye*, with their Order, Classification, Seat, Symptoms, Causes, and Treatment, intended as Companions to his *Map and Chart of the Ear*.

In the press, *The Doctor, &c.* In Two Volumes.

In the press, *Second Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion; with Notes and Illustrations.* Not by the Editor of *Captain Rock's Memoirs*.

Shortly will appear, in one volume, post 8vo., *The Book of the Unveiling: an Exposition.* With Notes.

In the press, *Fanaticism*, by the Author of "*Natural History of Enthusiasm*," "*Saturday Evening*," &c.

In the press, a revised edition of *The Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company and of the Indian Governments and Establishments under the new Charter, &c. &c.*

## ART. VIII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### BIOGRAPHY.

*Memoirs of Rowland Taylor, LL.D., Archdeacon of Exeter, Rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk, &c.; comprising an Account of the Rise of the Reformation in the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.* By Thomas Quinton Stow. 12mo, 5s. 6d.

*The Life of the late Dr. Adam Clarke: (from Original Papers,) by a Member of his Family.* Vol. III. (which completes the work) 8vo, 9s.

*Memoir of Mr. John Dungett, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a useful class-leader and successful local preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion.* By J. Heaton. 12mo, 2s. 6d.

*The Fathers (John of Whitechurch and Bartholomew of Charmouth,) of the Wesley Family, and References to their Times.* by William Beal. 3s.

*Biographical Notices and Remains of Alphonso Henry Holyfield, for several years a clerk in the office of the London Missionary Society.* Compiled by the Assistant Secretary to that Institution. 12mo, 6s.

### HISTORY.

*The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam.* To which are subjoined, *Notices of the other British Churches in the Netherlands; and a brief View of the Dutch Ecclesiastical Establishment.* By the Rev. William Steven, M.A., Junior Minister of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

### THEOLOGY.

*A Discourse occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Joseph Hughes, A.M., one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, delivered to his late Congregation at Battersea, on Sunday, Oct. 13.* By John Sheppard, Author of *Thoughts on Private Devotion, &c.* 8vo.

*Sermons by the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, of Leeds.* 8vo, Morocco cloth boards, gold lettered, 12s.

*The Pulpit.*—Vol. XXII. Containing Fifty Sermons. With a Portrait of Dr. Adam Clarke. 7s. 6d. in cloth.

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1833.

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Art. I. 1. *Memoirs of the Court of King Charles the First.* By Lucy Aikin. In two Volumes, 8vo., pp. xxxii. 1156. Price 28s. London, 1833.

2. *North American Review.* No. lxxx. Art. VAUGHAN'S MEMORIALS OF THE STUART DYNASTY.

MISS AIKIN cannot be charged with obtruding hasty and immature composition upon the public, or with appearing too frequently as a writer. It is more than eleven years since her *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First* appeared\*, which were designed to serve as an introduction to this more arduous undertaking, the portraiture of the character and illustration of the more memorable times of his Son. Aware of the peculiar difficulties of the task, she appears to have spared no pains to render these volumes a source of novel interest as well as of correct information; and acknowledgements are tendered in the preface to some distinguished literary friends, to whose kindness the Author has been indebted for the loan of valuable manuscripts or rare publications, for researches into original documents, or learned information on technical points of inquiry. The time *was*, when labours of this kind were appreciated, and ensured their own reward from the reading public. In the present day, these volumes, we fear, can scarcely hope to compete in popularity with the melo-dramatic sketches of the historical novelist—the magic lantern pictures of romance. But they will please longer, and exert a more permanent influence on the reader.

There is no portion of English history upon which it is more desirable that every Englishman should be thoroughly informed,

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\* See Eclect. Rev. 2nd Series. Vol. XVIII. p. 97. (Aug. 1822.) And, for a notice of the Mem. of the Court of Elizabeth, Vol. XI. p. 105.

than the critical reign of Charles I.; not merely on account of the instructive lessons which it supplies, but because of the sinister attempts, unceasingly renewed, to give a false gloss to the text of history, and to hold up in a wrong light the transactions of that period. Hume, though rejected as an authority by every respectable writer, \* still maintains among the Tory gentry, the ascendancy which the flatterer of our predilections is too apt to acquire, in spite of all the unwelcome endeavours of wiser friends to undeceive us. Bred up in false views and false impressions, the higher classes of this country have hitherto been, as the North American Reviewer says less correctly of the British public, 'in leading strings both in Church and State.' An Oxford man of the old school held no one of the thirty nine articles more firmly or devoutly, than he did his historical faith in the immaculate character of King Charles the Martyr, and his traditional abhorrence of the Great Rebellion. The French Revolution of 1789, which, in its origin, and at every step, presented the most marked and striking contrast to the Parliamentary insurrection against Charles I., yet, seen through a distorted medium, has seemed an event so strictly parallel, as to cast the shadow of its own atrocity upon the fairer page of British history. And even to the present hour, in the minds of a numerous class, the two events, though separated by a moral interval still wider than the chronological distance of their respective epochs, are brought so near together as to be perpetually confounded. Such persons discern little or no difference between Hampden and Mirabeau, Robespierre and Cromwell; between the Patriot and the Conspirator, the Puritan and the Infidel. Their political prejudices and alarms lead them to confound in the superficial retrospect all moral distinctions. Yet, it is true, that there *was* a connection between the two revolutions; a remote one, indeed, and not so obvious as it was real. The Restoration opened the flood-gates to a tide of licentiousness from France, which well nigh swept away all English morality; and the consequence was, the generation of that deism or infidelity in this country, which became the parent of the still more atrocious

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\* 'At this time of day, nobody thinks of placing reliance upon the account of the British revolution given by Mr. Hume. He was a Scotch Tory of the last century in politics, and a sceptic in religion. He was bred up in attachment to that law which made the Roman emperors absolute sovereigns in their dominions; and he nursed in himself a supreme contempt for every thing that savoured of devotion. Admirable, therefore, as the literary acquirements of Mr. Hume certainly were, he was by no means the person to compose a text-book upon English history. He is to be heard not as a judge, but as an attorney pleading a cause; and his arguments are worth no more from him, than they would be, coming from Clarendon himself.' N. Am. Rev..

impiety that swept away all religion in France. But it was the *failure* of the religious revolution in England, not its success, that ultimately led to the anti-religious conspiracy in the neighbouring country. Still Religion, though often endangered, has survived in this country, because it never was here a mere state craft, or the religion of an order. In France, the catastrophe of Popery was for the time fatal to the very profession of Christianity, because Religion herself had long been an exile.

‘The close of the last century,’ it is remarked by the American Reviewer of Mr. Vaughan’s Memorials, ‘brought forward writers who have done much injury to the world. Most of them were distinguished for arbitrary political doctrines or religious infidelity, and not unfrequently for both together. Gibbon and Voltaire attacked the foundations of the faith of the Christian world; Hume laboured in defence of the English tyranny; and Mitford attempted to raise up the monarchs of Persia and Macedon at the expense of a State whose history is the history of the intellect of man. It is quite too bad, that the lessons of experience should be twisted into arguments for rotten boroughs and a system of sinecures on one side, or for Utopian infidel republics and Agrarian laws on the other. Let us hope that men are becoming wiser.’ We are not sure that Mitford deserved to be placed in so bad company. But waving this, we concur in the hope expressed, that men are slowly beginning to perceive, that, while infidelity may in turn ally itself to the political doctrines either of Hobbes or of Paine, of Hume or of Bentham, the spirit of Christianity is incapable of combination with any less generous principle than that of civil and religious liberty. Society has still much to unlearn upon this point, misled by those who have set up as its instructors; but the salutary convictions which are spreading among the better instructed portion of the community, will in time force themselves upon the reception of legislatures and governments.

The present volumes, if not characterized by the highest qualities of historical composition, are recommended by the dispassionate and impartial spirit of the narrative, sustained, throughout, by contemporaneous evidence, so as to leave on the mind an irresistible impression of the substantial truth of the calm and unembellished statement. Miss Aikin cannot be charged with partizanship; and she does not affect the philosopher. If she cannot, on the one hand, be suspected of entertaining high admiration of the Stuart dynasty and the principles identified with it, neither, on the other hand, is she to be regarded as the enthusiastic admirer of the puritan and nonconformist party. She so seldom obtrudes her own views, that the reader must be captious who would quarrel with them; and her brief comments on the facts are such as seem naturally called for.

The work is, in fact, replete with information, collected with considerable pains, and very pleasingly varied by the introduction of details which belong more to the province of the memoir-writer than of the historian, but which, as illustrations of the character of the times, are highly valuable. It is something between history and biography; a species of writing well fitted to a female pen. But those who are acquainted with the Author's former work, will need no further description or recommendation of the present volumes, than that they display equal talent, while they derive from the subject a still higher interest.

In the second chapter, a brief view is given of the state of England, as to commerce, arts, literature, luxury, and manners at the accession of Charles; from which we are led to conclude the internal condition of the country to have been at that period 'highly prosperous and rapidly improving.'

'To its felicity, however,' Miss Aikin proceeds to observe, 'an important alloy was found in the abuses which had crept into the administration of justice, and every other department of civil government, through the rapacity and corruption of men in power, and the arbitrary spirit of the prince, which inclined him to disdain the limits of law and the control of parliament; and also in the oppression to which large bodies of peaceable subjects were exposed through the operation of unjust and cruel laws enacted for the enforcement of religious conformity. From many signs and tokens, sagacity might have predicted, that whatever might be the personal qualities of the successor of James I., it was on conflicts between the maxims of passive obedience in church and state, and the rising spirit of civil and religious liberty amongst a moral and enlightened people, that the historic interest of his reign, and the crisis of his fate, must turn.'

The conflict was, indeed, already begun;—not a conflict between maxims, or a mere war of opinions, but the double contest, first, between the Crown, standing on its assumed and most unconstitutional prerogatives, and the Parliament; and secondly, between the doctrines and genius of the Reformation, and the spirit of priestly domination and intolerance. These two grounds of contest were distinct. Neither of them, perhaps, would of itself have grown to the height of open war. But the steadiness of religious principle came in aid of the first bold movements in favour of civil liberty; and the ecclesiastical quarrel, which would otherwise never have flamed out into murderous strife, was the last to be extinguished. 'It seems difficult to suppose a case,' remarks the North American Reviewer, 'in which a struggle is justifiable, if this attack upon religious opinions and civil rights together do not make one.\* Mr. Fox seems to us to have erred, as many

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\* A singular remark to proceed from an American, since the struggle of the Colonies against the Crown had not the justification derived from an attack upon religious opinions. We do not say that it was *not* justifiable.



‘ other writers have done, by placing the contest of 1640 too exclusively in a popular light. Had resistance been confined strictly to the defenders of civil liberty, it may well be doubted, whether, at that stage, it was completely justifiable. We must be permitted to add a doubt whether it would have happened. The Puritans, and they alone, felt the double motive.’ This last remark is certainly correct; but they were not the first, in this country, to raise the standard of resistance. The single motive was sufficient; and the madness and intolerance of Laud only served to strengthen, and ripen, and almost sanctify, the feelings of patriotic indignation which had been awakened by the unbounded insolence of Charles’s first favourite, Buckingham, and by the violent measures of the apostate Strafford.

Charles, swayed by Buckingham, had not scrupled to play off the power of the Parliament against the old king, his father, who passionately told him that he was making a rod with which to scourge himself. The warning was lost upon the headstrong prince, who continued to excite the distrust of the first parliament assembled in the new reign. After accepting, with the worst possible grace, supplies not very cheerfully yielded, he abruptly dissolved the house by commission; ‘ an angry and ill-considered act, by which he certainly prepared the misfortunes of his whole succeeding reign.’ The new parliament, opened Feb. 4, 1626, began where the last had left off,—with the consideration of ‘ grievances.’ Yet the rash and haughty pupil of Buckingham thought to awe the British Commons into abject submission, by such vague and empty menaces as the following:—‘ I would you would hasten my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves; for, if any ill happen, I think I shall be the last who shall feel it.’ Again, he concluded an oration to the houses as follows:—

“ Remember that parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution; therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be; and remember that if in this time, instead of mending your errors, by delay you persist in your errors, you make them greater and irreconcilable. Whereas on the other side, if you do go on cheerfully to mend them, and look to the distressed state of Christendom, and the affairs of the kingdom, as it lieth now by this great engagement, you will do yourselves honor, you shall encourage me to go on with parliaments, and I hope all Christendom shall feel the good of it.” Vol. I. p. 121.

The House of Commons were not, however, to be diverted from their constitutional duty by such treatment, and they proceeded to impeach the royal favourite. The result is thus narrated:—

‘ But nothing could move the stubborn spirit of Charles, on a point which he had so completely identified with the assertion of his own authority as the protection of his hated minister, and he quickly an-

nounced to the upper house an immediate dissolution of parliament. Alarmed for the consequences of an act which must of necessity draw on the violation of every principle of constitutional government, the lords in an earnest petition implored him to lay aside this rash resolution, as the sole means of averting great and apparent dangers both at home and abroad, and of preserving to his majesty the affections of his subjects. They also sent a deputation to entreat him to give audience to the whole house on this business, which was refused : and to their final supplication that he would at least suspend his resolution for a few days, he peremptorily replied—"Not a minute!"

' The commons, assembling in haste, drew and voted a remonstrance, which the dissolution by commission on June 15th prevented them from delivering. Its leading topics were the misconduct of the duke, to whom the dissolution of this and the preceding parliament is ascribed, and the misconduct of those ministers by whose advice his majesty had been induced to levy the duties of tonnage and poundage without the grant of parliament. But by far the most memorable passage is the following exposure of the remarkable circumstances attending the apprehension of Digges and Eliot, with which the parliament thus reproaches the king, under the constitutional form of making him acquainted with the facts. "..... For whereas, by your majesty's warrant to your messengers for the arresting of them, you were pleased to command that they should repair to their lodgings and there take them ; your majesty's principal secretary the lord Conway gave the messengers, as they affirmed, an express command, contrary to the said warrants, that they should not go to their lodgings, but to the house of commons, and there take them, and if they found them not there, they should stay until they were come into the house, and apprehend them wheresoever they should find them. Which, besides that it is contrary to your majesty's command, is an apparent testimony of some mischievous intention there had against the whole house of commons."

' That the immediate intention of the king on this occasion was rather to strike terror into the house by the manner of the arrest, than to secure the persons of the two members, appears certain from their immediate liberation on the failure of this part of the scheme.—The prudence of the messengers in obeying the terms of the warrant rather than the verbal directions of the secretary, perhaps saved the nation at this time from the crisis which Charles's memorable attempt to seize the five members in the body of the house brought on several years later ; and the conformity of the two designs goes far to fix the contrivance in both cases on the king himself ; since his confidential advisers were all changed in the interval.

' The parliament caused their remonstrance to be printed ; the king on the other side published a declaration in which he endeavoured to throw from himself upon them the reproach of impeding the public service ; he likewise issued a proclamation against the remonstrance, commanding, upon pain of his indignation and high displeasure, all persons of whatsoever quality possessing copies of the same to burn them, that it might be utterly forgotten, and " never give occasion to

his majesty to renew the memory of that which out of his grace and goodness he would gladly forget."

' Such were the terms on which the youthful monarch parted with the second parliament of his reign !' Vol. I. pp. 143—145.

The interval between dissolving this parliament and summoning a new one, was marked by arbitrary measures of the most impolitic as well as violent character ; the illegal levy of tonnage and poundage, forced loans, the committal to prison of several gentlemen by order of the king and council for refusing to contribute, the denial of the writ of habeas corpus, the dismissal of Chief Justice Crew for not being sufficiently subservient to the Court, and the disgrace of Archbishop Abbot. When at length, in consequence of the rupture with France, Charles found himself again compelled, by the necessity of his affairs, to call together a parliament, he gave a fresh specimen of his incurable pride and obstinacy by opening the session in the following language of menace.

' " These times," said the monarch, " are for action ; wherefore, for example's sake, I mean not to spend much time in words ; expecting that your, as I hope, good resolutions, will be speedy, not spending time unnecessarily, or, that I may better say, dangerously.....I think there is none here but knows, that common danger is the cause of this parliament, and that supply is at this time the chief end of it.....I therefore, judging a parliament to be the ancient, speediest, and best way, in this time of common danger, to give such supply as to secure ourselves, and to save our friends from imminent ruin, have called you together. Every man must now do according to his conscience : Wherefore if you, as God forbid, should not do your duties in contributing what the state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God hath put into my hands, to save that which the follies of particular men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening, for I scorn to threaten any but my equals ; but an admonition from him that both out of nature and duty hath most care of your preservations and prosperities. And though I thus speak, I hope that your demeanors at this time will be such, as shall not only make me approve your former counsels, but lay on me such obligations as shall tie me by way of thankfulness to meet often with you.....You may imagine that I came here with a doubt of success of what I desire, remembering the distractions of the last meeting : But I assure you that I shall very easily and gladly forget and forgive what is past, so that you will at this present time leave the former ways of distractions."

' This harangue gave extreme offence, alike by its style and its matter ; it was plain that no redress of grievances was proposed in return for the supplies thus imperiously demanded ; and after all the recent acts of oppression perpetrated by royal authority, it might be thought that it was not the part of the king to offer pardon and oblivion as a boon. Lord-keeper Coventry pronounced a speech nearly to the same effect, which he concluded by warning the two houses, that

if the parliamentary way of supply were delayed, "necessity and the sword of the enemy would make way to the others." "Remember," he emphatically added, "his majesty's admonition, I say, remember it!"

'The house of commons, undismayed, though by no means unmoved, by these menaces, immediately formed its committees for religion, for grievances, and for trade, and then proceeded to debate on the late invasions of law and liberty; when Sir Francis Seymour thus gave utterance to the general feeling. "How can we express our affection while we retain our fears, or speak of giving till we know whether we have any thing to give? For if his majesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what need we give? That this hath been done, appeareth by the billeting of soldiers.....the imprisonment of gentlemen for refusal of the loan; who if they had done the contrary for fear, their faults would have been as great as theirs who were the projectors of it. To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached in the pulpit, or rather prated; all we have is the king's, *jure divino*? When preachers forsake their own calling and turn ignorant statesmen, we see how willing they are to exchange a good conscience for a bishopric.'" Vol. I. pp. 189—192.

By this parliament, five subsidies were voted; 'a greater number than had ever before been granted at one time; though the amount, as his Majesty took care to make known, was still inferior to his wants.' The Commons then proceeded with the famous Petition of Rights, which the King endeavoured by repeated messages to obstruct in its passage through the House.

'Baffled by the commons, Charles applied himself to the lords by a letter in which he manifested extreme reluctance to disclaim the power of arbitrary imprisonment, and expressed an anxious desire that his declaration that he would never pervert such a power to purposes of oppression or arbitrary exaction, but would use it conscientiously in cases of state necessity only, might be accepted as a sufficient security for personal liberty. The peers accordingly proposed to add to the bill a saving clause for "that sovereign power with which his majesty was trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people." But the sagacious leaders in the house of commons, with their jealous vigilance fully aroused, were no fit subjects for an artifice so futile. Selden, Pym, Noy, Wentworth, and others, immediately protested against an exception which, if they admitted it, would destroy the whole force of the rule, and in effect, leave the subject in a worse state than ever. "It is a matter of great weight," said Sir Edward Coke; "and to speak plainly, it will overthrow all our petition, it trenches to all parts of it . . . . . I know that prerogative is part of the law, but sovereign power is no parliamentary word. In my opinion it weakens magna charta and all our statutes; for they are absolute, without any saving of sovereign power; and shall we now add it, we shall weaken the foundation of law, and then the building must needs fall . . . . . Magna charta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign.'" Vol. I. pp. 208, 9.

The Peers ultimately yielded, and passed the bill in its original

form. It was then presented to his Majesty, with a request that he would give it his assent in full parliament. With characteristic folly, he endeavoured to evade the customary form of royal assent, and dismissed the House with 'a negative embittered by 'a mockery,' and at the same time involving a confession of weakness. The general indignation excited by this conduct inspired his ministers with alarm; and ultimately, the King again came down to the House, and, with a bad grace, gave to this 'memorable charter of English liberties,' a reluctant assent in the customary form. That assent he afterwards endeavoured to cancel, claiming for himself, through his judges, 'the sole right of 'interpreting the laws, and of declaring the true intent and 'meaning of his own concessions;' and, to save his favourite from impeachment, he in passionate haste prorogued the parliament in the same spirit in which he had opened it. When parliament again met, it was discovered, on inquiry, that the Petition of Right had been indeed enrolled, according to the King's promise, but with his first evasive answer, instead of his legal assent, and with the addition of his Majesty's speech on the last day of the session, by which its provisions were all invalidated. This act of royal perfidy could not but destroy all confidence in the King's integrity.

In the mean time, the dagger of Felton had cut short the career of the haughty Buckingham. We must transcribe, as a fair specimen of the Author's historical portraiture, her character of this English vizier.

' George, Duke of Buckingham, that eminent favorite of two successive sovereigns, to whose power and arrogance English history has happily never since produced a parallel, was cut off at the age of thirty-six, after a domination of about twelve years, reckoning from the fall of his predecessor Somerset. As it was neither by genius nor industry, by wisdom in counsel nor valour in the field, that the handsome Villiers had possessed himself of the "soon won affections" of king James, the rapidity of his rise at court, "where," says Clarendon, "as if he had been born a favorite, he was supreme the first month he came," forms no just criterion of his capacity. Even in contemplating him during a course of public employment apparently calculated, whatever causes might have introduced him to it, to bring forth all his qualities into open day, it will be found less easy to estimate his powers of intellect, than to catch the strong lights and shades of his temper, and to portray his moral qualities. Nature and fortune, by endowing him with beauty, grace, spirit, a haughty confidence, and the pre-eminent favor of his prince, had done almost enough to render him absolute at the court of James; yet it is evident that his unceasing vigilance and active energies powerfully co-operated to maintain him at his giddy height; and the conquest which he achieved over the sullen reserve of the heir-apparent, and the just indignation with which his insolent assumption had inspired him, was clearly due



to skill and not to fortune. Changing adroitly his manners with his masters, he appears to have dropped with the son the imperious tone, the importunate urgency, which had secured his ascendancy over the weak fondness and indolent good-nature of the father; and content to put on the servant in order to be in effect the master, he learned to receive back as original emanations of the royal mind, suggestions of which he was himself the secret author, and thus to sway by submitting. Availing himself of the leading foibles of Charles's mind, excessive pride of station and despotic will, he led him to believe that it was for the interest of his own glory to crush by acts of power the opposition audaciously aimed against the royal favorite; and thus, carrying along his master with the momentum of his own impetuosity, he was enabled to subdue all his enemies, humble the whole court beneath his feet, disconcert an impeachment, break two parliaments, whose necks he could not bend, and plunge the nation into two unnecessary and inglorious wars, the fruits of his own selfish intrigues or ungoverned passions. All this time he knew how to counterfeit loyal devotedness so skilfully, that the deluded monarch conceived the notion that his favorite minister, solely intent on subduing faction, reducing the popular branch of the legislature to insignificance, and establishing the revenue of the crown on an independent footing, was generously braving the indignation of a whole people in *his* cause alone and that of his cherished prerogative.

‘ With all due allowance then for many favoring circumstances, facts prove him to have possessed boldness, promptitude, great insight into the characters which it was his interest to study, and perhaps as much depth of thought as is consistent with unbridled sensuality and a spirit merely worldly,—with base designs and selfish ends. Neither was he destitute of such plausible qualities as win adherents and pass in courts for virtues. He was courteous and affable to all men, excepting the peculiar objects of his jealousy and resentment; splendid, magnificent, and bountiful even to profusion. Warmly attached to his family and connexions, he was unwearied in heaping upon them wealth, places, and honors; their merits, or their capacities for the public service, he never deigned to estimate or to make any part of his consideration. His brothers, as well as himself, profited by the most oppressive and iniquitous monopolies; his mother, a bad and artful woman who had great influence over him, received enormous bribes from suitors of every class; and either by himself or his relations, all offices, even of judicature, were rendered grossly venal. He was not less vehement or less open in his enmities than his friendships, usually giving full notice to his intended victim of his fixed purpose of ruining him, and of the impossibility of appeasing his anger or averting its effects. But the frankness of offended pride or rancorous resentment, is not to be placed in the list of virtues; and where he judged it more for his interest to circumvent than boldly to confront a rival or a foe, he willingly, as in the case of Bacon, availed himself of artifice.

‘ It is said by one delineator of his character, to have been his chief misfortune, that he never formed a worthy or equal friendship; his rise being so sudden, that he required dependents before he was aware that he could ever stand in need of coadjutors. But favorites are



proverbially destitute of friends ; and much more to be deplored was the misfortune of a nation in which the weakness or caprice of the prince was of force to lift an unpractised youth out of his native obscurity to a station where his private vices, and even his failings and infirmities, could acquire the dignity of public mischiefs.

‘ In his manners, his propensities, and even in the footing on which he stood in society, Buckingham more resembled a prince than a minister ; and although it is said that much experience, seconding the elaborate instructions of king James, had given him a quick apprehension of business, and the power of speaking pertinently and gracefully, his want of prudence, of moderation and self-command, his ignorance and carelessness of the true interests of the state, and his insolent contempt of the people and their representatives, must for ever have disqualified him for conducting the administration of affairs with credit to himself or advantage to his king or country.

‘ His ambition prompted him to grasp at an universal dictatorship ; besides being in effect prime minister, and holding many other places of honor and profit, he was lord admiral, and at length generalissimo ; but as admiral, both gross negligence and shameful acts of rapacity and extortion were laid to his charge ; and to his incapacity as a general, the misfortune at the Isle of Rhé was chiefly attributable. There can be no doubt that he exerted himself effectually, though covertly, in sowing dissensions between Charles and his young queen, and that, so long as he lived, she obtained no interest in public affairs. Some extraordinary traits have been preserved of the insolence of behaviour in which he habitually indulged himself towards her majesty. On one occasion, when she had failed of paying a promised visit to his mother, he told her she should repent it ; and on her answering somewhat sharply, he dared to remind her, that there had been queens in England who had lost their heads. Charles thought proper to pass over his insults to his wife with as much tameness as those which he had formerly offered to himself ; and even the haughty Henrietta condescended, at the instance of Bassompierre, and with a view to certain matters of interest, to dissemble, if not to lay aside, her resentment, and accept of his patronage and protection with her royal husband.’

Vol. I. pp. 226—231.

The removal of Buckingham served, perhaps, to embolden the Commons, but it produced no change of policy on the part of the Court. And now it was, that Laud, already a privy counsellor, being raised to the see of London, began to implicate the Church in open hostility with the Commons. No greater insult could be offered to the country, than the nomination of Montagu and Manwaring to the bishoprics of Chichester and St. David's, in defiance of the recorded judgment of the legislature, declaring them for ever incapable of church preferment. The consequence was, that, from examining into violations of liberty and property, the House, notwithstanding the royal menaces, proceeded to inquire into matters of religion.

‘ Notwithstanding repeated interruptions by royal messages, Mr. Pym proceeded to offer to the consideration of the house, first, the impunity and encouragement granted to papists, and the violation of law by the introduction of popish and superstitious ceremonies into the church, particularly by Cozens bishop of Durham ; secondly, the doctrines inconsistent with the Articles, introduced by Arminians. “ Let us show,” said he, “ wherein these late opinions are contrary to those settled truths, and what men have been since preferred that have professed those heresies ; what pardons they have had for false doctrine, what prohibiting of books and writings against their doctrine, and permitting of such books as have been for them : Let us inquire after the abettors. Let us inquire also after the pardons granted of late to some of these, and the presumption of some that dare preach the contrary to truth before his majesty. It belongs to the duty of parliament to establish true religion and punish false. . . . . Our parliaments have confirmed general councils. . . . . For the convocation, it is but a provincial synod of the province of Canterbury, and cannot bind the whole kingdom. As for York, that is distant, and cannot do anything to bind us or the laws : for the High-commission, it was derived from parliament.” Afterwards, Sir John Eliot enlarged upon the danger of admitting, what had lately been asserted in a royal declaration, of which Laud was the author, the right of the bishops and clergy in convocation to decree all matters of outward regulation in the church, and determine controversies concerning the interpretation of the Articles ; by which, he remarked, “ popery and Arminianism may be introduced by them, and then it must be received by all.”’ Vol. I. pp. 245, 246.

One may regret that the proper limits of legislation were at this period so imperfectly understood, that the most enlightened men in the country should consider it as part of the duty of Parliament, to punish false religion, or to determine the true. Yet, if such power and authority resided any where, Parliament was alone competent to exercise it. Mr. Pym’s remarks on the limited and subordinate powers of the Convocation may not be undeserving attention at the present moment, when a disposition exists in certain quarters to call in question the sovereignty of the British legislature, and to resuscitate the Convocation, as an organ of seditious opposition.

The session closed with a forced adjournment, the committal of the leading members, Hollis, Eliot, Valentine, and Curriton to the Tower, and an angry dissolution of parliament. From papers preserved in the Eliot family, Miss Aikin has given some interesting extracts from letters written by Sir John Eliot during his illegal incarceration, terminated only by his untimely death. ‘ Because Sir John Eliot *happened* to die while in custody,’ says Hume, with his accustomed disingenuousness, ‘ a great clamour was raised against the administration ; and he was universally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.’ We tran-

scribe the comment of the North American Reviewer on this passage in the infidel historian.

‘ Now Sir John Eliot was “ in custody ” three years, on account of his performing a certain portion of his duty in parliament ; his physician declared his health to be affected by the imprisonment, and the king *knew* it, yet refused him any indulgence. We are at a loss to know what claim, short of the stake or the axe, could be stronger to the title of a martyr.’

Sir John's son petitioned his Majesty, that he would be pleased to permit his father's body to be carried into Cornwall, to be buried. The request was *denied*.

After the dissolution of his third parliament, Charles determined to govern without any other legislature than his own council ; and for twelve years he was enabled to adhere to this unconstitutional purpose. Laud, Wentworth, and Hamilton formed the triumvirate through whom he administered the affairs of his three kingdoms, for he was now ‘ evidently determined to be his ‘ own prime minister ;’ and the only successor to the favourite, in his governing influence over him, was the queen.

‘ From the period of Buckingham's death, Henrietta, freed from the rivalry of a favorite, had been silently occupied in spreading the network of her intrigues over the whole court, which she aspired to rule. She now began to operate more openly. By her power, Henry Jermyn, already, as it seems, her favored lover, was supported, against the judgement of the king himself, in refusing the reparation of marriage to a maid of honor of the house of Villiers, whom he had seduced. There is some reason to believe that the noted division of the court into king's side and queen's side arose out of the factions to which this affair of gallantry gave birth. The wily Hamilton, whose influence with the king was second to none, having, as we are told, obtained indubitable proof of the queen's intimacy with Jermyn, and thus enabled himself to make his own terms with her, from her enemy, became her ally. Partly, it is probable, by his aid, partly by her own arts and blandishments, she established an ascendancy over the spirit of her husband, which went on augmenting to the end ; and even Laud and Wentworth, although jealous and repining, found themselves compelled on many occasions, to tolerate her interference, to promote her objects, and even to humble themselves so far as to sue for her favor.’

Vol. I. pp. 300, 301.

It is not our intention to pursue the narrative, the outline of which must be familiar to every reader, of the criminal enterprise upon which Charles and his coadjutors now entered. That the people of England should have so long borne with a tyranny alike odious and feeble, at variance with every constitutional principle, hostile alike to the civil rights and the religious interests of the nation, might excite greater astonishment, if, even in our own day, writers were not to be found base enough to extenuate the

diabolical ambition of Laud, and to apologize for the crimes of Strafford. In the melancholy interval which elapsed between the dismissal of the parliament of 1629, and the summoning of the Long Parliament in 1640, it might seem that not only the spirit of the Reformation was utterly quenched, but even that of the English nation itself, and of its venerable and free constitution. Numbers of the Puritan party, desponding as to the state of things in their native country, sought an asylum in the western hemisphere; and among those whom an order of council restrained from sailing, are said to have been found, Hampden, Cromwell, and Hazelrig. Miss Aikin, however, discredits this current story, respecting which both Whitelock and Clarendon are silent; and adduces from Rushworth the statement, that, 'upon the humble petition of the merchants, passengers, and owners, his Majesty was graciously pleased to free them from the late restraint to proceed on their intended voyage.' From this, it is inferred, that *all* who had embarked for New England on board those ships, must actually have proceeded thither.' We do not see, however, that this inference is quite so plain, or that it follows so necessarily as the Author supposes. The delay admitted of a change of purpose; and some of the passengers 'put on land' might not choose to re-embark. The original authorities for the statement given by Cotton Mather, are said to be George Bates and Dugdale; both 'zealous royalists,' but not on that account to be discredited. Vane went out to New England, and returned.

The standard of resistance had already been raised in Scotland, when Charles once more assembled his parliament.

'The total abolition of parliaments in England had been the favorite object of the policy of Charles. A disuse of eleven years, sustained by the people with a silence resembling acquiescence, had flattered him into a belief that the experiment had succeeded; the levy of tonnage and poundage and of ship-money had established precedents for future taxation by royal authority to any amount; the same authority had also been successfully employed in the raising of troops; and notwithstanding the disgraceful result of the last campaign, and the present complete exhaustion of the exchequer, he fondly imagined that the resources of prerogative would still prove adequate to the emergencies of his situation. But this sanguine view was not shared by a single individual in his council. They all better knew the state of utter feebleness and decay into which every department of the administration had fallen, and took a truer measure of the profound and widely spreading discontents,—and all, whether their interests or inclinations might prompt them to desire or to deprecate the assembling of a parliament, concurred in regarding it as an event which could neither be avoided nor longer deferred. We even learn from the diary of Laud, that Hamilton, Strafford, and himself became the first movers of this measure in the council. The king, still diffident and averse, put the question to all the members present, whether, in the

event of the commons proving "peevish," they would bind themselves to assist him in the "extraordinary ways" which would then be necessary for his service? and having obtained from them an unanimous resolution to that effect, he gave to the measure a tardy, hesitating, and ill-omened assent.'

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'The news of a parliament was received with transports of joy by the English people, who regarded it as the certain prelude to the redress of grievances and a return to the ancient free constitution of the country. Prudence might now have dictated to the king the conciliatory policy of some relaxation of habitual oppressions, some demonstrations, however faint, of a purpose to govern in future according to law; but this his pride forbade. "That it might appear," says lord Clarendon, "that the court was not at all apprehensive of what the parliament would or could do, and that it was convened by his majesty's grace and inclination, not by any motive of necessity, it proceeded in all respects in the same unpopular ways it had done: ship-money was levied with the same severity; and the same rigor in ecclesiastical courts, without the least compliance with the humour of any man.'

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'Parliament opened on April 13th, 1640. It was a full assemblage. Impressed with the importance of the occasion, the members had discarded their old custom of trifling away a full fortnight before they assembled in earnest for the dispatch of business, and scarcely a man was absent from his post. It is confessed on all hands, that the choice of the people had fallen on the men of greatest consideration in the country for wisdom and patriotism, as well as property, the mere court candidates having been in general rejected; and the eyes of the whole nation were fixed on their proceedings with joy and trust.

'Charles, anxious and embarrassed, after briefly remarking that there never was a king who had a more great and weighty cause to call his people together than himself, and alluding to a letter signed by seven Scottish peers requesting assistance from the king of France, which he had intercepted on its way, and on account of which he had committed the earl of Loudon to the Tower, referred the house for further particulars to the lord keeper, Finch.

'The speech of this minister opened with a manifesto against the rebellious Scots; the king, he then said, had not convoked his parliament to ask their counsels in this matter, nor were they to interpose their mediation, which would be unacceptable; he had assembled them in order that they might grant him the supplies of which he stood in urgent need. With respect to tonnage and poundage, he disclaimed for his master the power to take it without consent of parliament, otherwise than provisionally, and desired that a bill might be passed, granting it to him from the beginning of the reign. Ship-money, he said, it had not been his majesty's intention this year to levy, as he had no purpose of making it a source of revenue, and had on no occasion diverted it from its proper object; the state of Scotland, however, had compelled him to continue it for another year. In conclusion, he

tendered the royal promise, that after the supplies should be voted, such time should be allowed to the commons for the discussion of any matters of complaint, as the season and the state of affairs would permit.

‘ On the whole, although the tone assumed by the king was in some degree lowered, his requisitions were essentially the same which he had made to former parliaments,—namely, that supply should have the precedence of all other business, and that his royal word should be confided in for the subsequent discussion and redress of grievances. But this was a pledge which the king’s open and habitual violation of every provision for the security of the subject, sanctioned by the petition of right, had long since deprived of all its value ; and nothing remained to the representatives of an oppressed and indignant people, but to imitate the resolute conduct of their predecessors.

‘ Committees were formed, for religion, for privileges of parliament, courts of justice, and grievances in general ; and a solemn fast was proclaimed. Immediately after, petitions from several counties, presented by their respective members, complaining of ship-money, projects and monopolies, the star-chamber and high-commission courts, and other oppressions, gave occasion to an animated debate on the state of the nation.’ Vol. II. pp. 50—59.

The parliament had sat only about a week, when, finding it indisposed to comply with his enormous demands, the king hastily dissolved it, and once more had recourse to violent measures, although the Scotch were in arms and preparing to cross the border. To levy further supplies upon the country by arbitrary courses, was, however, found impracticable ; and even Laud began to recommend conciliatory measures. The treaty of Ripon between the Scotch and English commissioners, by converting the invaders into allies of the popular party, changed the whole aspect of affairs. The terms of a definitive arrangement were referred by common consent to a new parliament ; and the Scotch commissioners were invited to resume their negotiations in London. On the 3d of Nov. 1640, the ever memorable Long Parliament was convened ; a House which Charles found himself alike unable to conciliate or to intimidate. It ‘ commenced its ‘ high career of retributive justice with a vigor and celerity surprising to all, and absolutely astounding to those who found ‘ themselves exposed to its animadversion.’ ‘ The beginning of ‘ this parliament,’ May observes, ‘ seemed a little doomsday.’ One of its first acts was, to impeach the two arch-criminals, Strafford and Laud ; and during the first session, the following important acts passed the Commons in succession.

‘ One for granting tonnage and poundage to the king, prefaced by a declaration, that such dues could only be levied by consent of parliament, and concluding with a denunciation of the penalties of a pre-munire against all such as should either pay or receive these dues without its sanction.



‘ A bill for the total abolition of the court of star-chamber ; and for taking away all similar jurisdiction from the president and council of the Welsh marches, the president and council of the North, and the courts of the duchy of Lancaster and the county palatine of Chester ; also, for giving speedy redress by *habeas corpus* to all persons committed to prison by any of these courts, or by warrant of the council-board or any of the privy-councillors.

‘ A bill for repeal of the high-commission, and for taking away for ever from all archbishops, bishops, and other commissioners ecclesiastical, all power to fine, imprison, or inflict any kind of corporal punishment upon any of his majesty's subjects.—Thus was left to the church, according to the expression of bishop Williams on another occasion, “ nothing but its old rusty sword of excommunication.”

‘ A bill for declaring unlawful and void all the proceedings respecting ship-money.

‘ A bill for the certainty of forests, restraining them to their known limits in the time of king James, and annulling all subsequent proceedings against any persons as for encroachments or trespasses beyond those limits.

‘ A bill to prevent vexatious proceedings with respect to knight-hood.

‘ A bill for disabling all persons in holy orders from exercising any temporal authority or jurisdiction,—by which they were excluded from the privy council and from the commission of the peace.

‘ To these and other acts the king gave his assent in the month of July ; the last mentioned being the only one which had encountered any considerable opposition in the house of commons.’

Vol. II. pp. 123, 24.

Here we must stop. The subsequent events require to be dealt with more seriously than in a cursory notice ; and Miss Aikin has obviously felt the difficulties of her task increase, as she entered upon this stormy period. The sequel is the least satisfactory portion of her performance ; and the work shuts up hastily, without even an attempt to present a summary of the character of Charles, or to pronounce a judgment, ‘ whether ‘ moral or political,’ respecting his fate. In place of any further observations of our own, we shall transcribe from the article in the *North American Review*, the following sensible and temperate reflections.

It is the general character of revolutions, to begin well. The danger only comes from the impetus of the mass they set in motion. Powerful agents, whether in the physical or the moral world, can never be used safely by the inexperienced, nor in many ways by the wisest. The Long Parliament, in the early part of its career, did itself great credit. It contained much of the wealth and the talent of the kingdom, and it redressed grievances and corrected abuses with a judgment worthy of the commanding station it held. The proceeding against Strafford opened the way for all the subsequent violences. No question has been argued with more vehemence in our day, than that of the justice

of this act. Mr. Vaughan devotes a whole chapter to it, and from the tone of the two leading British Reviews, one might be led to conclude that the question of Reform itself was not more momentous. In one respect, it certainly is important. If the conduct of Strafford is to be justified because the attainder is condemned, it will be as well to shut up the volume of history at once. Its lessons can do no good. If the man, who, from being a violent friend of popular rights, becomes a King's most arbitrary minister, and professes "thorough and thorough" to be his motto, in sweeping off the liberties of his country, is not to be held up to the indignation of posterity, or, on the contrary, is to be styled, as he is by the *Quarterly Review*, a most virtuous and suffering patriot, then it is the height of injustice for us to require any consistency in our public men, or to pass any censure whatever upon them. Benedict Arnold himself must be called an angel of light. We profess no sympathy for the fate of Strafford, although we have no hesitation in saying that his condemnation was a most illegal and arbitrary act.

' The impeachment itself was one of those acts of policy, effective in itself, but which can be supported only by those who love party better than we do. The evidence brought forward at the time, did not justify it. Strafford's own defence is too strong for it; and it is not too much to say, that the Commons were perfectly sensible of this themselves. Then came the act of attainder, in itself not justifiable, and much less so, when, as in this case, carried through by threats and intimidation. We can imagine no rule of more general application than this; that all prosecutions for the violation of law, should be themselves strictly within it. Otherwise, the very process to punish, justifies the offender. If such a rule should apply in common cases, how much more so on great occasions in representative bodies. The moral sense of these degenerates much faster than that of individuals. Perhaps they are more slow to feel power, but, once felt, they are quicker to forget right. Responsibility seems to rest no where. Inasmuch, then, as the impeachment and disgrace of a public man derive all their importance from his being a warning example to all who come afterwards, it would seem requisite for the production of this effect, that the justice of the proceeding should be apparent.

' The popular leaders felt very soon that they had over-stepped the limit of right,—and the choice to them, was, to sink or to go on still more boldly. The great object became, to establish the authority of Parliament as supreme; and the Government of England soon took the shape of an oligarchy, as intolerable and intolerant as the preceding monarchy. It had not even the merit of the latter, for it was not energetic, and was constantly agitated by internal divisions. The tendency of things is in these cases constantly demonstrated; until some single mind starts forth to assume the superior station that is its due, and to restore order and success.

' Such a mind was Oliver Cromwell's. The crisis had arrived, when it was necessary to choose between long and disastrous confusion, or the supremacy of the king. This man saved the country from both. . . .

‘ We *will* praise him where we think he deserves it. Cromwell was always a strenuous and consistent advocate of that liberty of religious opinion, which the Presbyterian party would never allow. His exertions effected a salutary change in this respect. Cromwell was in his own person a strictly moral man, and he was an admirable domestic character. Even his enemies confess this, by the romance they got up about the royalist reproofs of his daughter Claypool. Had we no high charges to bring against him, this would weigh down much of common error. Did we consider him as merely in the ordinary line of English kings, how would the acknowledged order and sobriety of his court and army, though both were splendidly and expensively supported, contrast with the venal prostitution and heartless, soulless profligacy of his successor! Lastly, Cromwell was never a mover of those extravagant and disorganizing opinions which were so popular in France in the last age, and which lead at once to the destruction of society. . . .

‘ We shall not enlarge upon the career of Cromwell as Protector. Had he only been one of the legitimate line, England’s annals would not be able to boast of a more successful, a more vigorous, and a more patriotic prince. Which of them ever did so much of his own free will, to give the country a free and liberal government? Which of them more honorably sustained such generous spirits as Blake and Hale, and others, although he knew they were unfriendly to him? Which of them, with a powerful and enthusiastic army at his command, would have voluntarily called three Parliaments in three years, in each of which a majority thought, spoke, and acted against himself? The leading and irremediable defect that frustrated all his exertions, was the want of title to the place he held. The English people would not admit his right to rule over them. It was his perpetual labour to avoid resting this right upon his sword, and he was perpetually driven to it. We are rejoiced that he was. We are rejoiced that his usurpation was so glaring that no subsequent age can mistake it.’

The Reviewer does justice to the value and merit of Mr. Vaughan’s Memorials, which is recommended as ‘ a moderate and candid exposition of a momentous period in history, made on genuine foundations of principle, and, though favourable to one side, not unjust to any.’ His work competently supplies a deficiency which was long felt, and furnishes the best refutation and exposure of Hume that has hitherto been given to the public. It is principally valuable in those respects in which Miss Aikin’s work is, from its nature, defective, or may be deemed in execution a failure. But it would be unfair to institute a comparison between works of such different design and character, and which in no way interfere with each other, but throw much light, from different points, on their common topic. While this article is passing from our hands, we are happy to learn from the public prints, that the Council of the London University have unanimously appointed the Author of the Memorials and the *Life of Wicliffe* to the Chair of History. A more appropriate or judicious selection could not have been made.

**Art. II. 1. *Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar* ; performed in H. M. Ships, *Leven* and *Barracouta*, under the direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1833. [Concluded from Page 203.]**

**2. *Travels and Researches in Caffraria* : describing the Character, Customs, and Moral Condition of the Tribes inhabiting that Portion of Southern Africa. With historical and topographical Remarks, illustrative of the State and Prospects of the British Settlement in its Borders, the Introduction of Christianity, and the Progress of Civilization. By Stephen Kay, Corresponding Member of the South African Institution. 12mo. pp. xvi. 509. (Map and Plates.) Price 6s. London, 1833.**

**I**N resuming our notice of Captain Owen's Survey, we are glad to avail ourselves of the additional information collected by Mr. Kay, in his interesting, though not very original volume. (which has appeared since our former article,) with regard to that part of the African coast comprised under the vague denomination of Caffraria. In many old maps, this name is extended to an immense division of Africa, reaching northward to Abyssinia. 'But the part now occupied by the numerous nations generally designated Kaffer,' Mr. Kay remarks, 'is much more limited, and lies altogether on the southern side of the Equator; while far more limited is that portion of it which our most extended explorations at present embrace, forming a comparatively small tract indeed.' Those tribes with which we have become acquainted, and to which Mr. Kay's researches relate, lie along the eastern coast, from the boundary of Cape Colony, in lat.  $33^{\circ}$  S., to about lat.  $26^{\circ}$  S.

There is little propriety, however, in retaining the word in our maps, as the specific appellation of this tract of country, now that it seems to be ascertained that tribes of the same race and language are in possession of the whole region between the eastern and western coasts, as far northward as the southern frontier of Abyssinia, eight degrees north of the Equator; an extent ranging through 40 degrees of latitude. Nay, the Reviewer of Captain Owen's work, in the last No. of the Quarterly, asserts, that these Kaffers, 'or Zoolos,' are the same nation that are known under the general name of Gallas, who have overrun the finest provinces of Abyssinia itself. We know not upon what evidence this assertion rests. Zoola, or Amazoola, is the specific designation of a very peculiar tribe. Captain Owen refers to the Gallas as having, 'like the Caffers, an unconquerable aversion to the sea'; owing to which trait in their character, insular stations are safe from their attacks. They are much dreaded by the Arabs of the coast, who dare not venture into the interior.

‘The Galla,’ continues the narrator, ‘are said to have no houses, but wander through the woods in the wildest state of barbarism. Professed enemies to every nation and tribe around them, they hunt and are hunted, frequently committing indiscriminate slaughter upon an unresisting multitude to-day, and themselves becoming victims to a similar treatment on the morrow. Like their brother savages of America, they consider a relic from the body of a slain foe the most honourable and distinguishing emblem they can wear of their military prowess.....They unite subtlety and want of faith with their ferocity of temper: consequently, the commerce between them and the Arabs is carried on entirely in the towns of the latter. These they will sometimes venture to harass, but seldom with less than two thousand men, armed with bows, arrows, and assagayes.

‘Besides the Galla, there is another race of savages in the vicinity, termed *Dowla*, who are far more tractable and settled in their habits; and with these the Arabs constantly traffic and keep up an amicable understanding.

‘The Galla of this part of the country’ (the banks of the Ozy, which falls into the northern extremity of Formosa Bay,) ‘bear the same savage character as those near Lamoo, and are equally inimical to the Arabs; but the chief of Kow contrives to carry on some little trade in ivory with them, by means of an annual present to their chief, which is forfeited by any act of hostility or robbery committed by his subjects during the year. They have a great dread of fire-arms, and will enter no house where they are.’ *Owen*, Vol. I. pp. 392, 397.

These are the only notices that we find, descriptive of this formidable race, and they are too vague to warrant any inference with regard to their probable origin or affinities. The Galla of Abyssinia are said to be distinguished from the negro race by their *low stature*, deep-brown complexion, and long hair. Malte Brun styles them ‘African Tatars,’ and describes them as worshipping trees, stones, and the heavenly bodies. The Quarterly Reviewer, on the authority of Barrow, describes ‘the Kaffers or Gallas’ as exhibiting ‘manly and *gigantic* forms, with a complexion having the tinge of bronze.’ Mr. Kay thus describes the Southern Kaffers, or Kosas:—

‘While I cannot go the lengths of some, who have panegyricized the Kaffers as the finest race of men ever beheld, I may, without fear of contradiction, state, that there are many remarkably fine and well-made men amongst them. Many of them are tall, robust, and very muscular: their habits of life induce a firmness of carriage, and an open, manly demeanour, which are altogether free from that apparent consciousness of fear and suspicion which generally characterizes uncivilized nations. In stature, they vary from five to six feet ten inches; and a cripple or deformed person is seldom seen among them.....Neither the Kaffer nor the Tambookie women, however, are any thing so near well-formed as the men. They are mostly of low stature, very strong-limbed, and particularly muscular in the leg,—more especially

when advanced in years. They have no traces whatever of the thick lip, which forms so prominent a trait in the features of the African negro; and as widely do they differ, both in person and character, from the Hottentot race, in whose borders they have so long been resident. They are remarkably good-humoured, cheerful, and animated in general, excepting when enfeebled by sickness or age. There is a national sprightliness, activity, and vivacity about them, which greatly distinguishes them from the women of most nations that are but little advanced in civilization, and who are generally reserved in their disposition towards strangers.

‘ Their apparel, like that of the ancient Britons in the days of Julius Cæsar, consists wholly of beasts’ skins, curried and prepared in such a manner as to render them perfectly soft and pliable. The inner side is then coloured with a kind of dark ochre or charcoal. These leathern garments, which are generally long enough to reach to the foot, are merely suspended from the shoulders, like a soldier’s cloak, and hang entirely loose, excepting when the cold renders it necessary to wrap themselves up more closely. The head is quite exposed in the hottest, as also in the coldest weather, unless sickness oblige them to cover it. They frequently, indeed, deprive themselves of the slight covering with which nature has furnished them, by shaving the head altogether.

‘ The dress of the women consists of the same rude materials as that of the men: it only differs in shape. Their *ingubo*, or upper garment, has a narrow loose flap appended to the collar behind: this extends to the bottom of the skirts, and sometimes lower, forming a sort of train. It is usually ornamented with three rows of buttons, placed in parallel lines from the top to the bottom of the mantle, each being set as thickly as possible. Without these, (which all are not wealthy enough to procure,) the cloak is considered incomplete. Short leathern petticoats also are worn; and, when engaged in any kind of labour, such as gardening, &c., constitute their only habiliments: the *ingubo* is then laid aside, being too cumbersome. By many, however, amongst the higher classes especially, nothing more than a small apron, decorated with various coloured beads, is used under the cloak. This is but three or four inches broad, and might seem to be used more as an ornament than as a matter of decorum. Excepting cases of age, childhood, and mothers giving suck, it is accounted exceedingly unbecoming for a female to go about with her breasts uncovered. Over these, therefore, she wears the *imbeka*, which is also ornamented with beads. Great taste is frequently displayed in their caps, or head-dresses, which are generally the most expensive part of their costume. They are made from the skin of a peculiar species of antelope, indigenous to the forest, and called by the natives, *iputi*. This being cut to the shape required, a large quantity of variegated beads are stitched on with great regularity; and as white and light blue generally form the principal shades in this Kaffer turban, their contrast with the sable countenance of the wearer is far from being disagreeable. When complete, the weight is, of course, considerable; and the shape altogether too masculine to accord with European ideas of female delicacy. It is rare indeed to see a woman with anything on her feet, even when travelling: she



almost invariably goes barefoot, under all circumstances, and in all kinds of weather.

‘The chief women, even to the Queen herself, are not at all distinguished by dress from the most common orders: like all the rest, they are wholly destitute of change either for days or seasons. Each carries her entire wardrobe about her person daily, and has no other bed-clothes at night. Their leathern mantles are usually renewed once a year; and choice cattle are then slaughtered for this purpose expressly. Black cows or oxen are generally selected, a decided preference being given to that colour. The only visible difference between the most exalted and poorest females of the land, consists in the quantity of ornaments they possess. Of these, bracelets, necklaces, and ear-drops form the principal. Some have as many as fifty, and others more than three times that number of bead-strings around the neck. On the arms are rings of copper or iron; and when beads were less plentiful in the country, festoons of small *cyprea* shells were appended to their caps, and sometimes worn as necklaces. Suspended from the neck, or from some part of the cloak, many carry the shell of a small land tortoise, (the *testudo pusilla*,) containing a quantity of red pulverized ochre, together with a thin piece of leather, wherewith this Kaffer rouge is occasionally rubbed upon the cheeks. A button, shell, or small string of beads, usually serves as a succedaneum for ear-rings.

‘The robes of the principal Chieftains are generally made of panthers’ skins, which give them a warlike and commanding appearance. These, however, are frequently thrown aside, or placed on the shoulders of subordinates, while the Chief himself goes about in an old tattered garb, which would induce a stranger to conclude that he was the menial, rather than the monarch. Few, if any, of the Caffrarian rulers pay much attention to appearances, either in their persons or habitations. The whimsical change of fashions, so prevalent in most civilized countries, is here altogether unknown. Respecting their ornaments, indeed, they are somewhat capricious. The kind of beads that pleased them last year, and for which they were then ready to give the very highest price, is now in all probability deemed mere refuse; a new description having been seen hanging at the ear or breast of a Chief, gives rise to fresh demands at the market, and throws all the rest, however beautiful, into the shade. But with regard to their general costume, this is manifestly the same, both in cut and kind, that their ancestors wore from time immemorial. Its simplicity seems to have been preserved throughout succeeding generations without the least alteration. Their minds appear never to have reverted to the practicability of improvement, either in point of comfort or appearance. Now, however, they are beginning to make innovations upon their old system; and on every station may be seen numbers of both sexes clad in European apparel of some description or other. In proportion as they become attached to, and have intercourse with, the Mission family, they evince an increasing desire to assume our appearance, and to dress in a similar way. This, of course, at first, and until they become acquainted with the shape and mode of putting on the different articles, often produces ludicrous sights; the good lady being sometimes seen gaily promenading with the petticoat, or gown skirt,

suspended from the neck instead of the waist; and the gentleman strutting about in a check shirt and a pair of leathern trowsers, with as much consequence as a first-rate English dandy.

‘The men’s ornaments are much the same as those of the women. Their arms, above the elbows, are often adorned with broad ivory rings, cut out of the solid part of an elephant’s tusk, well polished. From the wrist upwards, there are frequently as many as thirty bracelets, made of iron or brass; and metal rings are also worn on the legs, just above the ankles. In addition to great quantities of beads, various other things are suspended from the neck, such as small pieces of cedar wood, the bones and teeth of certain animals, &c. These, however, are regarded as a kind of charms, rather than ornaments. Round the heads of the Chiefs are sometimes seen narrow straps, thickly studded with different coloured beads, singularly and tastefully arranged; and on going to war, the complete wings of the blue crane, fastened on each side of the head, constitute their national plumes. Many decorate their legs with the hairy extremity of a favourite cow’s tail, or with that of some wild beast that has fallen under their spear in the chase. This is attached to the knee, and hangs down the shin. The ears of all, with comparatively few exceptions, are bored; and amongst some of the tribes this practice is carried to an extravagant extent, distending the lobes to the very uttermost, and leaving holes of enormous size.’

‘The wealth of the Amakosæ and other tribes inhabiting this part of Africa, consists not in abundance of gold, silver, or precious stones; to them these things, so eagerly pursued by the civilised nations of the earth, would be mere dross. Neither do magnificent houses, nor splendid furniture, as we have already observed, constitute objects of glory here. Large herds of cattle are accounted the greatest and most valuable riches that man can possess; and the increase of his stock, together with the various means by which that increase may be most fully ensured, is the subject of daily study with every native from the time that he is at all capable of engaging in the affairs of life, to the very last moment of his earthly career. This, in short, is the end of all his exertions, and the grand object of all his arts. His very heart and soul are in his herd; every head is as familiar to his eye as the very countenances of his children. He is scarcely ever seen shedding tears, excepting when the Chief lays violent hands upon some part of his horned family; this pierces him to the heart, and produces more real grief than would be evinced over the loss either of wife or child.

‘Beads, brass-wire, and gilt buttons rank next in point of value. These, in fact, answer the two grand purposes to which gold and silver are applied in Europe, viz., trade and aggrandisement. They constitute the bullion of the country, and the sole medium of exchange, with the exception of a spear, which is occasionally given in part of payment. In former days the returns consisted of cattle only; but since the door has been thrown open for export to the colony, ivory and hides also have become staple commodities. For the elephant’s tusk they had formerly no other use than that of cutting it up into rings for bracelets; but, now that they have a regular market, that class of

ornaments has in a great measure disappeared. As we have already remarked respecting their ruling propensity, the grand end in every thing seems to be the augmentation of their stock: hence they will seldom receive any article, however valuable in our estimation, for their staple commodities, that will not in some way or other enable them to make an accession to their herd.

‘ Sheep, goats, and horses have but recently been introduced into the country; until lately, therefore, the pack ox constituted the only beast of burden with which they were at all acquainted. Now indeed we meet with a small flock of goats here and there, particularly amongst the Amatembu, which have from time to time been imported from the colony. Horses also are to be seen scattered over the country, some of which have doubtless been stolen from the colonists, and others left on the field as cast-aways in the different expeditions made by the latter against the bordering clans. Many of the young Chiefs are becoming real Bedouins in their fondness for these animals; and some of them now possess very fine studs, which they are annually increasing. They have been much encouraged and assisted within the last four or five years by travellers and military gentlemen, who have presented them with horses of a superior description. The principal use, however, which they make of those serviceable creatures, is that of the chase, in which they are quite as merciless as the wildest Arabs we are acquainted with. I was much amused with the manner in which the old Chief one day tauntingly upbraided his sons with not being able to use their legs since they had got *amahashi* (horses) to carry them. “This,” said he, “was not the case when S’Lhambi was young; we then thought it no task to journey on foot, or to try the strength of our limbs in hunting. But things are altered now!”

‘ Their manner of life is truly patriarchal, and their general diet extremely simple. This ordinarily consists of milk, which, like the Arabs and Foulah nation of Western Africa, they invariably use in a sour curdled state. It is called *amaaz*, and rendered thus thick and acidulous by being kept in leathern sacks or bottles, the appearance of which is filthy in the extreme, and, to the eye of a stranger, exceedingly disgusting. Those vessels are replenished with fresh milk from the cow, morning and evening; this is generally poured in an hour or two before they draw off that designed for family use. It is sometimes kept in calabashes (gourd shells); but in these it often contracts a peculiar and disagreeable taste. New milk is seldom used, excepting by children; nor does it ever undergo any other preparation than that already mentioned. This forms the Kaffers’ standing dish; and next to this, a bowl of boiled corn. The grain most commonly cultivated by the tribes of Southern Africa is a species of millet, or guinea corn, *holcus sorghum*, called *amazimba* by the Kaffer, and *mabali* by the Boochuana. It is used in different ways; but most commonly in a boiled state. When thus prepared, it is served up in small baskets, out of which each helps himself, making his hands serve as a succedaneum for spoons. Seasoning of any kind is seldom used: excepting when mixed with a little milk, the bare grain constitutes the sole ingredient of the mess. It is sometimes pounded between two stones with the hand, (corn-mills being altogether unknown in Caffraria,) and

made into a kind of pottage; and at other times formed into thick cakes, which are always baked on the hearth, amidst hot embers, after the manner of the ancients. Indian corn also is cultivated, but not so extensively; pumpkins likewise, together with a few other esculent plants. But of the latter they seldom lay up any store; consequently they are only useful while the season lasts: and this is in a great measure the case with maize also; for while it continues in season, both young and old are seen parching and eating it at all hours of the day. A species of sugar-cane, called *imfe*, is grown in great abundance: of this the natives are remarkably fond, on account of its sweet and succulent quality. A decoction of it, as likewise of the Indian corn-stalk, is sometimes made for the purpose of sweetening their mess of millet. Add to the above an occasional feast of animal food, and we have the diet complete of a strong and able-bodied people. They seldom sit down to more than one good meal a day; and that is in the evening, about an hour before bed-time: an occasional draught of milk is generally all they take beside. Few indeed are the wants of nature, whilst the appetite remains unenthralled by the vitiating influence of luxury. The spontaneous productions of the vegetable kingdom constitute their chief dependence, as it regards subsistence, in all cases of emergency.

‘Being almost entire strangers to the nature and use of spirituous liquors, they are in a great measure free from many of those disorders which are so dreadfully destructive in other countries. There is indeed a sort of metheglin which they make when wild honey is plentiful: of this they sometimes drink to excess.’

‘The most prominent trait, however, in the character of the Kaffer, is decidedly that of the herdsman, rather than the warrior; for, as already intimated, he is never so happy as when engaged in something that is calculated either to increase the numbers or improve the appearance of his cattle. Such is his daily attention to these, that one out of a thousand would be immediately missed. His perfect acquaintance with every little spot on the hide, turn of the horns, or other peculiarity, after having seen an animal once or twice, is indeed astonishing, and says much for his powers of observation.

‘Although he may have numerous servants or vassals at his command, it is accounted no disparagement for an *Incos enkulu* (great Captain or Chief) to be seen tending his own herds. The numerous and fantastical shapes into which they twist the horns of many of their oxen, give them a singular and often an unnatural appearance. This is of course done while the horn is flexible, and capable of being bended any way without difficulty to the operator, or injury to the beast. Their expert management and perfect command of oxen is such as often furnishes demonstrative evidence of the knowledge these creatures possess of their respective owners, whose singular manœuvres as well as language might seem to be instantly comprehended by them. One of their most favourite amusements is that of racing young cattle, which are sometimes made to go at an astonishing rate: on these occasions, a native, on horseback and at full gallop, frequently leads the van. The winning ox is lauded to the very skies, and the praises of the multitude pronounced upon it in the most vociferous manner.

‘ The erection of cattle-folds likewise constitutes a part of the men’s employ. These, however, being of the most simple description, require no great pains or labour. They seldom consist of any thing more than a quantity of thorns, placed so as to form a circular hedge, the vacancies and openings in which are carefully filled up with smaller branches. These enclosures are sometimes made with posts and boughs closely woven together as a kind of lattice-work ; and when the colder season sets in, every breach and interstice is filled up, lest the wintry blast should destroy any of their flock. As they are absolutely obliged to collect and bring home the cattle every night, in order to preserve them from wolves and other beasts of prey, every man is extremely anxious that his herd should lie as dry and as warm as possible ; and considerable judgment is generally evinced in their choice of situations for this purpose. With this view, the sloping sides of hills, facing the rising sun, are invariably preferred as places of residence. But there is, moreover, another reason for their making the *ubuhlanti* as comfortable as possible : like the bantang of the Mandingo tribes in Western Africa, it is invariably made the place of general resort and concourse.’

‘ Some of the natives are by no means the most contemptible artisans. Had they but proper tools, and a little instruction as to the use of them, their *abakandi* (smiths) would in all probability soon excel. The remoter tribes are far in advance of the Kaffer, as it regards the smelting of iron. Nevertheless, when it comes into his hand in a malleable state, the latter is able to shape it to his purpose with great ingenuity. Their hammer, as well as anvil, seldom consists of anything more than a common hard stone, with which, however, they manage to give a neat finish to spears of different forms, metallic beads, and small chains : bracelets also, both of iron and brass, are frequently manufactured by these self-taught mechanics with considerable taste. Much genius and clever workmanship are sometimes displayed in the blade of the *umkoncto* (assagai) which constitutes their principal weapon, offensive and defensive. In addition to this, the *Umkandi* makes a small description of hatchets, which, although most inefficient in the estimation of a European, serve every purpose for which the natives want them. Being intolerably fond of smoking, numbers employ themselves in the manufacture of wooden pipes : but in these they seldom display either taste or industry, as they are in general prodigiously clumsy.

‘ The various wars that have taken place within the last few years among the tribes higher up the coast, and in the interior, have been the means of throwing amongst the southern clans numbers of poor destitute exiles, who, from their being acquainted with the art of smelting metallic ores, are likely to prove very useful, both to the Amakosæ and Amatembu. These strangers have several peculiar customs, which differ entirely from those of the Kaffer. Like the Boochuanas, they use abundance of snuff, and only smoke occasionally ; whereas the others smoke constantly, and seldom or never take snuff. A small bottle, curiously formed of a kind of gelatinous matter, serves as the substitute for a box, and is usually suspended by a string, either from the neck or some part of the *ingubo*. To this is attached a small ivory



spoon, with which they serve up the contents, in such measure as always to cause copious streams to flow from the eyes. This unfortunate people, being bereft of their country and their all, are glad to become herders, vassals, or any thing, in order to avoid utter starvation. As servants, they appear to be faithful to the trust confided in them. There is, however, nothing of the sprightliness and vivacity of the Kaffer about them: on the contrary, their countenances are in most instances strongly marked with something of a jejune and sorrowful cast.' *Kay*, pp. 108—111; 113—117; 119—124; 145, 146; 126—129; 133, 4.

In some things, the Kosa Kaffers are very particular in their habits; in others, unspeakably disgusting. They will not eat swine's flesh, except a species of wild hog; nor will they touch the flesh of the elephant, which the Bechuana tribes devour with eagerness. They have also a great antipathy to fish, poultry, and eggs; rejecting, in fact, all meats considered as unclean by the Arabs. Yet they are in other respects by no means nice or cleanly in their diet. 'Plain animal food, either broiled or boiled, without salt, seasoning, or vegetable, is the greatest luxury a Kaffer desires.' With regard to their morals, Mr. *Kay* gives a very unfavourable representation of these tribes. It is not very easy to exaggerate the darkness of heathenism, and the deeds of darkness which it licenses; but other authorities of the highest respectability represent the Southern Kaffers as far from being characteristically depraved or dissolute, compared with other heathens, with the exception of some of the chiefs, whose atrocities ought not to be regarded as a fair standard or sample of national manners. It is not a little singular, that, upon such points, a Missionary so long resident among them should quote the superficial remarks of Barrow.

In the above description, the reader will have observed the mention of several traits or customs in which these Kaffers bear a resemblance to the nations of Western and Northern Africa; and various other points of similarity are incidentally adverted to. Barrow, on the strength, chiefly, of their practising circumcision, and their 'Arab countenance,' infers their affinity to the wandering Arabs known by the name of Bedouins. With equal reason might the Mandingoes, Soolimas, and other tribes of Western and Central Africa, be supposed to be of Bedouin origin, among whom circumcision is practised alike by moslem and pagan, and with rites and customs very similar to those observed by the Kosa Kaffers. To the Soolimas, of whom Major Laing gives so interesting a description, they would appear, from Mr. *Kay's* account, to bear even a physical resemblance. The young women of both nations are often, we are told, beautiful; but the hard servitude of the marriage state soon destroys their natural charms,



and renders them at an early age disgustingly ugly. Both among the Soolimas and the Kosas, building, digging, and other laborious occupations devolve upon the females; while the preparation of the clothing—the sewing and washing among the Soolimas, the dressing of the calves' skins for the *inguboes* among the Kosas—is undertaken by the men. Mr. Kay uses nearly the same words that Major Laing employs in describing the rude judicial customs of the Soolimas:—‘ Their palaver-house, like the Roman forum, is in the open air; and all persons are entitled to the privilege of hearing the debates.’ The same display characterizes their forensic exhibitions. In short, Mr. Kay, who repeatedly refers to Major Laing’s account of the Soolimas, would seem, in the following passage, (whether intentionally or not,) to have transferred his description of them to his Kaffers.\*

‘ In their public harangues a man is seldom interrupted, although his speech be continued for hours together; but during this time his antagonist is all attention: when he rises to reply, every argument that has been adduced is taken up in the exact order in which it was delivered, and with as much precision as if answered at the very moment. Memory is their only note-book; and although apparently put on many occasions to the severest test, they seldom seem to labour under any material difficulty in bringing up all the details of the subject by the astonishing powers of recollection. Their language on those occasions is generally strong and nervous, and their manner exceedingly manly and dignified. Even the children, when about to reply to the most simple questions, step forward, throw back the head, and extend the arm; and give to their words a full, slow, and clear enunciation.

‘ “ The decisions of these Caffrarian judges,” says a correspondent in

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\* The following is the corresponding passage in Major Laing:—‘ In the palavers of the Soolimas, an orator may harangue an assembly from sun-rise to sun-set, without the smallest opposition from those who differ from him in opinion; and his antagonist will, from memory, reply to every part of his speech, the next day, as regularly as if he had kept notes.’ Again, Mr. Kay says: ‘ The Kaffer chiefs are in all cases both legislators and judges; whilst “ the old men” and favourite courtiers form a kind of jury and council too.’ Major Laing says: ‘ The elders are always consulted by the king on matters of moment, and are addressed by him as fathers.’ Once more: ‘ The infidelity of the Soolima women,’ says the Major, ‘ is a never failing source of litigation here.....as I could perceive from the numerous palavers brought before the king.’ ‘ This,’ says Mr. Kay, after citing the passage, ‘ is precisely the case in every part of Kafferland: quarrels and prosecutions are continually springing from this very same source.’

one of the colonial newspapers, "are generally founded on precedents which are treasured up in the memories of the old, and eagerly learned and carefully recollected by the young. The following singular case, which is said to have occurred some years ago, will perhaps give the reader some idea of the state of Kaffer law. A calf in its way to the world, or, in other words, when but half delivered, was killed by a dog. The case was brought before the king, and a defence was set up on the ground that the animal destroyed never belonged to the plaintiff, and could no more be considered as a part of his herd, than a calf to be born twelve years hence. Neither the judge nor any of his elders could recollect a case in point; and hesitating to establish a precedent even in so simple an affair, he despatched messengers to all the other Chiefs for advice upon the subject. Each of them called together the old men of their respective tribes, and demanded their opinion; and all sent back a reply stating that a similar case had never, to their knowledge, been discussed before. The king then ordered the matter to lie over until his doubts should be removed; and with this resolution both parties are perfectly satisfied." pp. 154, 5.

To these coincidences may be added, that, among both nations, marriage is a commercial bargain, the bride being purchased of her parents; and the rites of sepulture (a privilege not extended, however, to the common folk) are strikingly similar.

As amongst the Soolimas, so also here, the grave of a Chief is held sacred. By the tribes in the interior, it is usually dug right under the fold-hedge, which is generally made of thorns or branches of the *acacia giraffæ*. These are of course easily removed; and the breach being repaired again, the fold is used as formerly. But by the Amakosæ and Amatembu, &c., a distinct enclosure is not unfrequently made for the purpose; and after the place of sepulture has been covered up, two or three persons who have been employed as sextons, are then appointed to keep and see that it is not disturbed either by man or beast. A certain number of cattle are now placed upon it; to the benefit of which these men are exclusively entitled. The milk and the increase are said to be at their disposal; but the original stock they are not allowed to touch, the animals of which it consists being hereby destined to live as long as nature and circumstances may permit; after which their carcasses must be burnt and entirely consumed. The task of these keepers in some instances continues for years; during the whole of which period they are regarded by their neighbours and friends as "dwellers among the tombs." In course of time, however, they are relieved; upon which the spot is deserted, and the enclosure falls to the ground. Nevertheless the place is marked and well known throughout the tribe, and no one dares to commit any trespass upon it whatever. Several old graves have been pointed out to me at different times, and in different parts of the country; and I could not help remarking that the very brambles and bush which have arisen upon them remain perfectly undisturbed, while even the grass itself is not suffered to be burnt or destroyed, although forty or fifty years, at least, must have elapsed since those Caffrarian rulers were consigned

to their dusty beds. The war-like Chief Gachabi, as has been already noticed, was slain by a party of the Amatembu, against whom he had proceeded with hostile and predatory intentions; but although his death took place at a considerable distance from home, and his body in all probability was devoured in the field, his mantle, ornaments, and remaining spears were all gathered up and carefully buried, and the place is called "Gachabi's grave" to this day.' pp. 195, 6.

Connected with their funeral rites are some usages still more remarkable, from their being evidently the traditional relics of an ancient civilization.

'When death has occurred in a village, all its inhabitants fast, abstaining even from a draught of milk the whole of that day, and sometimes longer. A man who has lost his wife, is required by custom to fast for several days, and to withdraw himself from society for the space of two or three weeks; during which he wanders about in some solitary and desert spot, without either comfort or companions. He not only keeps at a distance from the dwellings of men, but casts away his only garment, which is henceforth accounted unclean. His daily subsistence is derived entirely from a precarious supply of roots or wild fruits, &c.

'The widow's lot is harder still. On the death of her husband, she in like manner retires to the forest or the wilderness, where she is obliged to remain for a much longer period than custom requires of the man. Her means of subsistence are equally precarious; a little water from the brook, and a few bulbous or gramineous roots, generally constitute the whole of her supply of food. No one feels any concern about her, nor is any inquiry made as to whether the poor creature be living or dead. If she return, well; if not, her absence is treated as a matter of the utmost indifference. After wandering about in solitude for two or three days, she throws away her upper garment, which, as mentioned above, is henceforth deemed impure. She is now of course entirely exposed, without covering by day, or shelter at night. Having spent a few days more in this state, she cuts and lacerates different parts of her body with sharp stones, until the blood flows in streams. The numerous scars left by wounds made on those occasions have in several instances been repeatedly shown to me. The hut in which she dwelt with her deceased husband is then burnt; consequently, she is obliged to erect a new habitation, or be dependent upon her friends for accommodation. When the days of her mourning are over, and the subsequent new moon makes its appearance, a number of cows or oxen, (if the husband had any,) proportioned to the number of wives that he had, are slaughtered, and new garments made for each, from the hides of them. And this appears to be the only portion of his property that is awarded to them by law. Henceforward, unless a female of some rank, she hath no protector, she sinks under an intolerable burthen of drudgery, and is constantly constrained to be the servant of sin. How great and manifold are the horrors of Paganism! And how great the contrast between its principles, and those of Christianity! This, by its benign influence, ameliorates the condition

of the destitute, and gives special commands concerning the defenceless, "the widow and the fatherless;" but that systematically destroys them on the funeral pile, or leaves them to perish in want and wretchedness.

When S'Lhambi died, the people of his tribe, both men and women, great and small, shaved their heads; which is said to be a general practice at the death of a great Chief. The inhabitants of his hamlet, together with those of the adjoining ones, appear to have fasted on that occasion until the third day; men, women, and children then proceeded in due form to the river for the purpose of purification, after which ceremony all were allowed to indulge in their favourite repast. His wives, (ten,) like those of the most common subject, were immediately obliged to conform to the general custom. Their garments and caps, &c., were all burned, their beads and other ornaments given away, and they themselves necessitated to repair to the wilderness in a state of comparative nakedness.' pp. 199—201.

Still more remarkable are their notions of defilement from touching the dead, from child-birth, from leprosy, and other causes of ritual uncleanness among the Hebrews. Their practice of cutting and tearing themselves, and of shaving or 'making baldness upon their heads,' in token of grief and lamentation, are also heathenish customs of great antiquity, as appears from numerous passages in the Old Testament. That these coincidences indicate any affinity between either the Arabs, the Jews, or the Soolimas, and these Kaffers, we will not affirm; for customs strikingly similar are found common to nations widely differing in their physiological character. The Soolimas are *Kaffers* in religion, some of their chiefs and elders only having embraced Mohammedism. In person, Major Laing describes them as 'short and muscular.' Their native weapons are the sling and the bow, and they have not yet learned to make effective use of the musket. Like the Kaffers, they are acquainted with the medicinal virtues of several plants, and practise cupping. Respecting their language, we have no precise information. It would seem to be either a dialect of the Mandingo, or that spoken by the aboriginal inhabitants of the Jallonka country. The word *Solimana* signifies, in Mandingo, a class or society. Yet from the Mandingoes, as well as from the Foulahs, with whom they were formerly in close alliance, the Soolimas are distinguished by very marked differences. We are not a little disappointed at finding no new light thrown by Mr. Kay upon the very singular dialect of the Southern Kaffers, notwithstanding his long residence in their country. The whole of the information respecting their language, is taken from Thompson and Barrow. Surely Mr. K. might at least have collected materials for a vocabulary. He does not even seem to be aware of the remarkable peculiarity in the language mentioned by Mr. Thompson; that the plural of many nouns is formed by prefixing the particle

*Am* or *Ama*; as *Kosa*, *Amakosa*; *Tymba*, *Amatymba*; *Umlào* (a Hottentot), *Ammulào*, the Hottentots.\*

Our knowledge of the African dialects is at present so imperfect, that we are unable to say whether this prefix is found in any other language. It may deserve mention, however, that the Arabic MS. account of the kingdom of Takroor, of which Captain Clapperton obtained a translation, refers to a tribe of the Tawarek, called *Amakeetan*. According to this account, in which some historical facts are evidently blended with anachronisms and errors, a division of Barbarians (shepherds and herdsmen) emigrated from Yemen, or Southern Arabia, long before the Christian era, and had their first settlement in 'the country between Zanj and Abyssinia,' whence they are stated to have spread westward into Kanoom, and to have 'settled there, as strangers, under the government of the Tawarek, who were a tribe related to them, and called *Amakeetan*.' But they soon rebelled against them, and usurped the country, and extended their dominions greatly, till at length their government became weakened, and their power destroyed. Mr. Barrow affirms, that to the Ethiopians or Abyssinians, the Kaffers bear a strong resemblance. But, under the names of Ethiopian and Abyssinian, many very distinct and different races are confounded. That to some of these the Kosas are allied, is highly probable; possibly, to the Amharic family. To the Tuarick, or Berber tribes of the Desert, they can bear no affinity; their language being of quite a different structure and sound, and, like the Fellatah, (styled by Balbi the Italian of Africa,) abounding in liquids. Mr. Kay has given (at p. 277) a translation of the Lord's Prayer into Kaffer; which varies, however, very materially from that furnished by Mr. Brownlee, and given in the Appendix to Mr. Thompson's Travels; so much so as to shew the great difficulty of reducing to precise forms an unwritten jargon. *Bào*, Father, as given by Mr. Brownlee, is written by Mr. Kay, *Ubawo*, which comes near to the Houssa word, *Ubana*. In the second and third petitions, the two versions have scarcely a word in common, except *gama* or *igama*, name; which may be suspected of being a coined word. *Sipe*, give, *isonka*, bread, and a few other simple terms not easily mistaken, occur in both. The choice of the Lord's Prayer, however, as a specimen of a barbarous language, is injudicious, since many of the words convey abstract ideas for which no such language can furnish equivalent expressions, till it

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\* In an extract already cited, Mr. Kay says, that millet is called *amazimba* by the Kosas, and, by the Bechuanas, *mabali*. Both these are plural nouns. *Abafundis*, teachers; *abafazi*, women; *abakandi*, smiths; seem to be plurals formed on a similar principle, if, indeed, the prefix be not the same.

has undergone some cultivation. Moreover, a different choice of terms, and a different orthography, as in the two specimens in question, may give to the same dialect an appearance as dissimilar as that of two distinct languages. It is only by examining the laws which govern the inflexions, combinations, and collocation of words, that we can discover satisfactorily, to what philological family a language primarily belongs. Like the Chinese, the Kaffer has no sound answering to R, for which L is substituted, as *Kalumna* for *Krumna*. Barrow affirms, that it has neither nasals nor gutturals; but it seems to have borrowed one of the clucking sounds of the Hottentot, represented, in the orthography adopted by the Missionaries, by the letter X. Another remarkable peculiarity in the language, termed by the Missionaries, 'the euphonic or alliterical concord,' by which the initial syllables of the governed words undergo permutation to assimilate them to the governing word, seems to be in some degree analogous to the mutations of consonants, in construction, which take place in the Celtic dialects as well as in Sanscrit. Thus, a verb receives a prefix corresponding to the initial letter of its nominative; as *indodo ihamba*, the man goes; *untana uahamba*, the child goes; *inkobo ihamba*, the ox goes; *xinkobo xiahamba*, the oxen go. In like manner, pronouns seem to undergo a mutation; as *Bā-wetu*, Our Father; *xona xetu*, our sins; *sonka setu*, our bread. The reverse of this takes place in Welsh, where, the pronoun or preposition remaining unchanged, the initial syllable of the noun undergoes mutation.\* In Sanscrit, euphony governs the changes of initial letters and terminations; whereas, in the African dialects, the governing principle is alliteration, which is the euphony of all barbarous nations. Still, it is curious to find in languages of so different a character, principles so closely analogous.

Although Mr. Kay has not added much to our knowledge of either the languages of Southern Africa, or the characteristic manners and customs of the Kaffers, his work will be interesting to the class of readers for whom it is designed, as containing a minute account of the commencement and progress of the Wesleyan Missions in Caffraria, interspersed with much amusing illustration and anecdote. These Missions stretch through the entire extent of Amakosina, or the country of the Kosa Kaffers, into that of the Amatymba (or Tembas) and Amasponda, as high as the Umtata river on the eastern coast, not far south of Port Natal, to which a regular inland route is now established for traders from the Colony. The chief stations of this Mission are, Wesleyville, a Missionary settlement between 10 and 12 miles

\* See Prichard on the Celtic Nations, pp. 32—33.



from the mouth of the Kalumna, in the territory of Pato's tribe, one of the most powerful on the borders of the Colony; Mount Coke, 15 miles from Wesleyville, on a rivulet which flows into the Buffalo River, in Iskhambi's tribe; Morley, on the Umtata River, in Dapa's tribe; Butterworth, in the territory of Hintsa, the most powerful of the Kaffer chiefs, 110 miles from Wesleyville; Platberg, in the Bechuana country, north of Yellow River; and Lily Fountain, near the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand. The London Missionary Society have stations also in the Kaffer country, near the Buffalo River; at Griqua-town, 580 miles N. E. of Cape-town; at Campbell, 30 miles E. of Griqua-town; at Philippolis, on the northern side of Cradock River; at Boesman's, three miles from the Orange River, and five from the Caledon; at Lattakoo, in the Bechuana country, 630 miles N. E. of Cape town; at Komaggas, on the frontier of Little Namaqualand, within the Colony; and at Steinkopff, in Namaqualand. The Moravians have also a missionary settlement in the Tambookie country; and the Glasgow Missionary Society have a missionary stationed at Chumie, the largest settlement in Caffraria. Of Wesleyville, founded in 1823, we transcribe the following description.

The country between the Keiskamma and the Mission village is distant of eight or nine miles, is extremely broken, presenting to the eye nothing but rugged hills and deep dales, until we come within a mile or two of the Institution. . . . The site of the Mission village is a low rocky ridge, with a beautiful valley at its base. The view is enriched by a line of large yellow-wood trees, (*Taxus*, Lin.) which runs through the foreground, and forms a delightful shade in the summer season. At the foot of these, meanders a small rivulet; the water of which, however, is far from being either good or abundant. It partakes of a strong mineral quality; and in times of drought, almost disappears, excepting in the deeper parts of the channel; there it lodges in pools, and sometimes becomes almost stagnant. Along its banks lie the Mission and other garden grounds. The soil is good, and capable of being rendered very productive. On the opposite side, and right in front of the Mission premises, stands the Chief's umsi, consisting of a few filthy, shattered, and exposed huts: Their appearance at a distance is not much unlike that of so many ant-hills. On the right, the prospect is bounded by precipices, and a rough stony ridge. Here the mimosa, and various kinds of shrubbery, are thickly scattered about. In the opposite direction, the eye roams over a fine grassy plain, well studded in general with herds of cattle.

To the eastward and S. E., the appearance of the country is sterile indeed, until we arrive within two or three miles of the sea, where the view again changes. There the Chalumna (or *Ityolumnya*) presents to the eye a beautiful sheet of water, in which hippopotami are frequently seen playing about in considerable numbers. The estuary, however, like that of most of the other rivers on the coast, seems to be

barred at its entrance both by rocks and sand; so that it serves only to beautify the landscape. The banks are in many places almost level with the surface of the stream; and although the soil appears to be much impregnated with saline matter, there are on both sides very excellent pasture grounds. When the season is favourable, these are clothed with a luxuriant verdure, giving them the appearance of fine English meadows.' pp. 59; 61, 2.

The country known in the colony under the name of Cafferland, but which has received that of Amakosina, is a comparatively narrow strip, extending from the Colonial boundary to the Bashee or St. John's River; having the sea for its southern boundary, and on the north, a high ridge connected westward with the Winterberg, and stretching eastward toward Delagoa Bay. This range, Mr. Kay had repeated occasion to cross. It is an easy day's ride from the station called Mount Coke. Its elevation may be inferred to be considerable from the fact, that its summit is, during several months of winter, covered with snow.

Along the base there are, here and there, fine savannas, beautifully intersected with small clumps of trees, and carpeted with a rich variety of herbaceous plants. An excellent streamlet meanders amongst the shrubbery in the centre of the valleys, and gives life to the whole landscape. Having reached the foot of the principal ascent, we alighted, and began to climb on foot, but the heat of the day rendered our walk any thing but pleasant. On one part of the declivity, the path led through a dense forest of yellow-wood trees, (the principal timber of the colony,) some of which were the largest I ever saw.

The upper part of the mountain presented to the eye immense precipices, capped with large rhomboidal tablets and projecting angles, forming a kind of cornice to the face. On the sides of the declivities there was a description of prismatic quartz crystals, in a corroded state, and evidently undergoing the process of decomposition. Indeed, the change of quartz into clay, as has been justly remarked by different travellers, is perceptible in almost all the mountains of Southern Africa. Iron-stone was every where observable; and likewise considerable quantities of ochre, of different kinds: some few specimens I met with in the state of impalpable powder, enclosed in crustaceous coverings of a reddish colour, of the hardness and consistence of baked earthenware; sometimes in single nodules of an inch or two inches in diameter, but more frequently in clusters of two, three, or four nodules connected by necks, which are also hollow. In these stones, every shade of colour is said to have been found except the greens; but the most common are those of a pale yellow and chocolate brown.

On gaining the summit, fine grassy plains stretched before us; and, contrary to expectation, we found thickly inhabited hamlets in every direction. Upon inquiry it appeared, that this was made the summer residence and grazing-place of those clans that live along the base of the mountain. The pasturage was particularly good, and very abundant. The climate also seemed to be remarkably fine; and the general aspect of the country, the trees, and the shrubbery, strikingly

resembled those in many parts of England. Numerous hills, of beautiful limpid water, rippled in various directions, and within short distances of each other. Some of the streams poured forth from projecting rocks, which rendered them capable of being led out over hundreds of acres. Most of them ran over rocky beds; and the soil, although perhaps not very deep, was evidently such as might be made abundantly productive.

A superincumbent stratum of trapstone constituted one of the distinguishing features of the country: huge and detached masses of this were in many places standing several feet above the surface. These, like many others which had but just sunk to the level of the earth, exhibited every symptom of progressive decomposition; and, on their exterior, had numerous deep and perpendicular fissures of various dimensions. In some places there were vast eminences consisting entirely of this description of rock, around the bases of which the soil appeared to be amazingly rich, producing a great variety of young trees, shrubs, and frutescent plants, that were growing in the greatest luxuriance. On this account, the Kaffer females had in many instances selected those spots for their gardens, which were abundantly productive.

The numerous springs and fine streams of water found on these mountains, together with the rains that are frequently seen descending upon them, even when the lowlands are completely parched, fully account for the superiority of the rivers on this part of the coast. When we arrived at the foot of the second ridge, much more abrupt in its ascent, and far more naked in its general aspect, than the first, we crossed another strong stream rushing from the rocks amidst umbrageous woods that grew on each side of it. Its sound was heard some time before it appeared in sight. A more delightful site for a Mission village could scarcely be found, than the place where it issues forth, and where large fields might be laid completely under water if necessary. In its immediate vicinage, there is timber of various descriptions, sufficient for all the purposes of a large town; and the scenery is highly picturesque, as well as romantic. But, although a most desirable situation, the coldness of the climate in the winter season is a formidable obstacle, in the view of the natives, to its ever being made a place of permanent residence. And this objection will, in all probability, continue until the increase of population renders it absolutely necessary to occupy and cultivate all those extensive plains and glens, which at present lie entirely waste in different parts of Caffraria.

Having reached the highest point of this division of the chain, all the different districts of the chain were pointed out, down to the seacoast, which may be here distinctly seen when the horizon is sufficiently clear. We then commenced our descent on the opposite side, where the prospect was as forbidding as the one from which we had just turned was pleasing. It is almost impossible to give a correct idea of the difference between the country northward and that to the southward, although divided only by a narrow ridge, scarcely one-fourth of a mile across. Nothing but, barren vales and naked hills, with here and there a range of precipices or shelving rocks, was now

before us. At the bottom of the mountain stood a solitary hut or two, where we procured a bowl of sour milk, the only refreshment we could get.

‘The poor Bushmen formerly occupied that tract upon which we now entered, but which had long been entirely destitute of inhabitants. “Waste howling wilderness” was the most appropriate appellation I could find for it, and at once constituted the very best description. The lion and panther have uncontrolled domain; and while these have for years been feeding upon the different kinds of antelope and other game, it is but too evident that the human species also has been awfully wasted by the ferocity of such creatures, and by the barbarity of unenlightened men. A deadly hatred appears to have subsisted between the Kaffers and the tribes above-mentioned; and while dwelling so near each other, the latter availed themselves of every opportunity for committing depredations upon their more sable neighbours; who, in retaliating, were seldom satisfied with a bare recapture, but generally destroyed every Bushman, woman, and child that fell in their way. Thus were these poor creatures often driven either into the interior, where their enemies were equally numerous; or upon the colonial frontier, where the Boors were at that period equally cruel towards them. Hence it is scarcely possible to conceive of a situation more wretched, or of circumstances more deplorable, than those in which these wandering outcasts have ever been placed.’

‘The view around us was any thing but pleasing; for, besides the general aridity of the soil, there were evident traces of immense swarms of locusts, with which the whole country appeared to have been covered only a short time before. These devourers had left but a very scanty portion of grass for the beasts of the field. There were, nevertheless, large herds of gnoes, gazelles, and other graminivorous animals grazing on each side of us. How they all obtained food, is extremely difficult to conceive: neither tree nor bush was to be seen in any direction.’ pp. 94—100.

The plain above described extends to the base of a third chain of hills, behind which runs the Kae, one of the largest rivers of Caffraria, and the boundary between the Colony and the Amatymba territory. After winding round the back part of Winterberg, it takes an easterly course, and finally disembogues its enlarged stream into the Indian Ocean, a few miles below the dwelling-place of Hinza. Morley, a station only recently commenced, is delightfully situated in an elevated tract and a very salubrious climate. In the back ground, are deep and thickly-wooded ravines extending down to the sea, which is not more than from 15 to 20 miles distant. A few minutes’ walk to the eastward, the Umtata flows between precipitous heights, its channel forming ‘a perfect gulf,’ or rather chasm.

‘Nevertheless, dismal and inaccessible,’ says Mr. Kay, ‘as many of its gloomy recesses appear to be, they are thronged with people, to whom the tremendous precipice and rugged cliff seem beauteous, be-

cause a kind of rampart and place of refuge in times of danger. Out of these chasms it is almost impossible to draw the inhabitants by any consideration whatever. There only they feel secure; and as the mountain sides afford abundant pasturage, their herds thrive remarkably well. In the bottoms there are rich plots of garden-ground, capable of yielding abundantly, if properly cultivated. In the bed of the river I observed the castor-oil tree growing most luxuriantly; and fine timber was every where scattered about. Of this valuable material there is an excellent supply within a few hundred yards of the Mission premises; it, in fact, forms a fine grove, rich in deep and varied foliage, adding greatly to the beauty of the landscape. The surrounding population here is much more dense and crowded than that on the borders of the colony; the hamlets also are considerably larger, consisting in general of a much greater number of huts.

Right in front is the mountain chain, at the foot of which such lamentable havoc was made by our troops amongst the remains of the Mantatee host in June and July 1828. After the attack made by that powerful body of invaders on the Batclapees and other Boochuana tribes in 1823, and the repulse received by them from the fire-arms of the Griquas, they appear to have divided themselves into two armies. One of them proceeded in a north-easterly direction, and was scarcely heard of afterwards; but the other manifestly came down to the southward, dispersing and plundering the various clans that fell in their way. In the course of about two years, "upwards of one thousand fugitives, mostly in a state of extreme destitution, took refuge in the colony; a circumstance wholly unprecedented in any former period."

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"We proceeded along the western bank of the Umtata, having on our left an almost uninterrupted range of deep chasms, which terminated in the serpentine channel of the river below. The country all around is exceedingly broken, insomuch that travelling is in many places very difficult, and with waggons altogether impossible. A mixture of trap and sandstone still constitutes the characteristic features of the hill tops; but of the latter description there is here perhaps the greatest proportion. The soil is every where remarkably rich, and evidently calculated to yield an abundant recompence to the industrious cultivator. Most of the ravines are well wooded, and in several places I observed large timber growing on the very summits of the highest eminences. A tree very similar to our English elder, is here and there found in the valleys contiguous to the coast, and likewise a great variety of fine bulbs. Amongst these are two or three different classes of *amaryllis*, and also of the *cyrtanthus* tribe, the *obliquus*, and the *angusta folia*. (??) A variety of the *hyacanthus* too, the poisonous *toricaria*, is here sometimes met with, as also that beautiful plant, the *strelitzia reginae*, in considerable numbers. The land, being exceedingly high, must have a very bold and bluff appearance from the sea. Several of the mountains near the beach are rich in iron ore. At the mouth of the Umpakoo, there is a hill of a very singular description,

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and well worthy the careful attention of any traveller skilled in geology. It is composed principally of iron ore of irregular shape, with nearly perpendicular sides; it may be about one hundred yards long at the base, and thirty or forty yards high at the highest part. While waves dash against the southern side, its northern cliff forms a sort of dam to the waters of the river, which consequently collect and form a beautiful lagoon; but the object that more immediately arrests the traveller's attention in viewing this rock, is, a singular excavation which runs quite through from its northern to its southern side; thus forming a natural tunnel, which in height is about one-fourth the altitude of the hill itself, and wide enough to admit an ordinary-sized coal-barge. "I never before felt," says one of the brethren, "such sensations of admiration on viewing a landscape, as those I was constrained to indulge during the few minutes we halted to look at this spot. The undulatory hills on each side of the river; the lagoon at the foot of the iron mountain; the tremendous breakers incessantly roaring on the beach, and foaming through the perforation in the rock; the sun just setting; and, on the opposite side of the horizon, the pale moon, having 'filled her horn,' rising above the waters of the Southern Ocean, of which we had, at the same moment, an extensive view; formed altogether such a grand and beautiful constellation of objects, that I felt considerable regret on leaving the place." pp. 327—344.

In 'the deeper recesses' of the Umtata, our Travellers found themselves encompassed with native villages and a dense population, amid groves enlivened by birds of the richest plumage. Among these is the interesting little bird called the bee-cuckoo, (*cuculus indicator*,) or honey-bird. The whole of this region appears to abound with beautiful tracts of country. Between the Umzimvooboo or Hippopotamus River, (the southern boundary of the Zoola territory,) and Port Natal, there is a fine but depopulated tract from two to three hundred miles in extent.

'Messrs. Cowie and Green,\* who traversed it in the early part of 1829, inform us, that it is in many places beautiful beyond description, the meadows being carpeted with luxuriant herbage, and watered every hundred yards by copious rivulets, whose banks are level with the *prairies* through which they meander; rivers abounding with fish, hippopotami, and alligators; plains and hills here and there covered with gigantic forest-trees, attaining the height of 70 or 80 feet, and enlivened by herds of elephants. Vegetation also was rich beyond anything they had ever seen in the most favoured parts of the colony. The coast was abundantly supplied with oysters of two descriptions; and one part is mentioned, 20 or 30 miles in extent, which was literally white with this delicious esculent. The late Zoola conqueror

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\* Dr. Cowie, district surgeon of Albany, and his friend Mr. Benjamin Green, after succeeding in making their way overland to Delagoa Bay, fell victims to the climate, and perished in their homeward route in April, 1825.



completely desolated the whole of this district, leaving scarcely a single hamlet standing. Individuals, however, have again established themselves upon it. p. 395.

Since the death of this execrable barbarian, which he met at the hands of his own family and chiefs, Natal has been repeatedly visited by traders, who have made the journey overland without much difficulty, and have met with encouragement from the present Zoola chief. Mr. Kay recommends the establishment of a Mission station at Natal, as highly desirable: the country now presents no other obstacle to the introduction of Christianity, than is common to every other part of Caffraria. The general habits and manners of the Amasoolu (Zoolas or Votwabs) are, we are told, much the same as those of their neighbours, with one very remarkable exception. The rite of circumcision, universal among the Southern Kaffers and the Bechuanas, 'does not appear to obtain among either them or the Fingoes.'

The residence of the Zoola chief is at Nobambe, on the Zimtlanga, a river about 120 miles N. E. of Port Natal, which forms the westernmost and principal branch of the Umvolosia, or St. Lucia. Three other branches unite with this about 35 miles from the sea. Beyond these, a long defile leads through the Ingamanga or Black Tiger mountains, to a swampy country watered by several rivers; and a high range called the Bombo, running nearly N. and S., forms the last mountain barrier between the Zoola territory and Delagoa Bay. The Pongola river penetrates this range, and, after receiving the Umgovoombe, falls into the Mapoota, which, like the Pongola, its tributary, has its source in the western side of the Bombo mountains. Near the confluence of these streams are large lakes, filled with alligators, hippopotami, and fish, and surrounded with beautiful scenery. But danger and death lurk in every corner of this paradise. 'The insidious crocodile, the terrific boa, the treacherous tiger, and a pestilential atmosphere, conspire to mar these charms of earthly beauty.'

We cannot lay down Mr. Kay's volume without adverting to the revolting statements which it contains, of the cruelties perpetrated on the natives, not by Dutch boors only, but by English settlers, and the wholesale slaughter of defenceless men, women, and children, *by order of British authorities!!* We cannot here enter upon the painful subject, which claims other sort of notice than that of a critical journal. How is it that no representations have reached the British Parliament, of such a transaction as Mr. Kay refers to in terms like the following?

'If we had not heard the details of this sanguinary affair confirmed by more than fifty eye-witnesses, we could not possibly have given credence to it; so strange was the plan, and so barbarous its results.'

A respectable British officer whom duty required to be on the spot, candidly declared to the author, that it was one of the most disgraceful and cold-blooded acts to which the English soldier had ever been rendered accessory.' p. 331.

Another statement, not less discreditable to the national character, we give without any comment, though it supplies matter for many salutary reflections.

'Incredible as it may appear, there are now in Caffraria, Englishmen whose daily garb differs little from the beast-hide covering of their neighbours; whose proper colour can scarcely be identified for the filth that covers them; and whose domestic circles, like those of the chieftains themselves, embrace from eight to ten black wives.'

p. 401.

In the event of a second edition, we should recommend to Mr. Kay a very careful revision of his volume. The arrangement of the materials might be greatly improved, and other emendations, in the shape both of retrenchments and corrections, might be suggested. An index ought to have been furnished.

We must hasten to complete as briefly as possible our notice of Captain Owen's Survey. Of the whole coast from Zanzibar northward to Cape Gardafui, little correct information exists; and we regret that the account furnished in the present volumes is much less distinct than we could wish. Zanzibar is a low island, apparently of coral formation, but covered with a fertile soil producing abundance of grain and sugar. It is subject, together with the adjacent coast and islands, to the Imaum of Muscat. There are numerous harbours between Zanzibar and the main, formed by the islands and reefs, which are safe and not difficult of access; but 'within the shores of Zanzibar, there is 'not one land-locked port.' The climate is, to Europeans, very fatal. The general appearance of this part of the coast is low; but occasionally in the distance may be seen, 'curious insulated 'mountains, presenting a remarkable contrast to the general flatness of the country.' Excepting in one part, where the coast is 'a putrid marsh,' the shores are lined with villages, always rendered conspicuous by a lofty grove of cocoa-nut trees, in the midst of which they are built, and sometimes by the remains of an old Portuguese or Arabic building. Twenty-five miles north from Zanzibar, is another low coral island, called Pemba, extending 30 miles from N. to S. and 10 from E. to W. It is 18 miles from the main. The soil which covers the coral rock is so productive that it is the granary of the adjacent coast, its rice being of the finest quality. The Arabs call it '*Al Huthera* or Green 'Island.' It has a very fine port. Between Zanzibar and Pemba, the river Pangany falls into the sea. This part of the coast is little frequented, a few Arab dows only being met with; and the

coral reefs render the navigation dangerous. In one place, the surveying party found themselves within ‘ a complete labyrinth ‘ of coral rocks, rising abruptly from a depth of 17 feet to 80.’ One of huge dimensions over which the current bore them, came ‘ within a few inches of the keel.’ Opposite to Pemba, ‘ the ‘ shore is sandy, with, in some places, a small intervening cliff ‘ of coral; while parallel to it, at a distance of four or five miles, ‘ there exists a line of sand and coral reefs, with deep water between ‘ and inside, but to seaward nearly unfathomable.’ In lat. 6° 54’ 2” s., long. 39° 55’ 5” E. there is a small island formed of coral, called in the charts Latham’s Shoal, of which the description is worth transcribing. It will recal to the reader, the Pelican Island which Montgomery has clothed with the richest hues of poetry.

‘ It is of an oval shape, about 1000 feet long, and between ten and twelve feet high ; accessible only on the s. w. side, by a small shelving beach of coral sand. The surface is perfectly smooth, and composed entirely of the excrement of the numerous sea-fowl that resort thither. In some parts, this incrustation over the interstices of the coral is not sufficiently hard to bear the weight of a man, as several of our people, in the course of their peregrinations, rather disagreeably experienced. The feathered inhabitants, being unaccustomed to molestation, are perfectly fearless ; they appeared totally to disregard us, not even getting out of the way to avoid being trampled upon, and, if we attempted to touch them, they would endeavour, as far as was in their power, to repel the assailant with their sharp-pointed beaks. Some were of the sooty petterel kind, but by far the greater number resembled the gannet, and in point of size were little inferior to the goose. They presented a very singular appearance upon our landing, as the steep rocky wall of madrepore that bounded the surface of the island was covered by a complete phalanx of them, offering a most motley variety of shades, from the snow-white coats of the young to the dark bilious tint of the old ones. They hailed our approach by a shrill scream, and, without stirring, shot forth a lively expression from their bright golden eyes, deeply buried in the white downy mass that enveloped them. The surface of the island was literally covered with them ; some of the hens sitting on their eggs, others tenderly watching their young in their first sally from their nest, or awkward efforts to fly ; while the remainder, in large flights, alternately relieved one another in scouring the surface of the surrounding sea for fish, with which they returned in great numbers. Four of these that we took from them, together with some eggs, afforded the boat’s crew a hearty meal.’

Vol. I. pp. 432—33.

Several leagues to the north of Pembras, is the port of Mombas, which is described as one of the most perfect harbours in the world, and the road at the entrance is sheltered by an extensive reef on either side. This place has formerly been of some consideration ; and the red flag of the Arabs now flies upon a

substantial castle, erected by the Portuguese for its defence. It stands on an island three miles by two in extent, surrounded with cliffs of madrepore, and capable of being rendered almost impregnable. 'Nature has formed it like a huge castle, encircled by a moat, over which, at the back, there is but one dangerous ford, passable only during low water of spring tides.' The interior of the fort is now an indiscriminate mass of ruins, huts, and hovels; but, wretched as the place is, it is the residence of the 'reigning sheik or sultan of Melinda,' whose retainers constituted the garrison, amounting, women and children included, to about 200. The town is divided into two parts, one inhabited by Arabs, the other by Somaulies: excepting some houses erected on the ruins of old Portuguese buildings, they are all in the usual wretched state of Arab towns. The Arabs of Mombas had hitherto maintained their independence against the whole force of the Imaum of Muscat; but, dreading his resentment, they expressed an anxious wish to be taken under British protection. Captain Owen consented, on condition that they would abolish the slave-trade, to hold the place *ad interim*; but our Government have not thought proper to sanction the arrangement.

At Mombas begins the coast of Melinda. Of the city of that name, no traces would appear to be left. Its commerce was transferred to Mombas, after the latter place was conquered by the Portuguese; and the whole territory is now occupied by the much dreaded Galla. Near 'the small river Killeefy,' there formerly existed, we are told, 'a large town, which, many years back, after being repeatedly harassed by its more powerful neighbours, was finally attacked by the Galla, who burned the place, and butchered its unfortunate inhabitants.' It is strange that the name of this town should not have been ascertained, which may be Melinda itself. Proceeding northward, we next come to the mouth of the Ozy; and beyond this, the coast forms a head-land called *Ras Kattow*, which was ascertained to be in lat.  $2^{\circ} 19' \text{ s.}$ , long.  $40^{\circ} 52' 3'' \text{ E.}$  About three miles from this cape is the town of Lamoo, one of the best stations on the coast, and having much commerce. A fortress, about 100 yards square, and surrounded with walls between forty and fifty feet high, stands in the midst of an Arab town of houses, 'crammed together as close as space will allow, so as to admit of a narrow and always dirty alley intervening.' *Ras Kattow* seems to form the southern point of Patta Bay, and the island of *Kwyhoo* is situated near its northern entrance. Patta is the name of another Arab town and harbour. It was formerly one of the most wealthy of the petty Somauli sultanries on this coast. To the northward, the coast continues to be bordered with rocks and islets of madrepore, as far as the mouth of 'the Juba, or Wowweenda' (corrupted, probably, from Maleenda). This river is said to rise in Abyssinia, and to be

navigable by boats for three months' distance from its mouth. The bar is narrow, but has plenty of water. To the northward of this river, the only places which keep up any communication with the interior are Brava, Marka, and Mugdeesha. The latter, (written in the maps Magodoxa,) situated in lat.  $2^{\circ} 1' 18''$  s., long.  $45^{\circ} 19' 5''$  E., is the only town of any importance, being the mistress of a considerable territory.

' The port is formed by a long reef, extending to the eastward for four or five miles, within which is a narrow channel, with ten to twelve feet water at low spring tides. At a distance, the town has rather an imposing appearance, the buildings being of some magnitude and composed of stone. The eye is at first attracted by four minarets of considerable height, towering above the town, and giving to it an air of stilly grandeur; but a nearer approach soon convinces the spectator that these massive buildings are principally the residences of the dead, while the living inhabit the low thatched huts by which these costly sepulchres are surrounded. It is divided into two distinct towns, one called Umarween, and the other Chamgany, the latter of which may with justice be called "the city of the dead," being entirely composed of tombs. Umarween has nearly one hundred and fifty stone houses, built in the Spanish style, so as to enclose a large area. Most of the Arab dows visit this place in their coast navigation, to exchange sugar, molasses, dates, salt fish, arms, and slaves, for ivory, gums, and a particular cloth of their own manufacture, which is much valued by the people of the interior.

' The inhabitants appeared extremely jealous of strangers. Our officers, upon landing, were subjected to a species of imprisonment, being immediately shut up in a house, but with liberty to ramble about according to their inclinations within it. The only knowledge they gained of the town was, therefore, from the terrace of their place of confinement. This restraint was most respectfully but firmly enforced; and, to evince their friendly disposition towards us, a camel, a bullock, and a goat were brought to the beach for our use. The latter only was accepted by Captain Owen, to convince them that their probably necessary precautions had not produced an unfavourable impression.

' The language of these people differs from that of the Sowhylese, and very few understand Arabic; consequently their religion can be little more than form, as the Koran must be read in the original tongue. Their arms consist of a spear, with bows and arrows, while every Arab and Sowhyly carries a sword, one or two daggers, and a target.' Vol. I. pp. 357—58.

The word Sowhylese, in the above extract, we presume to be a typographical blunder, (though running through several pages,) since it is clear that they are the same people as the Somaules, described in the following paragraphs.

' The coast of Africa, from the Red Sea to the river Juba, is inhabited by the tribe called Somauli, apparently descendants from the aborigines of the country, who were early subjected to the Koran by the Arab merchants trading with them. They are a mild people, of

pastoral habits, and confined entirely to the coast; the whole of the interior being occupied by an untameable tribe of savages, called Galla, perhaps at the present time the most uncultivated and ferocious in existence.

‘ Between Cape Guardafui and the Straits of Babelmandel are two or three towns little visited or known by Europeans. One named Barbara, or Burbureen, is on the track of the caravans from the interior, whence the pilgrims and merchants embark for Jedda and Mecca. In the whole country from Guardafui to Mukdeesha there is not the least appearance of an inhabited spot, although we could observe abundance of camels and cattle, and it is said to possess a race of small wild horses. The commerce of this country appears to have been solely directed towards the Red Sea by means of caravans; in consequence of which, as the people are not themselves subject to the dangers of the sea, they have no feelings of compassion for those who are thrown on their shores. A wreck to them is a prize, and the unfortunate sufferers become their slaves, the misery of whose lot is heightened by every species of suffering, in order to enhance the value of their ransom.

‘ The information we were enabled to obtain respecting the government of these people, was very vague and uncertain; but by all accounts it possesses more the character of patriarchal tyranny than any other form. Our Arab reporters stated the whole country of the Somauli to be under one prince; but we were led to believe that it was ruled by as many chiefs as hordes, and as many tyrants as chiefs. It is, however, certain that either their poverty or valour has prevented any invasion of their country or rights; no foreign establishments have been formed upon their coast, neither are there any decayed monuments visible of either the Christians or Arabs, so that whatever may be their social compact, liberty is still their birthright.’

Vol. I. pp. 355—357.

These Somaulies are, in person, neither negroes nor Arabs. They are described by preceding travellers as having woolly hair, but not the flat nose of the negro, well-formed limbs, beautifully white teeth, and an expression of countenance neither fierce nor unpleasing. They detest the Arabs; and at Mocha, as at Mombas, where they reside in an Arab town, occupy a separate quarter. We cannot understand what is meant by their ‘pastoral habits,’ since they are clearly a maritime people, and have been termed Abyssinian mariners. Their language, according to Capt. Owen, is still spoken from Patta to Mozambique; and ‘strong evidences of it exist, in the various dialects, as far as the confines of our Cape Colony.’ But what that language is, we are left without the means of determining. The *Barra Somauli*, or land of Somauli, according to our present authority, includes the whole of the line of coast as far north as Cape Gardafui; divided by the Arabs into *Herab*, (Horeb?) or ‘mountainous country’, *Sef-tweel*, ‘the bald or declining shore’, and, north of *Ras ul Khyle*, *Hazine*, or ‘rough ground’: from this last word have



been formed the appellations, Ajan and Azania. The coast, for the eighty miles comprised under this designation, is rocky, varying from 200 to 400 feet in height. It terminates northward at the peninsula of *Hafoon*, which belongs to a native Somauli prince, who resides near *Ras Maber* (i. e. Cape Stand-off), the Cape Delgado of the maps. The country near Hafoon is populous, and ‘produces abundance of sheep, horses, camels, and cattle, with ‘plenty of excellent water by digging.’ Cape Gardafui, the north-eastern extremity of this line of coast, is a bold headland, called by the natives *Ras Assere*. ‘The high mountain immediately to its south, is named *Jebel Jordafoon*; near which is a ‘large pool of spring water, always full’; but whether a work of nature or of art, could not be learned.

Such is the whole amount of the information we have been able to glean from these volumes, respecting this part of the African coast. Although certainly scanty, it is not unacceptable, since it renders our previous information somewhat more distinct, and indicates the points which further inquiry should start from. It is evident that the Juba presents the only promising inlet to the interior on this part of the coast; and should the reports respecting it be correct, it must have its sources in the centre of the Galla country; probably in the southern declivity of the *Djebel al Kamar* or Mountains of the Moon. The most direct and accessible route into the interior, however, would seem to be the caravan track from Berber or Barbara; a town or territory on the northern coast, the name of which leads us to suppose that the carrying trade of that route is, like that of the Sahara, in the hands of the Tuarick or some of the Berber tribes. The Shillooks who command the ferry over the *Bahr al Abiad*, at Hellet Allais, on the route from Sennaar into the interior, are likely to be the same people. Recent information leads us to believe that the Berber tribes have diffused themselves very widely over the African peninsula; and we cannot help suspecting that the Galla will be found to be related to them. A comparison of the dialects of the Galla, the Berber Tuarick, the Fellatas, the Southern Kaffers, the Somaulies, and the Nubians, would be extremely valuable. A beginning has been made at different points, which requires but to be followed up in the same directions, to lead to important results. The Four Gospels have been translated into the Berber; and from Algiers, a way may be opened into the heart of Northern Africa. The Niger bids fair to secure us access to the most populous parts of the central region. Our missionaries are pushing upward their researches from the Cape. Abyssinia is the quarter to which we are now most anxious that our missionaries and travellers should be enabled to penetrate; and we cannot help wishing that an attempt were made

to ascertain the practicability of reaching Bornou by the caravan route from the north-eastern coast.

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Art. III. *A Tribute of Filial Sympathy to the Memory of a Beloved Father*; or, *Memoirs of the late Mr. John Morison, of Millseat, Aberdeenshire*; with *Characteristic Sketches of his Religious Connexions*: to which are added, the *Funeral Sermons* preached on Occasion of his Death, by his two Sons. Edited by John Morison, D.D. 12mo. pp. 284. London, 1833.

THE study of human nature, is, in every form in which it can be pursued, replete with interest, and, if rightly conducted, may always be rendered subservient to instruction. Biography is one of the modes in which this study presents itself, and, when properly written, and (what is of equal importance) properly *read*, answers, in a great measure, to personal observation of the world and man. The history of any mind whatever, if well told, would gratify and benefit a person who has learned to think; and, *however* told, would probably present many points that would excite interest and stimulate reflection. Far more interesting *biographies* (if we may so speak) have existed in the actual history of minds, as they have formed a part of the substantial 'story of the world,' than have ever been written, either for our amusement or our learning. Lives are *lived* before they are written; and those only are written, which happen to be rendered remarkable by external circumstances which draw towards them the attention of human society. If we were to suppose, however, an angelic society capable of reading the history of all minds in the first and original language in which they exist,—the language of thought and feeling,—of internal capacity, development, and progress,—it is probable that to *them*, the histories of deepest interest and amplest instruction would be found to be those of individuals whom nothing ever rendered, in the view of mortals, either eminent or remarkable. We confine these observations to what is purely intellectual—to what concerns the history of a *mind* as such; and do not mean to include in them those moral passages which belong to the history of the spirit: these, we know, angels do observe; by these they are profoundly affected; and these, in their estimation, impart to the story of "a way-faring man, though a fool," an importance and a grandeur far beyond any thing that can attach to the most gifted (if Godless) of our race, however mighty the achievements of his reason, or however dazzling the displays of his genius.

Great and gifted minds are not confined to any rank of society. Native power and original genius may be found as often at the loom and in the field, as in the courts of princes and

among the favourites of fortune. The great mass of clever and *talented* men are such as have been *made* what they are; such as all ordinary minds *might* be; such as exhibit, therefore, rather the effect of the elaboration of art, than the original, inwrought workmanship of nature. If any number of the minds that now compose the dull, rude rabble of mankind, had, at the time of their birth, changed places with an equal number of those who compose the upper and educated classes, they would have become just the men and women that those latter are; they would have exhibited the same average quality of capability and cleverness, with an equal number of individuals raised above the level of the rest, richly and munificently endowed. Such minds, without changing places with others, *are* born—born now,—of the mechanic, the boor, and the beggar; and the *unwritten* history of some of them, presents, perhaps, to superior natures, far more interesting ‘memoirs’ than any that were ever made into a book, and submitted to the study of mankind. We do not mean that *those* do this, who eminently develop themselves to the view of the world, and who, through propitious circumstances and events, actually change their place in society *after* their birth, and cease to belong to the base of the pyramid. We refer to such as continue there, and continue half unconscious themselves of their native nobility, and hidden entirely from the notice of the crowd. Of such minds in such circumstances, the deep musings, the wondering reveries, the ‘searchings’ of intellect and of heart, the unaided discoveries, the pure and virgin originality, the groping from principle to principle, the glimpses of the vast, the beautiful and the true,—may constitute a far more interesting and far more fruitful study, to higher intelligences, than the phenomena of other minds equally endowed, but aided in their development by assistances from without.

Gray says, in relation to the tenants of his Country Church-yard,

“Some mute, inglorious Milton here may rest.”

Minds as rich and elevated as the poet’s—as much fitted, naturally, for meditation, for argument and song—have, no doubt, found their way into the bodies of villagers and peasants; they may have remained ‘mute’ from their never learning to modify and utter the music within them, of the breathings of which they would be conscious, but would be unable to explain even to themselves: they might live and die ‘inglorious,’ because the earthly and sensual nature,—the outward man, whose wants and powers their condition in life compelled them constantly to consult, to serve, and to employ,—was never so long set aside, as to discover the holy fire burning within, in the sanctuary of the spirit. Thus ‘mute’ and ‘inglorious’ they might certainly be, in relation to earth; but motionless, still, torpid, their nature could *not* be;—

irrepressible thoughts and feelings would be theirs ;—strange moods would come over them ;—voices and visions would visit them ;—laughter and tears, agony and rapture, mirth and melancholy, would be prompted and indulged ;—opinions and prejudices formed and fostered ;—impulses and emotions experienced and obeyed ;—all which, to an intellect capable of penetrating the secrets of the inner man, would be observed, and observed with interest, as the instinctive strugglings of a nature, unconsciously to itself, aspiring and indignant. All this might be internal, and attract little or no attention in the circle of outward associates ;—except, perhaps, that now and then there might be things noticed, which would both induce regard, and occasion discussion ; some referring them to wisdom, and others to madness.

Now, we should like nothing better, than ‘a full, true, and particular account’ of all that constituted the mental history of one such ‘mute and inglorious Milton.’ Indeed, we should be glad to have the detail of the wanderings and workings—the speculations, conclusions, and doubts—the philosophy and the poetry—of any mind of native power, cast and continuing either in the fastnesses of moral barbarism, or amid the foulness and the filth of city workshops, garrets, and cellars. If any of the refined and fastidious children of fortune should imagine that nothing of the lofty or the beautiful could be expected among the original conceptions of those who are ignorant, wicked, or poor ;—let them remember, that, to the inhabitants of higher and purer regions, this earth may appear just as a dark, barbarous little village does to us ; that, with their holy and elevated views of virtuous attainment, the human species, as a whole, may affect them just as we are affected by the sight of a great, stout, brazen bully, who, amidst his blasphemy and dishonesty, shews great mental acuteness, and displays dashes of a grand and generous nature ; and that, with their state of accommodation and enjoyment, this planet of ours may seem to them a sort of St. Giles’s or Saffron-hill of the universe—a workhouse or Wapping of the world.

These speculations might easily be pursued much further ; but they have kept us too long perhaps, already, from the very interesting little book by which some of them have been suggested. The “*Memoirs of John Morison*,” by his son, Dr. Morison, which now lies before us, is creditable alike to the subject and the author. It is, to speak of it generally, a pleasing and interesting volume. The matter is such as no religious, and no philosophic mind can have placed before it, without feeling that it at once refreshes the heart, and furnishes food for deepest reflection. The style and manner are chaste, calm, and quiet ;—there is no effort and no affectation ; no attempt to dazzle, and no obtrusion on the readers, of either the author or the son. There are no very striking facts recorded ; still, the ‘life and times’ of

the Scottish villager are sketched with such simplicity and truth, that we feel deeply affected and interested by the account. Monarchs can confer titles of nobility, but they cannot give nobility of nature. There is a King who *can*; and He often bestows on the son of a peasant, what he withholds from the posterity of princes. John Morison was one of those, who, in the absence of all adventitious circumstances of birth and connections, received direct from the hand of God, properties of mind and heart which constitute the elements of true greatness. Still further, he became the recipient of that spiritual nature, in comparison with the attributes of which, all merely *natural* endowments vanish into air. As a man, his faculties were distinguished by strength and acuteness, and his feelings by warmth and activity: as a Christian, both were given, with all their energies, to God. He could do nothing heartlessly or by halves; he gradually assumed something of the character of a leader in the circle in which he moved, and, by his "works of faith and labours of love", was greatly instrumental in exciting and sustaining a revival of religion in the district around him, which has never subsided, and, we trust, never will.

We cannot enter into the minute details either of John Morison's mental or religious history—either of what he was, or of what he did. We must be content to be brief and general, referring our readers to the volume itself for the full portraiture. With the aid of literary advantages, the Scottish 'riddle-maker' might have been distinguished in the annals of Mind: as it was, 'when he went down to the gates of the grave,' says the affectionate memorialist, 'for general information and weight of Christian character, he left not his equal in the religious circle in which he moved.' The intelligence and general information which such ascendancy implies, was wholly self-acquired. 'His early advantages were peculiarly limited. The whole of his schooling could not cost more than *twenty shillings*!' 'He had imbibed, however, a taste for reading, and for mental improvement, when there was scarcely any thing but the natural vigour of his mind to incite him to such pursuits.' Mental power, where it exists, will act and shew itself in some form or other: where it is not developed in studious leisure, it will throw itself into the circle of every day occupations. Is there not a *best* way of fulfilling and executing the most common-place of these? And has not native ability for higher duties been often betrayed by early efforts to discover this? We think there is a great deal contained in the following statement, and a great deal in it interesting to the philosopher, however some might be disposed to smile at a record which they might deem beneath the dignity of history. Young Morison, 'at eleven years of age, by perseverance and determination, understood the handicraft business to

‘ which he had applied himself, better than his father ; and, in both its branches, afterwards carried it to a degree of perfection which it had never before reached in the country-side.’ Vigour and ability may be as much shewn by a boy’s determining to improve the manufacture of a ‘ riddle,’ as in his effort to construct a clock or a telescope.

On this character of natural energy, was grafted, at the age of twenty-seven, pure and fervent piety. ‘ He had been a sincere worldling, and he became an unshrinking and dauntless Christian.’ The detail is deeply interesting, of the manner in which his mind opened to the Truth, and how it worked its way from principle to principle. He was brought up in the Scottish Establishment, in connection with which he lived for years, secular and satisfied,—cold and blind. He was awakened in it, however, and got a little light. He afterwards found his home among the Seceders ; but, growing dissatisfied with their customs and laws,—thinking some of them unauthorized by Scripture, repugnant to Christian liberty, and impediments to Christian usefulness,—he finally separated from them, and, with a few others, introduced Independency into those parts, and laid the foundation of a church or churches which continue flourishing and extending.

John Morison was at first a zealous Arminian, and, in an interesting little piece of auto-biography, given in the commencement of the volume, he states with what eagerness he defended his cause, and how very cordially he hated the opposite hypothesis. He became, however, a Calvinist himself ; obtained and mastered Edwards’s profoundly metaphysical and theological writings ; and appears to have found *such* compositions congenial to his mind ! Such a mind could be no common one. In the account of his transition from one creed to another, there is a passage which we shall extract, as it reads a useful lesson to all controvertists. Indeed, we shall extend the extract, and include the statement to which we have just referred, as the whole, we observe, will afford a fair specimen both of the book and of the man.

‘ “ I was disposed to conclude, that Arminian principles were most consonant with enlightened reason, and with the most obvious dictates of revealed truth. I had set combats with the afore-mentioned William Clarke, upon all the peculiarities of my creed, in which I endeavoured, with all possible zeal, to defend the convictions of my mind. I remember one night in particular, which was the last time we debated together ;—on this to me memorable occasion, we prolonged our argument through the greater part of the night, on the subject of predestination. I opposed the obnoxious and humbling doctrine with all my might, and he, on the other hand, defended it. I do not remember much of the course of reasoning pursued by either : my friend said many very convincing things, which I could not rebut ; and I again, in return, started certain difficulties to the Calvinistic view of things which it



would have been unreasonable to expect any one to answer,—difficulties which, more or less, press on both sides of the question. I had followed Stackhouse, as my chief guide, and, in doing so, adopted many of his inconclusive reasonings and special pleadings. While the argument was proceeding on that memorable night, I well remember, in the height of it—for I was beginning to be dissatisfied with my views of truth—putting up an ejaculatory prayer to this effect, ‘Lord, if I be arguing agreeably to thy word, carry me on against all opposition; but if not, stop my mouth!’ When we parted, I was deeply perplexed. I meditated on the theme of our discourse during the remaining part of the night, or in partial slumbers dreamed of the anxious topics of discourse. From that night forward, I resolved that I would read with more impartiality on the subject of my scruples, and that I would be more diligent in prayer that the Lord would teach me the right way, among so many different and conflicting opinions.”

‘I have reason to believe that some little time after this elapsed, ere my father escaped from his mental perplexities, on subjects involved in the Arminian controversy. His polemical tendency, indeed, considerably declined; but he was still at a loss to make up his own personal convictions as to the mind of the Spirit. It does not appear, however, that he courted debate, even with his good old friend, William Clarke; but that he sought prayerful retirement, well written books, and the faithful ministry of the word.

‘About this interesting period he became acquainted with the famous writings of President Edwards, and more particularly with his incomparable Treatise on the Freedom of the Will. This was the very book which such a mind as my father’s required to compose its endless perplexities; and, happily, he had just arrived at that particular stage of feeling which prepared him to examine metaphysical theology in the temper of devotion. Every chapter was read with care; every argument was pondered till it was understood; mountainous difficulties vanished at the magic touch of the prince of modern divines; and a spirit, deeply agitated and depressed, found rest in that scheme of doctrine which traces the salvation of a sinner, in the most absolute sense of the term, to the electing love of God, while it regards the ruin and misery of the impenitent as the legitimate fruit of their own voluntary transgression.

‘I am sure I do not assert too much, when I say, that my father was perfectly master of President Edwards’s entire theory; and that he well knew how to render his powerful defence of truth available to the relief of others, who had trod the same thorny path with himself. His admiration of that great man was such, that the very mention of his name called up mental associations of the most pleasurable kind, and tended always to exalt his conceptions of the great Creator who could form and endow a being of such extraordinary powers.

“From scenes obscure did Heaven his EDWARDS call,  
That moral NEWTON, and that second Paul.  
He, in clear view, saw sacred systems roll,  
Of reasoning worlds, around their central soul;

Saw love attractive every system bind,  
 The parent linking to each filial mind;  
 The end of Heaven's high works resistless shew'd,  
 Creating glory, and created good."

' It is a circumstance worthy of record, that, though my father had been one of the most determined advocates of the views of Arminius, he did not, upon a change of opinion, like too many, advance to an opposite extreme. His views of the whole scheme of sovereign grace became sober and practical; and he intensely disliked those perversions of the Calvinistic scheme, by which man is stript of his accountability, and the great Lawgiver of the rights which belong to him as a moral governor. Happy for him he fell into good hands, and had a mind of unusual sense and penetration. His whole creed was thoroughly digested. He had taken nothing for granted; and, having fought his way through many difficulties, he held fast his conclusions with a determination which no sophistry could entangle, and no wind of doctrine could shake. Unlike some half-read and inquisitive minds, he had a dread of novelty in religion; and often was he heard to say, "Whatever is new in theology, must be wrong." He was, nevertheless, a candid enquirer after truth, and occupied the disciple's chair till he entered into the unclouded light of heaven.' pp. 56—60.

Some pages devoted by Dr. Morison to 'Sketches of my Father's friends,' are very interesting. We select the picture of one of them.

' There was one of Mr. Cowie's flock with whom my father had frequent intercourse in the days of my youth. His name was ALEXANDER SIEVRIGHT. He was a man of patriarchal appearance, tall and spare, but with a countenance indicative of deep thought, and of much converse with Heaven. My father loved him, and sought his fellowship because of the fervour of his piety, and the extent of his theological research. I remember well his simple and unaffected manners, and the cordiality with which he and my father met and parted. His prayers in the family were of a remarkable character. He literally wrestled with the angel of the covenant. I never, as a child, could fall into sin when Alexander Sievright was at Millseat, without feeling the keenest upbraidings of conscience. His prayers were like fiery darts thrust into the soul from the quiver of the Almighty. A ministerial friend who knew him well thus describes him: "He was a wonder amongst a number of wonderful men. His profound abstract reasonings were flushed with splendid imaginings. He was emphatically a mystic, and yet not at all a visionary. All truth was before him in forms equally philosophical and grand; and yet the simplest Christian hung on his lips, and the young deemed him almost a prophet, who saw into futurity, but was too wise to disclose his knowledge.

" His prayers had much of the character of the public devotions of the late Drs. Waugh and Simpson; with this exception, that they were much longer, without being less sublime, or at all tedious; so well was it known that he came from the summit of Mount Commu-

nion, where he had been much longer. He was a *human* seraph, and thus *burnt out* by the ardour of devotion." pp. 81—83.

We should be glad, if space permitted, to insert an account of John Morison's exertions in Sabbath-school teaching, and of his perseverance in benevolent efforts, in spite of opposition from various quarters. We wish, however, to excite interest rather than to gratify it, as we feel that that could not be adequately done without transcribing a large portion of the volume, and would, after all, be inferior to what will be derived from the book itself. The venerable saint lived to see one of his sons filling an extensive sphere in the church, and an important post in the public eye; and another was ordained as the pastor of the church in his native place, which he had been the principal means of establishing, a year or two before he was taken to his rest. The volume closes with the sermons preached by the two brothers to their respective flocks, on the occasion of their father's decease. Both are creditable to their filial affection, their talents, and good sense.

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Art. IV. *A Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.*

By the Rev. Robert Anderson, Perpetual Curate of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Hill and the Right Hon. Lord Teignmouth. 12mo. pp. xvi. 485. Price 7s. London, 1833.

**T**HE title of this unpretending volume will shew, that it does not affect to be a critical commentary upon this important portion of the Apostolic writings, nor is it of a polemical character. It contains 'the expository part of a series of afternoon lectures' delivered by the Author to his flock; and the exposition is throughout of a popular and practical description. Of all the varieties of pulpit instruction, we deem expository discourses, when not overlaid with criticism, or attenuated by theological ingenuity, as the best adapted to answer the great purposes of the stated ministration of God's word. It is at the same time, perhaps, the most difficult; not as requiring profound learning or extraordinary talent of any kind, but as depending for its acceptableness and success, far more than either argumentative, declamatory, or *essaying* discourses, upon the spiritual attainments of the preacher in the understanding of the scriptures. Expository discourses are either the most interesting or the most dry, stale, and unprofitable species of public teaching. A preacher who adopts it as the easiest mode of filling up the stated half hour or forty minutes, will either soon weary of his task, or weary out his audience; and then, exposition will be laid aside, on the plea that the people do not like it. On the other hand, the most laborious preparation may fail of its purpose, if it consist in

minute critical investigations, rather than in a devout study of the scope and drift of Scripture. The critical study of the text, though indispensable to the faithful ministry of the word, is a chilling process, and must be kept subordinate to that "searching" of the Scriptures which alone brings out of them the "words of eternal life"; otherwise the effect upon the student, and upon his public ministrations, will be unfavourable to warm and vital piety. He will be at best a dull and dry expositor of scripture, who borrows his exposition of it wholly from books. 'A reverential attention to *catholic consent*, or to that which has been 'believed in all places, at all times, by all the faithful,' we agree with Mr. Anderson in considering as a sound rule of inquiry, when combined with the diligent study of the Divine Oracles as the only authority. But, if it be substituted for this, it will make a preacher the insipid expositor of a creed, instead of the dispenser of truth fresh drawn from the word of God. Between the two, how vast is the difference! The manner and spirit in which Mr. Anderson endeavoured to provide for the instruction of his flock, will be seen from the following paragraphs taken from his preface.

'Feeling strongly the importance of the above principle, and desiring, therefore, according to my humble measure, to act in the same spirit, I have, in all my preparations for the pulpit, sought, in the first place, in meditation and in prayer, to enter into the depth and spirit, the scope and connexion, of any given passage. I have then consulted, as far as it has been in my power, such commentaries and other books as bear upon the interpretation of holy writ; and, wherever I have met with remarks well suited to illustrate the passage, I have thankfully availed myself of such assistance, under the full conviction that it was my bounden duty to strengthen my own weak efforts by the wisdom and the piety of those, whether in the past or present age, who have laboured in the same sacred cause.

'When I have thus employed, in the following pages, either wholly or chiefly, the language of others, I have generally given my authorities in the margin. And if I have not made such references in all instances, in which I have been more or less indebted to the labours of those who have gone before me, I have only abstained from doing so, because I have felt unwilling to make a parade of the various authors, whom I have had occasion to consult in the preparation of my Lectures. But I desire to take this opportunity of acknowledging the benefit which I have derived from thus holding communion with the servants of God in every age. It is true that I have traced various shades of difference among them respecting some of the deep things of God; but I have invariably found that all who "hold the Head," speak as with one heart and one voice, upon those vital doctrines of the Gospel, which bear immediately upon the misery, and the salvation, of mankind!

'Having spoken of the *deep things of God*, I would now go on to

say, that I have always feared to tread where Scripture no longer seems to lead us by the hand, and where those who still press forward are too often found to contradict many decisive testimonies, or to oppose the general tenor, of the inspired writings. With respect to all points of this description, I desire to adopt, from my heart, the words of the wise and holy martyr Bishop Ridley: "In these matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak further, yea, almost none otherwise, than *the very text doth, as it were, lead me by the hand.*"

' The Christian knows, indeed, that it is his highest privilege to launch forth into the deep of the divine promises; to spread every sail that he may receive the blessed influences of the Holy Spirit; and to possess himself as much as possible of the fulness of God! But the Christian knows, also, that, instead of vainly attempting to explore those depths which are beyond the fathom line of the human understanding, he should look continually, with stedfast faith and joyful hope, to that "star of Jacob," which shines, in the spiritual firmament, to cheer and to direct his course towards the haven of rest!

' I have endeavoured, in the following Exposition, thus to point to Jesus as "the bright and morning star," who only can "give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace!" I humbly trust that I have done so "in simplicity and godly sincerity;" that I have studied to "shew myself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth;" and that I have neither spoken "peace," where there is "no peace," nor "made the heart of the righteous sad, whom God hath not made sad!" And, in now sending this little volume forth into the world, I earnestly call upon Him, "who commandeth the light to shine out of darkness," beseeching him to "shine in our hearts, to give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," and to enable us "so to walk in the light of his truth, that at length we may attain to the light of everlasting life!" pp. vi—ix.

The pious reader will be prepared by this language to anticipate a volume of sound, faithful, scriptural instruction. The Exposition is divided into sections, the form of sermons being dropped; and as the expository portion only is retained, the work does not afford a complete sample of the discourses as originally delivered. We mention this, because we should otherwise have to point out deficiencies, viewing the work as a specimen of oral instructions; but, in the delivery of the most carefully prepared expository discourses, much extemporaneous illustration and exhortation would be with advantage supplied. Having premised these remarks, we shall simply give an extract or two as a specimen of the work. The following is part of the exposition of the eighth chapter, verses 28—30.

' 3. Being thus animated, therefore, on the one hand, by the scriptural representation of God's eternal "purpose and grace," to abound in that holy obedience which is the *evidence of our faith*; and being



thus reminded, on the other hand, when we look to our *title to eternal life*, that we are "saved, not according to our works, but according to God's own purpose and grace;" let us now pass on to the two following verses of the present chapter, in which the apostle prepares believers for *passive*, as well as *active*, obedience, by proving, from the consideration of the everlasting purpose of God, that *all things must indeed work together for good, to them that love God. For whom he did foreknow*, says St. Paul, *he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified.* In using the above words in the past tense, an idiom very usual in Scripture, to denote the certainty of the truths which are inculcated, our apostle seems, as it were, to take his stand at the goal of the Christian race, and thence to look back to that eternal decree which has awarded the crown of glory to all who shall "run with patience the race which is set before them, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of their faith." Now it is expressly said of this "author and finisher of our faith," that, "for the joy which was set before him, he endured the cross, despising the shame;" and when St. Paul declares, therefore, in the passage now before us, that *whom God did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son*, we conclude, not only from the general scope of his present argument, which is on the subject of Christian suffering, but from the whole tenor of the Gospel, that he refers chiefly to the trials and afflictions through which the children of God are to pass while waiting for the day of their public *adoption* in the kingdom of glory. But we know that, the *conformity* to our Saviour's image, though commenced on *earth*, is to be perfected in *heaven*; and when St. Paul declares, therefore, with regard to all who *love God*, that they have been *predestinated to be CONFORMED TO THE IMAGE OF HIS SON*, may we not indeed conclude, (and oh! that this conclusion were well weighed by those who have not yet learned to exchange the "sorrow of the world which worketh death," for that "godly sorrow which worketh repentance to salvation!") that if we "*suffer here with Christ, we shall also reign with him hereafter?*"

The apostle, you observe, makes express mention only of *predestination, calling, justification, and glory*. And it has been sometimes asked, therefore, how it comes to pass that *sanctification* should not be expressly mentioned in the golden chain which is here exhibited to us? But surely, brethren, the obvious answer is, that *sanctification* is included in *glory*. For it is not so much the way to glory, as it is a part and beginning of it even here. So that sanctification is glory begun on earth, while glory is sanctification perfected in heaven. Be it remembered, moreover, that the absolute necessity of Christian holiness, is the very point on which St. Paul is insisting through the whole of his present argument; for in this and the two preceding chapters, he has been reminding believers, that though they are freed from the law, as a *covenant*, yet that, as a *rule of holy living*, they are still subject, nay, that it is their privilege to be subject, to the law: And must it not follow, therefore, that with all true believers, *justifi-*



cation and sanctification will be indissolubly joined together? The believer knows, indeed, that the *ground of his justification* is wholly distinct from any thing which he either *has done*, or *can do*; but it is this very knowledge which leads him to serve God continually, under a sweet and joyful sense of security, and to strive in all things to promote his glory, with all the affectionate feelings of a child who thinks that he can never do enough to evince his gratitude to a tender and indulgent father. The believer works, as our old reformers used to express it, not *for* salvation, but *from* salvation; not that he *may* be justified, but *because he is justified*.

Behold, then, my Christian brethren, that golden chain by which the children of God are drawn up from earth to heaven! Behold the steps and degrees by which God's eternal love descends upon his children, and by which they climb up to their promised glory! Behold the grounds on which the children of God take up the language of the beloved disciple, and say, "We love him, because he first loved us!" It has been truly said of the scripture now before you, that it is one of the deepest, and yet one of the clearest scriptures about God's method of salvation. And if you will always view it, as you always ought to view it, in immediate connexion with the whole scope of the context in which it is found, you will plainly see that St. Paul introduces it, not that he may encourage keen and unprofitable disputations, but that, by leading the children of God to trace up every thing which befalls them, to the fountain of eternal love, he may remind them how, under all the trials to which they are exposed, they should derive comfort from the blessed assurance that *all things shall indeed work together for their good!*" pp. 236—240.

We transcribe with much satisfaction, the following judicious comments upon a portion of the Epistle which has been too often perverted to a purpose foreign from the design of the Apostle; viz. ch. xiii. ver. 1—7.

When we view this passage in connexion with the former part of the epistle, we shall perceive with what admirable propriety the apostle here enters upon the consideration of the civil duties of the Christian. In the preceding chapter, he had said, that Christians are *not to avenge themselves, but rather to give place unto wrath*. But, to shew that this exhortation is not to be understood as taking away all power from man to punish wrong doers, he now teaches that magistrates are the *ministers of God, revengers to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil*. Again, in the former part of the epistle, he had stated, that Christians are no longer under the condemning power of the law. But, to shew that there is nothing incompatible between Christian liberty and civil magistracy, he now addresses them as members of the state, and exhibits, in the clearest and strongest light, the grounds of their obedience to *the powers that be*. And when we consider that this epistle was addressed to Christian converts, who were among the inhabitants of the Imperial City, we may regard the passage before us as constituting, on this very important topic, a public apology for the Christian faith. *Let every soul, saith St. Paul, be SUBJECT UNTO THE HIGHER POWERS. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are*

ordained of God. *Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.* And in the course of the four following verses, it is repeated three several times, that the ruling powers are to be regarded as the *ministers of God*. Here, then, the apostle plainly defines the main ground of submission to human authority, viz. because God himself has appointed civil government as a common good amongst men: in other words; because all government is, in such sort, of Divine institution, that, be the form of any particular government what it may, the submission of the individual is a principal branch of that religious duty which each man owes to God. The particular forms and limitations of government are matters with which the gospel does not interfere. Christianity does not undertake to model kingdoms and commonwealths by any fixed standard; it does not teach how to *establish*, but how to *obey*. And hence it is that we find St. Peter speaking of civil government as the "ordinance of *man*." "Submit yourselves," he says, "to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake." His meaning evidently is, that, with regard to the particular forms of government, and the choice of particular persons to govern, civil authority is only a human ordinance. But by enjoining Christians, at the same time, to submit "for the Lord's sake," he clearly teaches, in entire agreement with his brother apostle, that both the good of government, and the duty of subjection to it, are God's ordinance. "Certainly," says Bishop Sanderson, "the Holy Spirit of God, which speaketh in these two great apostles, is not contrary to itself. The truth is, that the *substance* of the power of any magistrate is the ordinance of God; and that is St. Paul's meaning. But the *specification* of the *circumstances* thereto belonging is, as St. Peter termeth it, a *human ordinance*, introduced by custom or by positive law."

'Our apostle, having reminded the Christian converts that *the powers that be are ordained of God*, and that *whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God*, solemnly adds, in the last clause of the second verse, *and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation*. That is, they shall receive to themselves *judgment* or *condemnation*, and must look for some punishment, if not from the magistrate, at least from the supreme Sovereign, whose laws they break, and whose order they endeavour to reverse. But it is suggested by Bishop Sherlock, that in these words, *they that resist shall receive to themselves condemnation*, we should understand the apostle as entering upon a second argument in confirmation of his doctrine that *every soul should be subject to the higher powers*, and as setting forth the certain evil consequences which, even in this life, are found to pursue seditious and turbulent spirits; seeing that they render themselves justly obnoxious to the powers of the world, and are liable to their *judgment*. Bishop Sherlock would interpret the above clause, therefore, in connexion with the following verses; and would of course consider the declaration, that *rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil*, as arising out of the remark in the preceding verse, that *they who resist shall receive to themselves condemnation*.

'Now it is plain, that if we thus consider the above words in the third verse, as being an inference from the clause immediately preceding, we must understand the apostle as referring, by *good works*,

chiefly to obedience, and by *evil works*, to resistance. I find the same interpretation given by an old and learned expositor, who says, *that by good and evil works*, in this connexion, we are to understand works which are such, not *theologically*, but *civilly*; works such as are enjoined or prohibited by the good laws of the kingdom or city in which we live. And certainly this exposition suits with St. Paul's main design in the passage before us, which is to inculcate *obedience to the powers that be*.

‘*Wilt thou then*, as the apostle goes on to ask, *not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.* In the parallel passage of St. Peter, we find that apostle speaking of governors as being sent “for the *punishment* of evil doers, and for the *praise* of them that do well.” And we clearly infer, therefore, from the manner in which the term *praise* is employed by each apostle, in opposition to punishment, that it must be understood to denote protection and encouragement, the only proper rewards which good subjects can expect from their *governors*. I may add, that the above interpretation is strongly confirmed by that passage of the first epistle to Timothy, where St. Paul exhorts us to pray “for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all goodness and honesty.” The *peace and quiet* of society is the very end of temporal government. When it is duly promoted by those who are in authority, then do they indeed appear to be, what they were ordained to be, *ministers of God for good to the people*. In return for this *good* received from rulers, the people are assuredly bound, on their part, to yield obedience and submission; and, as a reward for such obedience, they shall have the praise and protection of those who are in authority over them.

‘Such, then, are the two arguments by which our apostle supports his doctrine of obedience to rulers; and they are thus summed up by him in the fifth verse; *Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.* We are to submit *for wrath*, (which is to be understood here as relating to the present life, and to the magistrate's power,) because the magistrate has power from God *to execute wrath on him that doeth evil*. We are to submit *also for CONSCIENCE SAKE*; because *he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ORDINANCE OF GOD*.

‘This is, indeed, the main argument of all; and, as I would now go on to ask, what other argument could possibly bear the weight laid upon it by the apostle? *Let every SOUL*, he says, *be subject unto the higher powers*; and assuredly, brethren, no one can oblige *all souls* to subjection, other than He, whose only all souls are. Whatever convenience, therefore, men might find in submitting, yet, unless rulers were *God's ministers*, there could never be any lasting and necessary tie of obedience. Upon any other supposition, we might be subject to our rulers from motives of expediency; but their being *ordained of God*, is the only consideration which can engage us to be subject *for conscience sake*. For we know that God only can bind; we know that

God only is Lord of the conscience; and we know, therefore, that conscience can of right submit to no commands but his, as they are issued, either immediately from himself, or from those who hold and act under him. This is the truth which the Bible inculcates; it is the conviction of this truth which makes the good Christian the good subject; and sure I am, that were it really felt and acknowledged by all, it would radiate an irresistible appeal at once to the ruler and the ruled. It would teach the one to know "whose minister he is," and the other to remember "whose authority he hath;" and it would thus tend to knit their hearts together in Him, who is "King of kings and Lord of lords, and who does from his throne behold all the dwellers upon earth."

"Dwell then, I beseech you, brethren, on this argument of obedience for conscience sake, and say whether it is not suited to ennoble man's actions even in civil things, and to give them a character almost divine. For all is surely turned into sacrifice to God, when all is done, *for God*; when subjects obey magistrates, and when servants obey their masters, *for his command's sake*; each of them still thinking, while performing the duties of his particular calling, 'This I do for God'; even my ordinary labour and works, and my just obedience to men, I offer up to him! "This is indeed the philosopher's stone," says Leighton, "turning actions of lower metal into gold, when we can take up the language of the psalmist, and say, I set the Lord always before me." pp. 386—93.

We do not deem it necessary to offer any critical animadversions upon the Exposition, not only because the work itself does not call for it, but also because we shall have occasion very shortly to engage in a review of the results of Biblical criticism in application to this Epistle. Upon some points, we should find occasion to differ from the Author. In expounding the VIIth chapter, for instance, Mr. Anderson adopts the view taken by our 'Venerable Translators,' but which, in our judgement, involves the inspired Writer in the most palpable self-contradiction.

Art. V. *Lives, Characters, and an Address to Posterity.* By Gilbert Burnet, D.D. Lord Bishop of Sarum. With the two Prefaces to the Dublin Editions. Edited with an Introduction and Notes, by John Jebb, D.D. F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe. 8vo. pp. lxx., 386. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1833.

A CHRISTIAN Plutarch would confer an invaluable service upon the public; but how many requisites must meet in the accomplished and profound Biographer who would deserve to be so designated! Among the writers who have furnished the most valuable contributions to English Ecclesiastical Biography, no one ranks higher than Bishop Burnet. His *Lives of Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Rochester, and Bishop Bedel*, are excel-

lent specimens of biographical composition, adapted to yield instruction alike to the peasant and to the philosopher. The last of these is the least known, having been less frequently reprinted, but is highly valuable. Besides these, there are scattered through his History of his Own Times some choice biographical sketches. His character of Abp. Leighton is a beautiful portraiture. His funeral sermon for the Hon. Robert Boyle is another, well deserving of every reader's study; but it has been suffered for many years to be out of print.

In the present volume, the Bishop of Limerick has presented to the public the first complete collection of Bishop Burnet's smaller biographical pieces, (the Life of Bedell not being included on account of its length,) very carefully edited, with some valuable additional documents. The reprint of the Lives has been formed on the basis of an edition published in Dublin in 1803, with prefaces by the late Alexander Knox, Esq., which are retained by the Right Rev. Editor; and prefixed to the volume is an Introduction, containing a very admirable letter 'on clerical pursuits and studies' from the same eminently pious and accomplished gentleman, with some interesting notices respecting his character. The Contents of the Volume are as follows.

1. Introduction. 2. Preface to the first Dublin Edition. 3. Preface to the second Dublin Edition. 4. Bishop Burnet's Preface to the Life of Hale. 5. Life of Hale. 6. Baxter's Appendix to Ditto. 7. Bishop Burnet's Preface to the Life of Rochester. 8. Life of Lord Rochester. 9. Appendix, from Robert Parsons, M.A. 10. Character of Archbishop Leighton. 11. Characters of Messrs. Nairn and Charteris. 12. Characters of eminent Clergymen. 13. Character of Queen Mary II. 14. Character of Hon. Robert Boyle. 15. Address to Posterity, by Gilbert Burnet, D.D.

An additional Appendix to the Life of Rochester has subsequently been printed, and added to the copies unsold;\* containing five hitherto unpublished letters from the mother of the Earl, which are referred to in Birch's Life of Tillotson in the following terms: 'The credit of the Doctor's (Bp. Burnet) book, and the sincerity of the Earl's repentance, would be fully established, if they wanted any additional evidence, by the publication of five letters, still extant, by his mother, Anna, Countess Dowager of Rochester, and sister of Sir Walter St. John of Battersea-bart.; to that gentleman's lady, Johanna, daughter of the Lord Chief Justice St. John. These letters were written during her

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\* We understand that the edition before us is nearly out of print. The additional pages may be had gratis, by possessors of the volume, on application to the publisher.

‘son’s last illness; and shew him to have been, during the course of it, fully possessed of his understanding.’ After the lapse of above a century and a half, these letters are now given to the public, from a transcript made by Mrs. Chapone, mother-in-law of the celebrated authoress, from the original autograph letters in the possession of Mrs. Meredith, grand-daughter to Lady St. John. Although few persons in the present day will be inclined to call in question Bishop Burnet’s veracity, these documents form a valuable accession of testimony, such as must satisfy, or at least for ever silence, scepticism itself. It appears from these letters, that reports were industriously spread by Rochester’s profligate companions, that his repentance was the effect of mental disorder. These reports are thus referred to in the second letter, dated June 1680.

‘I thank God, his sense continues very well, and when his strength will give him leave, [he] expresses himself with great devotion, both [or but] upon account of his former ill-life, with great humility. He lays himself low, before the throne of Grace; begging favour and pardon from God, upon the account of the merits of Christ alone; acknowledging himself the greatest of sinners. Truly, sister, I think I may say, without partiality, that he has never been heard say, when he speaks of religion, an insensible word, nor of any thing else; but one night, of which I writ you word, he was disordered in his head; but then, he said no hurt; only some little *ribble-rabble*, which had no hurt in it. But it was observed by his wife and I particularly, that, whenever he spoke of God, that night, he spoke well and with great sense; which we wondered at. Since that night, he has never had a minute of disorder in his head; that was almost a fortnight ago. This last night, if you had heard him pray, I am sure you would not have took his words, for the words of a madman; but such as came from a better spirit, than the mind of mere man. But, let the wicked of the world say what they please of him, the reproaches of them are an honour to him: and I take comfort, that the devil rages against my son; it shows, his power over him is subdued in him, and that he has no share in him. Many messages and compliments his old acquaintance send him: but he is so far from receiving of them, that still his answer is, . . . “Let me see none of them; and I would to God, I had never conversed with some of them.” One of his physicians, thinking to please him, told him the king drank his health the other day; he looked earnestly upon him, and said never a word, but turned his face from him.’

In the third letter, an interview with his friend Fanshaw is described:

‘I cannot omit one passage lately: Mr. Fanshaw, his great friend, has been here to see him; and as he was standing by my son’s bedside, he looked earnestly upon him and said, . . . ‘Fanshaw, think of a God, let me advise you; and repent you of your former life, and amend your ways. Believe what I say to you; there is a God, and a



powerful God, and he is a terrible God to unrepenting sinners: the time draws near, that he will come to judgment, with great terrour to the wicked; therefore, delay not your repentance: his displeasure will thunder against you, if you do. You and I have been long time acquainted, [and] done ill together. I love the man; and speak to him out of conscience, for the good of his soul.' Fanshaw stood, and said never a word to him, but stole away out of the room. When my son saw him go. 'Is a [he] gone?' says he, 'poor wretch! I fear his heart is hardened.' After that, Fanshaw said to some in the house, that my son should be kept out of melancholy fancies. This was told my son again: upon which says he, 'I know why he said that; it was because I gave him my advice; but I could say no less to him than I did, let him take it as he pleases.'

The fourth and fifth letters we must give entire.

'I am sure, dear sister, it is your desire to hear sometime, how my poor weak son does: he gives us little hopes of his life, his weakness increasing so much. But, as his outward man decays, I thank God, his inward increases and strengthens; for he is very pious, and devout, and willing to resign himself into the arms of his Saviour, when God pleases to take him.

'I hear, Mr. Fanshaw reports my son is mad; but I thank God, he is far from that. I confess for a night, and part of a day, for want of rest, he was a little disordered; but it was long since Mr. Fanshaw saw him. When he reproved him for his sinful life, he was as well in his head, as ever he was in his life; and so he is now, I thank God. I am sure, if you heard him pray, you would think God had inspired him with true wisdom indeed; and that neither folly or madness comes near him. I wish that wretch Fanshaw had so great a sense of sin, as my poor child has: that so, he might be brought to repentance, before it is too late: but he is an ungrateful man to such a friend.

'Dear sister, pray for us: and believe me to be, Madam,  
Your faithful friend and servant,

A. ROCHESTER.

'I did, dear madam, receive your's, dated the 28th of June; full of kindness, and full of Christianity, in your good wishes and kindness to my poor sick son; who, I thank God, is yet alive: but, whether it will please God to restore him again out of his bed of sickness, none but HIMSELF knows. He is full of mercy and good upon all accounts: and my prayers are, that, whether my son lives or dies, the Lord may be glorified in all. His conversion is mercy endless for us; though we enjoy him not, in this world, the comfortable hope, that he will be a saint in Heaven, is beyond my expression.

'I cannot tell you that there is much sign of a recovery of my son, though his fever has left him: little heats he has still; which, we imagine, proceeds from his ulcer. But that which I like worst in him, is, he gathers no strength at all; but his flesh wastes much, and we fear a consumption, though his lungs are very good. He sleeps much; his head, for the most part, is very well. He was this day taken up, and set up

in a chair, for an hour, and was not very faint, when he went to bed. He does not care to talk much; but, when he does, speaks, for the most part, well. His expressions are so suddenly spoken, that many of them are lost, and cannot be taken [down]; yet, I believe, some part of what he has said, will be remembered.

‘I told my son, that I heard Mr. Fanshaw said, that he hoped he would recover, and leave those principles he now professed. He answered, ‘Wretch! I wish I had conversed, all my life-time with link-boys, rather than with him and that crew; such, I mean, as Fanshaw is. Indeed, I would not live, to return to what I was, for all the world.’ I desire the continuance of your prayers, and all the good people who has been kind, in remembering my son in their prayers. I told him, that you prayed for him heartily. He said,...‘Pray thank my good aunt; and remember my service to her and my uncle.’ My daughter remembers her service to you. Dear sister, whatever becomes of me, through my afflictions, I am sincerely, Madam,

Your faithful friend, and affectionate servant,

A. ROCHESTER.

For the Lady St. John at Battersea.’

Respecting the Memoir itself, Dr. Johnson’s encomium must be familiar to most of our readers: ‘It is a work which the critic ought to read for its elegance; the philosopher, for its arguments; and the saint, for its piety.’

The Life of Hale is, however, a more finished piece of biography; and it is evident from Burnet’s preface, that he bestowed the most careful pains upon the composition. The remarks of Mr. Knox in the preface to the first Dublin edition, deserve transcription.

‘In the life of Sir Matthew Hale, we do not, merely, see a character improved and adorned by the christian graces and virtues, but we behold christianity itself, substantially exemplified. We see its power “to convert the soul,” in that radical change which it effects in the youth: while every subsequent action of the man, concurs to prove, that the ideal character of wisdom, which some ancient philosophers described as the mark to be aimed at, though without any hope of attainment, is, in all its valuable features, actually realized in the true christian.

‘What but Christianity could have given to judge Hale that uniform ascendancy over every thing selfish and secular, by means of which, he, so undeviatingly, kept the path of pure heroic virtue, as to be alike looked up to and revered, by parties and interests, the most opposite to each other? Is there, in human history, any fact more extraordinary, than, that the advocate of Strafford and Laud, and of king Charles, (had leave been given for pleading,) should be raised to the bench, by Cromwell? And again, that a judge of Cromwell’s should be, not only reinstated by Charles II., but compelled by him, against his own will, to accept of the very highest judicial trust? Such is the triumph of genuine Christianity! . . . a triumph,

which is, in some degree, renewed, whenever the name of Hale is even professionally repeated : since the appeal is evidently made, not more to the authority of the judge, than to the integrity of the man. If Burnet had never written more than the life of Sir Matthew Hale, this alone would have entitled him to the gratitude of the christian world : there being no work of the kind, better worth the study, whether of the professional, or private man ; of all, who would truly learn, how to live, or how to die.'

In Richard Baxter's Appendix to the Life there is a beautiful passage, breathing the spirit of holy friendship, and reminding us of Milton's exquisite line,

*' Et nostri memor ibis ad astra.'*

' When I parted with him,' says the venerable Nonconformist, ' I doubted which of us would be first in heaven : but he is gone before, and I am at the door, and somewhat the willinger to go, when I think such souls as his are there.'

In the preface to the second Dublin edition, Mr. Knox states, that it was at first a question, whether this Appendix by Richard Baxter should be retained, or not, on account of its being so strongly marked with the spirit of nonconformity. But it was decided to retain it, chiefly, as it would seem, because it throws light upon the Chief Justice's ' nonconforming tendency,' and so accounts for his active and zealous endeavours to obtain ' such modifications in the government and ceremonies of the National Church as might tend to satisfy the scruples of the more moderate nonconformists.' Burnet's account of that unsuccessful effort is adapted, Mr. Knox admits, to ' reflect discredit, not only on the actual opponents of the measure, but on the National Church itself.' But, strange to say, this discredit, he imagined, would be lessened by shewing that those who, with Judge Hale, advocated the measure, had their judgements warped by a puritanic bias ! Mr. Knox, having thus disposed of Bishop Burnet's testimony, and the authority of Hale's opinion, to his own satisfaction, proceeds to vindicate the high-church party who opposed the Comprehension, and to deprecate ' lowering the terms of conformity.' We shall not be tempted to engage, on this occasion, in controversy. The amiable and intelligent writer is no more ; but we must say, the more highly we estimate his character, the more striking appears to us the influence which educational prejudice exerted over his excellent understanding, in leading him to adopt statements at entire variance with historical fact, and arguments built upon pure fiction. His reverence for ' the western church' of the last twelve hundred years, (p. lxii.) comprising the most corrupt age of the Papal apostacy, and his notions of the insufficiency of the Holy Scriptures as a guide to salvation,—shew how much Popery enters into the creed of many who imagine themselves the very champions of Protestantism.

Yet, Mr. Knox was not merely a sincerely devout Christian, but one of catholic spirit, and, to a certain extent, liberal views. In the admirable Letter already referred to, the theologians whom he most strongly recommends to the study of his friend (then Mr. Jebb), are, Archbishop Leighton, Scougal, John Smith of Cambridge, Burnet, Lucas, and *Doddridge*. Leighton's 'leaning to Calvinism' is, indeed, mentioned as rendering his writings not perfectly safe, as an authority, to one whose theological knowledge is not advanced; but it is admitted that, in the far greater part of his writings, he 'really deserves to stand very 'near the inspired writings.' In reference to John Smith and the writers of his Platonic school, a very just discrimination is shewn in pointing out a deficiency which the supposed 'excesses' of their contemporaries can neither justify nor account for. Our readers will thank us, probably, for giving the whole passage.

There are two authors, whom I would certainly wish to occupy a place in your earliest course. One, more ancient, whom, I fear, it may not be easy to come at, in Ireland. The other, modern.

The ancient one lies, at this moment, before me: it is entitled, "Select discourses by John Smith, late fellow of queen's college, Cambridge:" a quarto, of the smaller size, printed at Cambridge, in the year 1660. His editor was Dr. Worthington, already mentioned. Of this volume, all is learned, liberal, ingenious, and eminently pious: but the latter part is the most interesting, "A discourse of legal and evangelical righteousness, &c.", and all those that follow, to the end. The first short treatise in the volume, however, on the true method of attaining divine knowledge, ought, by no means, to be passed over.

The other, the wise and excellent *Doddridge*, was a man, who, though a dissenter from our church, would have done any church the highest honour. Pure conscience kept him from conforming; his early views having been formed on another plan: though, there can be little doubt, that, in our establishment, his transcendent merits would have raised him to the highest dignities. He is not exactly of the description of writers I have been mentioning: but he is, indeed and in truth, a combination of all excellencies. Scougal, Burnet, Lucas, and John Smith, excelled in their views of the religion of the heart, as embracing habitual devotion, internal purity, and active charity. In these respects, they are, perhaps, the first writers in the world. But, the excesses of some of the puritanical men of that age, led them to be much on the reserve, as to some of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. On what concerns the Christian *μετάνοια*, and its most precious fruits, they are unrivalled: respecting the Christian *πίστις*, its nature, and its exercise, they are perhaps, somewhat deficient. Who is perfect?

Our Saviour says, "Ye believe in God; believe also, in Me." The former duty, they well understood, and nobly inculcated, from well experienced hearts: the latter, they themselves professed and practised; but not with equal clearness. Here, the Calvinistic puritans have been somewhat wild; and their wildness, perhaps,

occasioned over-caution, in these excellent men. But Doddridge is as perfect here, as in every other respect. Instead of shunning puritanism, to which extreme, some of his connexions might rather have given him an over-inclination, he extracts all its excellencies, and leaves behind all its feculence. Never was there a better-informed divine, a more judicious casuist, or a more evangelic christian. His theological lectures, though in some measure deformed, by the strange adoption of a mathematical form in demonstrating his propositions, are a complete body, and most candid treasury, both of theoretic, and practical instruction; both of questionable opinions, and of unquestionable truth. His family expositor, is, in most parts, a perfectly sound, fair, pious, and rational interpreter of the new testament. And his sermons on regeneration, are, of all practical works, that which, perhaps, comes nearest what you mention as a desideratum, . . the fulness of evangelical truth, without the alloy of enthusiasm. His rise and progress of religion, has been unusually read, and approved. It is a capital work, but, I think, it involves this defect, that, its plan almost necessarily leads to an insisting on one mode of passing from a thoughtless to a religious life; and, therefore, seems to lay stress on a certain method, where both reason and religion would seem to point out an infinite variety. From this, which, however, he meant, as much as possible, to guard against, his sermons on regeneration, (which, also, he intended as a kind of elementary work on practical religion,) are admirably free.' pp. xxiii—xxvi.

In later years, the Bishop of Limerick informs us, Mr. Knox's views underwent some modification respecting the writings of the excellent Doddridge. 'But, with few drawbacks, (as few, perhaps, as often fall to the lot of humanity,) he continued, and most justly, to account Doddridge a burning and a shining light; which, in days of more than ordinary coldness, Divine Providence was pleased to enkindle, in order to impart both warmth and illumination to the professing Christian world.'

Mr. Knox discovers at once his piety and his sound judgement in his estimate of the Church of England divines of the latter half of the seventeenth century. 'Then,' he remarks, 'some of the most popular divines took up a mode of moral preaching, which they seem to have learned from *Episcopius*, and the other Dutch Remonstrants; and to which Tillotson's over disgust at his own puritanic education very much contributed. This mode became more and more general, until, at length, little other was to be met with.' That is, *within* the Establishment. The Writer's acquaintance with nonconformist divines appears to have been very limited. It is scarcely credible that he would have omitted to recommend to his friend, in the highest terms, the writings of the Author of the *Living Temple*, if he had ever met with a page of Howe's writings. As an Irishman, he ought to have known the works of Boyce. The sermons of Watts, also, were surely deserving of attention, as a

golden link between the 'great divines' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the revival of evangelical preaching after 'the days of coldness' in which Doddridge burned and shone.

To the Right Reverend Editor of the present volume, the public have long been indebted for original contributions to 'Sacred Literature,' and other miscellaneous publications, exhibiting critical acumen, sound scholarship, and a zealous concern to direct the studies and raise the professional character of the Established clergy. His object in sending out the present publication cannot be mistaken, and its circulation among the clergy will not fail to accomplish the good he contemplates. We are glad to see announced, a new edition in a cabinet size. Whatever theological or ecclesiastical differences may lie between the learned and amiable prelate and ourselves, we feel assured that they must be such only as distinguish different schools, not different creeds; since, in the religion of Hale and Baxter, Leighton and Doddridge, Boyle and Burnet, we hold a common faith, not to be defined or circumscribed by articles, but every where substantially held by the true church catholic.

Art. VI. *Fragment of the Journal of a Tour through Persia in 1820.*  
By Peter Gordon. 12mo. pp. 126. Price 2s. sewed. London,  
(Ford, Islington,) 1833.

**A**N ill-printed tract, on coarse paper, containing the rough notes of a trader's journal, drawn up without any regard to the usual laws of good writing, and full of all sorts of inaccuracies! It may be asked, why notice such a publication, which would scarcely fetch a penny at a book-stall? For this good reason; that we happen to have ground for the assurance that it is an authentic narrative of certainly an extraordinary journey, undertaken by a very enterprising and worthy man; and although he seems not to be able to make the best of his story, we have found scattered through his homely pages some fragments of acceptable information, as well as some valuable remarks.

The Writer, we learn from the Introduction, is a Captain Gordon, who, in the year 1817, performed a trading voyage, in a mere schooner, from Calcutta to Okotsk in Siberia, and home again. Of this voyage, notice was taken in the Madras Courier; and it was announced that Captain G. was on the point of making a second trip. The journals of these two voyages were accidentally burned with the premises of the printer to whose hands they were consigned. On this second occasion, however, for reasons not specified, the Captain, instead of returning by sea, made his way overland from Okotsk, through Siberia, to Astrachan,



and thence to the Persian Gulf. The notes of this extraordinary journey appear to have been printed in the Bengal *Hurkaree* in the year 1820-1, with the following explanatory observations prefixed.

‘My chief inducement in writing these pages is, to contribute my share towards exposing the actual state of the Russian empire, regarding which there are so few sources of correct information.....The country reflects such disgrace on the system according to which it is governed, that I cannot refrain from exhibiting its features plainly to the view of my countrymen, in order that the picture may induce some of them more highly to appreciate the happiness of living under the protection of our own free constitution.’

The Journal commences with the Author's starting from Okotsk, Sept. 19, 1819, ‘the weather very rainy.’ On the 10th of October, he reached Yakutsk, on the Lena, where he found himself compelled to take up his abode till the river should freeze. Of the intervening tract, no further account is given, than that he crossed a chain of high lands occupied by the nomadic Yakoots, who derive their chief subsistence from their cattle; that they are rich in comparison with the Okotskers, and that ‘much of the land is enclosed.’ Captain G. was informed by the governor of Yakutsk, that a vessel might descend the Lena, in May, to the Frozen Ocean, and, after waiting at its mouth till the sea should be clear, might with ease make the passage round the coast to the eastward, the current always running in that direction.

On the 17th of October, our Traveller left his hospitable quarters at Yakutsk, and, partly by sledge and partly on horseback, reached Irkutsk on the 4th of November; having accomplished a journey of 1600 miles in eighteen days. For two days and nights, he was almost incessantly on horseback, his chief sustenance being tea; but a slight fever obliged him to rest one night and part of another. He arrived at Irkutsk just in time to avail himself of the last vessel of the season to cross Lake Baikal.\*

‘Our passage,’ he says, ‘was tedious in the extreme; we were six days on board, though the distance across is not more than fifty miles. This Lake, or, as its flattering voyagers will call it, the *Holy Sea*, is of fresh water, and unfathomable; its shores, being steep, rugged rocks, expose it to hard squalls, which produce occasionally a short, chopping sea; the want of harbour renders its navigation unpleasant, and the flat-bottomed vessels they use, render it unsafe. These vessels have scarcely any iron about them; those employed on the Lena and other

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\* ‘Steam-vessels appear well adapted for the navigation of the Baikal. Menitzky (the governor of Yakutsk) is so desirous of having them on the Lena, that he has promised the master of one vessel from 5000 to 10,000 rubles if he would get one.’ p. 26.

large rivers of Siberia, are similar, and calculated only for tracking: they are also used on the coasts of the Frozen Ocean. The number of private vessels that navigate the Baikal is about sixty, of from 30 to 100 tons burthens each, and of boats about 100.' pp. 15, 16.

Landing at Parelskoi, Mr. G. proceeded by land to Verchnoy Udinsk, and thence ascended the course of the Selenga to Selinginsk, where he met with a hearty welcome from Mr. Stallybrass, the much respected missionary, which dispelled his 'Okotsk sensations and Siberian misanthropy.' After resting here for a week, he set out, accompanied by Mr. S., for Kiakhta 'or Trinity,' on the Chinese frontier; a village containing a church, a bazar, a public office, a guard-house, and a dozen merchant's houses, no other person being allowed to reside there.

The commerce of Kiachta is in the hands of about forty-five copets of the first guild, most of whom reside at Moscow, and send a clerk with an annual adventure: sea otters, foxes, sables, squirrels, and other furs, English, German, and coarse Russian woollens, metals, cattle and corn are their staples; bullion and gunpowder are smuggled; some years a million arsheens of woollens have been disposed of.

On the other side, the whole of the trade is in the hands of nine merchants, who employ about three thousand Chinese and Mongols, many of whom speak Russ, which is the only medium of intercourse; the supply of tea is 66,000 chests of 66 to 80lbs. each, above one-tenth part of which may be bloom, the remainder black: the flavour of the Kiachta teas is very superior to those procured from Canton; perhaps the voyage injures it. The Russians are very careful of the tea whilst in packages, and take great pains to extract the flavour, and to drink it in perfection. A considerable quantity of blue and yellow nankeen, some silk and coarse sugar candy, are the other staples. The white month is the fair time, but throughout the year there is some business going on.

The annual amount of imports on either side is said to be about twelve million rubles; it is not less. The duties are high on both sides, but the other regulations and restrictions do more injury to the trade. Tea pays the Czar about a ruble the pound: the entire revenue he draws from this trade may amount to a million rubles per annum.

Selinginsk is a perfectly military station, having been built by a division stationed there, for the defence of the frontier; at present they are neither soldiers nor citizens; they are an enslaved militia, yet they answer the purpose for which they were sent; they are good materials for an army, assembled at beat of drum, maintained at little expense, and probably keep up their numbers. The population may be about three thousand, exclusive of three villages on the opposite bank of the Selenga. This place has altered but little since the visit of Bell, whose description of the Boriats, and especially that of their tea-table, is perfectly correct. Scarcely a day passed without our seeing some of these people, who appeared to have much esteem for, and confidence in their young apostle, Mr. Stallybrass; and with him I also visited several of their tents, their chief priest and his temple.

'The Boriats have somewhat of the Chinese physiognomy, especially about the eyes; high cheek-bones and small beards; their noses are not prominent, and they often have colour in their cheeks, but are not fair or clean; their height about five feet five inches, but their dress of sheep skins makes them look large. Being herdsmen, they dwell in tents made of felt, which are neat and comfortable; they are much on horseback; they seldom remain a month at one place, but return to it at the same period the year following. In this wandering mode of life, and even amongst the Tungoose hunters, the same right of property in land, and jealousy of encroachment on it, are maintained as amongst the inhabitants of cultivated lands, where "every rood maintains its man."

'The lands about Selinginsk are open and waste; being under the immediate control of Government. The Boriat tribes were the original possessors, but they are much oppressed by the Russians, who still acknowledge them to be more sober, industrious, honest, and successful than themselves; and I believe this conviction inclines some of the poor superstitious Russians to entertain the idea that the Boriat gods are better worth serving than their own, whom they coax and flatter for what they hope to get.'

'The Russians acknowledge that, next to their clergy, their medical men are the greatest drunkards in the country. In most parts of the world, the old women have some skill, the result of experience; but here, they do not pretend to it. When I have asked a villager, What do you do when sick? the reply has always been, "What can we do? We leave it to the will of God." ' pp. 19—24.

Mr. Stallybrass, we are told, is visited occasionally by patients whom his medical fame brings from a distance of 50 miles. On leaving the estimable Missionaries of Selinginsk, with whom the Author 'could have been well contented to spend the remainder of his life,' he re-crossed Lake Baikal, now frozen, and on the 29th of December reached his former lodgings at Irkutsk. On the 3rd of January, he started *per sledge* for Tomsk, which he entered on the 13th.

'Tomsk contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants; some of the merchants are Tartars. One of them, hearing something related of an Englishman, said: "Ah! they are a fine people, upright and brave, and great merchants;" on which Cherkasef said to him, "Allow me to introduce you to one." The old man rose, and when assured that I was a real Englishman, a Londoner from across the sea, his eyes beaming with satisfaction, he said, "I am fortunate in having this happiness; I have heard much of the English, but never before saw one." Often have I been welcomed in this delightful manner; not a peasant but had heard of England, and extolled her virtues. In general, the Russians are partial and kind to foreigners; attempts to imitate other nations in arts and sciences, as well as in manufactures, make them think highly of foreigners.

'The shops here are very poor; the whole bazaar did not contain a tea-kettle.' p. 36.

Finding that he could get on very well alone, Capt. G. determined to take the short road, which passes southward of Tobolsk.

‘ In the villages there were so many offers of private horses, that I got out of the post-road, and in this manner travelled a thousand *versts*, which gave me an opportunity of seeing the actual state of the peasantry in the Government of Tobolsk. Spinning occupied the females from before daylight to night; they were industrious, clean, and neat, though extremely poor.

‘ I met with parties of exiles daily, of both sexes, and of all ages, on foot, and guarded by a Cossac; a one-horse sledge occasionally accompanied the party, with those who were unable to proceed on foot; others dragged a little sledge containing a bundle or a blanket.

‘ The boasted point in Russian legislation, is the abolition of capital punishment: being strongly prepossessed in favour of this system, I had now an opportunity of observing its effects, but a nearer view has turned my admiration into disgust and abhorrence. The amount of human misery that is accumulated in commutation of one punishment, is revolting to humanity.’ pp. 37, 8.

Gladly and gratefully, our Traveller reached the boundary-post which marks the Siberian limit; but of the remainder of his route to Astrakhan, his notes furnish no account, owing to a *hiatus*. Instead of this, he vents his vehement abhorrence of every thing Russian in the following curious lampoon.

#### ‘ AN ENGLISH SCALE OF RUSSIAN RANKS AND TERMS.

‘ *Military*.—The Emperor, they consider as God. Their princes are equal to our baronets, knights, and squires. Generals, to captains. Colonels, ensigns. Majors and captains, serjeants. Lieutenants and ensigns, corporals. Doctors, barber-surgeons. Cossacks, robbers. Soldiers and sailors, slaves (I would prefer the hulks).

‘ *Ecclesiastical*.—A God, a child's doll. Religion, gross idolatry. Invocation of God, blasphemy. Prayer, barefaced hypocrisy. Attendance at church, holiday-making. Bible, read as much as the Greek Testament is in England. Psalter, with some old persons and devotees, like an old Bede's Common Prayer, &c. Russian Bible Society, one of Alexander's hobbies; it yields, next to the taking of Paris, his choicest harvest of flattery. Auxiliaries, dumb shows. Churches, chambers of imagery; idol temples; ecclesiastical theatres. Public worship, administering the oath of allegiance, and bowing the people to the sovereign's name and picture, in connexion with those of their other Gods. Archbishops, are archdeacons and deans, excepting learning and piety. Bishops, clergymen, excepting ditto ditto. Priors and abbots, old English abbots; jolly publicans. Archdeacons, parish clerks. Priests, sextons. Clerks, puppet-show men.

‘ *Civil*.—Civilization, means shaving, dressing as Europeans, and living in large brick houses. Commerce, something by which the English and other governments get all their money, but which the Russians can never get hold of, do all they can. Duties, that for the

sake of which commerce is desirable ; a mode of obtaining cash as cheap as by war. Tariffs, are experiments for making the most of commerce ; they assimilate to those of Napoleon in their rapacity, incongruity, and envy of British ships, colonies, and commerce. Policy, means cunning. Law, the will of the sovereign. Ukases and Imperial mandates, post facto orders. Senate, Henry Eighth's—Napoleon First's ; old English as to pliancy. Press, a government machine for modelling the people and for praising their master. Newspapers, advertisements. Credit, might raise a million sterling at 12 to 15 per cent. Coin, dumps, decreasing in value as they improve in make. Bank notes, assignats, current for one quarter of their nominal value. New ones, made pretty in order to enhance their value. Taxes, not a tenth of our own. Imposts and levies, insupportable. Oppressions and robberies, incredible. Ministers of departments, chief clerks of offices. Situations under government, lots in a public auction, disposed of to the highest bidders. Justice, met with but by accident ; the counterfeit for sale at every government office. Ispravniks, petty-fogging attornies, the farmers and administrators of *justice*. Their underlings, as straptjees, mayors, police masters, &c., bombailiffs ; deputy ditto. Cossacks, locusts. Consularists and clerks, naughty idle school-boys. Chevaliers of orders, recruits with cockades. Superiors, overbearing tyrants. Inferiors, servile slaves. Merchants of 1st Guild, Botany Bay birds as to principle. Merchants of 2d and 3d Guild, pedlars. Shopkeepers, hawkers and beggars. Farmers, countrymen in want of work. Ditto wife, dirty trolls. Ditto son, drivers ; idle louts. Ditto daughter, plough-boys ; drones. Crown boor or free peasant, private ditto or slave, and Siberian unfortunates, are above West India negroes. The vernaks, with their noses slit, are below ditto ; nearly as bad as a Russian soldier.' pp. 39—42.

The second part of this Tract, entitled, *Tour through Persia*, takes up the journal at Astrakhan, March 1, 1820. On the 3d, our Traveller was again on his route, and on the 17th, he reached Derbent, the fortified gate to the Caspian pass.

' Derbent extends from the foot of the Caucasus to the sea, and thus cuts off all communication between the north and south : it has a citadel which commands the town, which has no strength or beauty ; it may contain 2500 houses ; between the town and sea is the place for the cattle ; it has no harbour whatever ; the houses are all of stone, small, and very irregular ; it has no streets, but mere passages and flights of steps : three caravansaries, and several mosques ; the people are chiefly Sunnies ; they are industrious in silk-weaving, shoe-making, &c. The country within forty miles, may have also 15,000 souls. The house-top is the only place for taking the air, and being a hill city, like Jerusalem, if surprised, it would be but natural to flee by the street about its level, up to the fortress, without descending to take anything out of the house. *Matthew xxiv. 17.*

' To the southward of the town are many vineyards, gardens, and well cultivated fields, banked in ; about ten versts distant is a large village ; the country is well wooded and prettily diversified, resem-



bling England. The mill and rice-beater is simple; each garden has a cottage, inhabited only during autumn, to watch the grapes, apples, &c. In some places, they use for this purpose a platform built on piles, or in a tree, a good height from the ground: these platforms are sometimes roofed, and at other times they are quite open; at the best, they are the most solitary habitations which can be imagined. Very similar platforms are erected in the mud villages, to sleep on during summer, as the roofs of these cottages are not quite flat, nor are they sufficiently elevated to be free of musquitoes.' pp. 46, 47.

The route now skirted the Caspian, passing by Baku to *Sa-  
lian*, situated at the fork of a fine river, one mouth of which dis-  
charges towards Baku, and the other forty versts above Linkeran. An open boat conveyed our Traveller pleasantly down this river to the Caspian; and he landed at Linkeron or Lenkeran, inhabited by a people called *Talish*, who speak a peculiar unwritten dialect. Thence, Capt. G. found it necessary to proceed to Teflis, which he reached on the 15th of April. At that season of the year, nothing, we are told, could be more delightful than the weather and the country.

The trees and fields were in their liveliest green, mixed with blossoms and flowers. Throughout the whole of this country, wood is scarcely met with, except by the edges of the rivers, which are edged with willows, &c.; and, in sheltered, low, wet spots, watered at least during some part of the year. Of course, these are the spots for retirement; it is by these waters that the captive would sit down and weep, and on these willows that he would hang his unstrung harp.'

p. 56.

From Teflis, Capt. G. proceeded across the mountains to Erivan, which was then Persian territory, and governed by a *sirdar* 'avaricious and cruel as a mortal can be.' So powerful, however, was this petty despot, that it was considered doubtful whether the Shah could dispossess him, if so inclined: '*the attempt would bring in the Russians.*' The Russians have since been brought in; and bad as they may be, the exchange to the poor natives, is for the better. 'These Persians,' says our Traveller, 'are utterly devoid of any kind of conscience, and, as I expected, actually worse than Russians!' These Persians, however, be it known, are Turkish *sheears*, for Persian is understood by few in Erivan or Ajerbijan. On the sixth day from Erivan, our Traveller entered Tabreez, having been robbed, cheated, and half-starved on the route. Thence, being furnished with an order for horses by the royal governor, Abbaz Mirza, he found no difficulty in proceeding, attended by a *memandar*, to Teheran, where he joined a caravan to Shiraz. This route is so well known that it needs no description; but in the Journal are some interesting memoranda referring to the reception given to the religious tracts with which our Traveller had furnished him-



self, written, we presume, in Persian or Arabic. At Koom, no one would accept of tracts, and one person would not let the Christian touch his Koran. 'They knew *Esa* (Jesus) well enough,' remarks Capt. G., 'but took for granted that Mary followed.' He means that they have been led to identify the worship of the Virgin Mary with the Christian faith. At Kashan, he gave away several tracts, chiefly to travellers. 'They do not appear,' he writes, 'to approve of the contents, as they get into the book; yet the novelty induces them to read, especially as it is printed, and many never before saw a printed book.' We shall detach from their connexion a few miscellaneous notices.

'*June 2nd.*—Another of my travelling companions insists on a tract, the reading of which, on the other side of my walnut-tree, produces much conversation, as is usually the case: they do not seem to think ill of me for propagating my opinions, bad no doubt as they think them; yet I know, that the assassin's knife wants but little to sharpen it, in the cause of a bloody impostor. I intended to have walked back to the temple, and to have sapped its foundations with one of the wicked little books, the dispersion of which forms my chief, my only pleasure, in this lonely road.'

'*June 3rd.*—Ascending until daylight; road bad: about sunrise met my countrymen. No one can tell my sensations, on now meeting with an Englishman. I am obliged to relinquish my Ochotsk misanthropy, and feel them my brothers, my equals, knowing that more than my life would be safe in their keeping: honour and conscience, even if destitute of religion, obliging them to do unto others even as they would be done to. But, being an Englishman, I must not say half what I think of the national character, though hourly the remembrance of it has made me for the last two years, cry woe! because my habitation is in Kadesh, and my dwelling in the tents of Kedah. I will only say, that what it has good in it, is entirely derived from the knowledge of God, as God. This, though confined to too few, gives a tone to the morals of the whole nation; every pretender to religion being obliged, for the honour of his sect, and professed worldlings, for the sake of decency and fashion, to adopt the moral standard of the true disciple of Jesus, who is constrained by love to God and man to fulfil the whole law. After talking about ten minutes, we were obliged to separate.'

pp. 77, 78.

'*June 6th.*—Ispahan. A Mullah of Tabrez, who has been to Constantinople, Mecca, &c., and is now on his way to Sherauz, called. Seeing a tract on my side, looked into it as a matter of course, and asked if he might have it; consented, and shewed the only remaining Testament: the first chapter or two he read very attentively, and seemed to explain, by saying it was the childhood of Jesus, pointing to a lad at our side. Not being able to converse, he said he would return when my man would be at home: even then we will be but badly off, as I know too little Hindoostanee for the subject.' pp. 82, 83.

'*June 7th.*—Two of my travelling companions called, and taking up

the Testament, read in it for half an hour. They, as well as most of the Persians, have a tolerably correct knowledge of the genealogy and outline of the Patriarchs. They seemed rather surprised to find that Jesus, the Messiah, was of the seed of David, and the son of Abraham; they asked if we knew the father of Abraham, and if Esau was not his son as well as Isaac. They have had their tracts a week; of course do not think very ill of me for thus setting forth strange doctrine.'

pp. 83, 84.

'9th.—Went on a tract-distributing expedition; but finding I was too early to do any thing in Paternoster Row on account of the concourse of people, strolled towards the suburbs to *kill time*. In a thinly peopled part of the bazaar was stopped and asked for a paper; imagined it meant a passport, however gave a tract, and found it was that which was wanted. Two or three other applicants instantly beset me, and a few steps further, the baker lad to whom I gave one the day before yesterday. I now found it was time to retreat, having applicants for as many as I intend to leave in Ispahan, and am glad in thus having attained my object, of making the distribution of them a matter of public notoriety. It is more than probable that I will not again visit the bazaar whilst I remain, having nothing more to do there. It was my wish to have left the books with the chief priests and the scribes, but they have fallen into the hands of the people. The last I was obliged to give to a boy who followed me across the square, telling the tale, and at last offered to pay for a book. Altogether I gave away five. An hundred or two would not have sufficed an hour. The distribution of tracts and of the Scriptures, appears to be the means best calculated for introducing the Gospel into Persia at present. Some living teachers would be invaluable, whatever their qualifications; some to confound the wise, but others rather to instruct the simple: even a few travelling Fakeer Missionaries, mendicant friars, bare-footed Carmelites, itinerant Preachers, could not fail of introducing Christianity, and planting it so that it could not be rooted out.'

'June 18. Took a farewell turn in the bazaar; the whisper ran along that it was the foreigner who gave away books, with some mention of Mahomet. I was called Abram, Jesus, and I think Osman, but was not treated at all rudely; many were importunate for books, especially in the parts where I had before distributed them. I had but one with me, which I did not intend to part with, but could not pass a Mullah sitting before a mosque, with his folio Koran and other books, without giving it; he received the present with thanks.' p. 86.

'June 28. . . . . The Mullah, inimical to the tracts, being seated near me at the hour of prayer, desired me to read as usual, and pulled out his neat little Koran, telling me that it was the same as my Ingeel, and kissing it, took the Testament and did the same: one asked if they had not five books? he replied four, and I enumerated ours as three, viz. of Moses, David, and Jesus; letting him know that though we do not receive the Koran of Mahomed, I have read it in English. The conversation concluded with a panegyric on Martyn, who surely has been honoured in laying a stone for the foundation of a church, against which the powers of hell will not prevail. The Mullah seemed desirous that I should allow that we were both employed in the wor-

ship of the God of Heaven. It appears to be a most easy thing to withdraw the Persians from the monster of desolation who has laid their fine country most completely waste. A missionary certainly has an open and a thirsty field before him, but how long he would be allowed to labour in it is most uncertain. For my own part, I believe that such an attempt would scarcely fail of attaining its object, that of bringing to the view of Persia—Him whom they pierced. At present, the Armenians are as a stumbling-block, causing them to consider Mary not merely as our Lord's mother, but as one of the Christian's three Gods; this, like their other false notions of Christianity, requires but to be exposed in order to be abandoned; but not so the love of sin, which finds so convenient a cloak in the teachings of the Arab.'

pp. 89, 90.

'*July 1. Shiraz.* . . . . Fifteen or sixteen thousand of the inhabitants are said to be inclined to Christianity, the New Testament being publicly read by the Mullahs, and well understood: a teacher and deliverer are alone wanted for the public profession of Christianity. The translation is much admired: but, had it been done in Hindostan, it would have been of little use here. . . . Left with the dervise one of the tracts, the printing of which, although much admired by the Persians, I am almost out of conceit of; and am quite ashamed that the Testament should be so coarsely executed as the Petersburg edition is.'

'*July 6.* A Russian officer called, who has been a prisoner in these parts twelve years. He says, the government and inhabitants are greatly afraid that the Russians will invade them, and that they may easily get to Tabrez; but to come thus far would be difficult, on account of the bad roads, the want of water and forage, and the difficulty of getting provisions and supplies. For my own part, I think that the Prince Royal trusts to the Russians seating him on the throne on the death of his father, in which case, Russia will undoubtedly seize as much of the country as she possibly can, and we shall be applied to, to oppose them, or even to take some of the principalities under our sovereignty. In this case, any partial assistance will be as unavailing as that which has hitherto been given: an army would easily defend the country, but, as soon as withdrawn, it would be as open as ever to invasion. The country is so abandoned to vice, that no bond of social union is left. The rulers are equally devoid of justice as of wisdom; the people of courage, and of a rallying point. Religion is the only shout which could for a moment be raised; but even this would fail, as I believe scepticism to be very prevalent among the Shiars.

'Persia is sunk into that state of moral degradation, that it can go but a step lower: all our endeavours to keep it as a wall between the Scythians and our Indian Empire, will be but temporary, unless the source of the weakness be taken in hand. I can see nothing but Christianity, which would serve to raise Persia from her present degraded state: even a partial adoption of it would speedily raise the morals of the country from the beastly vices and the oppression in which they are now sunk.

'There appears no great impediment to the Gospel just now, but many circumstances concur in facilitating its propagation; the facilities

of acquiring the language, the books already translated, the personal safety, and favourable impression on the public mind towards the English. If successful, nothing could possibly tend so greatly to secure our present influence in the country, as being the source to which they would look for morals and religion.

'Were Russia to occupy Persia, besides accelerating the dismemberment of Russia, which I look upon to be certain, at no very remote period, it would inevitably drain Russia of money, as well as of the men who ought to be at home, making it ; for Persia is not able to do much more than defray the expenses of civil administration, and to keep on foot an army sufficient to secure the allegiance of its own wandering tribes, and check those of its neighbours. She cannot support a foreign army : to attempt it, would be to drive the inhabitants from their homes, and the shepherds from their pastures.' pp. 93—95.

Sherauz ought to be re-occupied by a quiet meek minister. Persian and perhaps Arabic would be the languages of most use to him. Hebrew would be extremely desirable, on account of the Jews in and about town.

'Arguments and disputes with the Mullahs would occupy the chief share of his attention, and, by shewing him the ground they at present take for the support of Mahomedanism, as well as the objections which appear to them most conclusive against it, would enable him to attack them by tracts in their weakest points, and thus, at least, raise doubts concerning their infallibility.

The more extensive and constant circulation of the New Testament, the perfecting of it, and the translation of the old, could be advantageously attended to at Sherauz, where the favourable impression already said to be made, by the knowledge of the Scriptures, ought to be attended to.

'The Old Testament is very desirable, on account of the slight knowledge which the Persians already possess of its historical outline, and its close connexion with the history of Persia : the scenery and imagery will be found quite their own. The prophecies concerning the prophet Jesus will appear rather more precise and applicable than that by which they allege he announced the coming of Mahomed, in the character of "The Comforter."

'To attend to the poor degraded Jews would be a great means of introducing Christianity amongst their Moslem oppressors, by shewing its chief excellency—that to the poor the Gospel is preached. That which caused its Author, though a man of sorrows and acquainted with griefs, to rejoice in heart when thanking his heavenly Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because he had hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes. The Gospel of the poor, would surely not be preached in vain to these lost sheep of the house of Israel.

'The facility with which Sherauz communicates with India, gives it a decided preference over every other station in Persia : its distance from the seat of government, and from the gentlemen who are in the country for its defence, are not disadvantages, as it might be improper for them to countenance a Missionary.

'There is personal safety sufficient to warrant the Missionary set-

thing there with his family; he would be as safe as any prince in the country, which the least thing may agitate all over, so that his mind ought to be made up to the possibility of falling in some of their revolutions and disturbances.

Being a healthy spot, it might be tried by some indisposed Indian Missionary.

Isfahan offers a different scene from Sherauz, and would be suitable for a preacher, who might in time sit with his testaments, and eventually with his tracts, in some part of the bazaar, and thus be at hand to let strangers know the new doctrine. Persian alone would be necessary; next to it, a knowledge of the Armenian, might render him useful to that wandering body of Christians, whose chief seat is in the Jaffa suburb. In either place, success alone would cause inquietude; but, after the seed sown began to bring forth fruit, would be too late for rooting it out; it would become a tree, and its branches would cover the earth. Persia is now in awe of two powerful Christian States, and if any thing of a church was begun, it would hardly be troubled much.' pp. 108, 9.

These are the observations of a shrewd, thoughtful, and religious man, and will be read, we are sure, with deep interest by all who feel a concern for the progress of the Redeeming Truth. Although thirteen years have elapsed since they were penned, little has hitherto been done for Persia by British Christians. The policy of Russia, barbarous as she is, must be acknowledged to be wiser, in this respect, than that of the Mistress of the East. We thank Mr. Gordon for his tract, and only regret that he should not have deemed it worth while to work up his rough notes into a more readable narrative.

## Art. VII. THE ANNUALS.

(Continued from page 457.)

"**FRIENDSHIP'S** Offering," we must confess, bears the palm this year, in the attractiveness of the prose contributions. 'Master Dod's Blessing' is in Miss Lawrance's happiest style: it is a beautiful story. Miss Stickney has two very touching tales; 'Grace Kennedy,' and 'Lady Blanche.' Miss Mitford is quite Miss Mitford in 'the Carpenter's Daughter.' Stephano the Albanian, reads like the glowing style of Salathiel. The Rev. Charles Tayler has a tale in his own manner, 'Donna Francesca,' and 'an anecdote of Windsor Forest.' From the latter, we shall extract—though it is too bad to spoil the story—the denouement.

One of a hunting party in Windsor Forest, having lost his companions, falls in with a little weeping gipsy girl, who conducts him to a tent where her grandmother is dying.



‘ The gentleman said nothing, but, taking up the book from the pillow, he sat down on the green turf, close to the head of the dying woman. The book was the bible. He chose some of those beautiful passages which are easy to be understood, and, at the same time, full of sweet comfort to the sinking and fearful heart.

‘ It seemed as if the words of the Scriptures sounded more distinctly in the ears of the dying woman than any other words ; for she turned entirely round, and opened her dull eyes with a vacant stare ; she endeavoured also to speak, but could only make a faint, uncertain sound, in which no word could be distinguished. . . . Tears stole down her hollow cheeks ; but any one might see that they were tears of joy, for all the while a smile was on her lips.

‘ Suddenly, the sound of trampling horses was heard, and in the next moment several horsemen came riding through the wood ; one of whom galloped up almost to the tent, when, seeing the gentleman there, he instantly dismounted, and taking off his hat, stood before the tent without saying a word, for the gentleman had looked round as he heard him approach, and motioned with his hand that he must not be disturbed. Before, however, he had closed the book, many other horsemen rode up, with looks of alarm on their faces, for they brought with them the gentleman’s horse, that had broken loose from the tree to which he had tied it, and said they feared to find he had met with some accident or other.

‘ The gentleman only smiled, and spoke very fast ; assuring his friends that he was quite well ; and going up to his horse, patted him, and led him further away from the tent to remount him. The two girls had looked on and listened with astonishment, while all this was going on ; but when the younger of them saw that the kind gentleman was about to remount his horse, she feared that he would go away without saying any thing more to herself, or her sister, or her poor dying grandmother ; and she sprang forward and caught his hand, and said in a low, timid voice, looking full in his face as she spoke,—“ Don’t go away, kind gentleman, don’t leave us yet,—we shall all be very sorry when you are gone.”

‘ Before the gentleman could make any reply,—nay, before the little girl had finished speaking, one of the gentlemen took the little girl by the arm rather roughly, and said, “ Go away, child ; you are very bold to take these liberties with his majesty ! ”

Mr. Banim has enriched this same volume with one of his highly dramatic Irish sketches ; Mr. Ritchie has contributed a romantic tale of first love ; and Mr. Inglis, an Andalusian Legend. Nothing, however, has pleased us better than two contributions by writers of whom we have no cognizance ; ‘ the Pet Village, by the Author of “ Atherton,” &c.,’ and ‘ the Lad of Genius, by the Author of the “ Puritan’s Grave.”’ The first of these may have pleased us the more, from our having had the gratification of visiting a pet village answering in many respects to the description,—a more beautiful creation by far than either Ashridge or Eaton Hall. But our readers shall judge.



## 'THE PET VILLAGE.'

'It is a pleasant sight, to see a fine-humoured, healthy child, rejoicing over its two square yards of garden-ground—planting, transplanting, sowing, pruning, watering, digging, watching, and almost worshipping the pretty flowers as soon as they burst from their buds. The sight does one good; it is not grand, but it is sublime for all that—sublime for its fulness of bliss; it is not an ocean of happiness, but it is a cupful, as full as it can be, mantling to the brim, and running over, as though itself were a fountain or a spring. I have seen something of this kind on a large scale, not a few square yards, but five or six hundred acres, or more, for any thing I know, for I am not a good hand at guessing; all under an eye as anxious, and a hand as careful, as ever managed a child's garden.

"Men are but children of a larger growth."

Happy would it be for our land, were there more such children and playthings as those I am going to describe.

'At eight o'clock on a fine summer morning, I started from London by the coach, but by what coach or by what road, I do not think it at all necessary to state. At four o'clock in the afternoon the coachman pulled up, and said, "What luggage, Sir?" The outside passengers exclaimed, "What a beautiful place!" The coachman told them the name of it, which is more than I shall tell you, gentle reader. A fine specimen of that class of the "genus humanum" which does not know "wot taxes is," was waiting to receive me at the end of a green lane; that was gravelled with the accuracy and cleanness of a garden-path. The trees on either side had been trimmed with all the preciseness of a dandy's whiskers, and was nearly as umbrageous; for they had not been brutally cut into the semblance of a green wall, but their luxuriance had been merely restrained, and they seemed to be gracefully thankful for the judicious application of the pruning-hook.

' "Master has been talking of you all the morning, Sir," said Thomas.

'I perceived that I was not the only passenger that master expected by the coach; for an osier basket, just large enough to hold a turbot, which had been my fellow-traveller, was deposited at a little cottage at the entrance of the lane, and Thomas gave his orders to have it sent up to the lodge, together with the gentleman's luggage immediately. The lane ascended from the road with a very gentle slope, and then, after a short distance, it turned round to the right, where it opened to a sort of green—not one of those greens which even yet, in spite of enclosure acts, may be seen in some rude villages, covered with withered grass and stunted reeds, inhabited by half-starved donkeys, decorated with the parish stocks and whipping-post, together with an old swily pound, not worth ten shillings,—but a green of velvet smoothness, from which every coarse and rugged weed seemed to have been picked with a pair of tweezers. The smooth road meandered through this lawn-like green, and its cheerful openness contrasted prettily with the shady lane from

which we had just emerged ; and from hence might be seen a wide expanse of country, various in its aspect, but all beautiful and good. There was an air of repose and softness about the place, which I can only describe by saying, that the sun seemed to shine gently, for fear of hurting the tender grass, and the breeze blew softly among the trees, that it might not too rudely ruffle their graceful foliage. Really, I felt quite ashamed of myself to be walking in such a cultivated and cleanly place in my travelling deshable and dusty boots ; I felt as if there should have been a mat at the end of the lane, whereupon to wipe off the dust of the common road. On either side of this broad space were cottages, that bore the semblance of Brobdignagian work-boxes ; they seemed to have been wrought by the skill of a cabinet-maker, rather than by the rude hands of bricklayers and plasterers. I do not know in what style of architecture they were built, nor, perhaps, did their builders, or their inhabitants, nor, perhaps, did they care ; the style was not Grecian, nor Gothic, nor Chinese, nor Palladian, nor Vrituvian, but it was very pretty, and the villagers seemed well pleased with it ; for those whom I saw, had a look of happiness and sweet content. Most of the cottage-doors were open, so that as I passed them I could catch a glimpse of the interior ; and from the slight view I then caught, it appeared to me that the inside was as neat and comfortable as the outside. This is worthy of remark, for there are some landlords who are mighty proud of decorating the vicinity of their mansions with tasty cottages, but care nothing for the comfort or accommodation of their tenants. \* \*

‘ It was Saturday afternoon, or now rather evening. The Jews begin their Sabbath on the evening preceding the day, and so do Christians that are good for anything, but not in the same way as do the Jews—not by walking, or sitting idly about, but by a cheerful and pretty diligence, setting their houses in order, making their dwellings tidy for the reception of pure thoughts, so that the Sunday sun may not shine upon the leavings of the week’s negligence. In well appointed cottages, on Saturday evening, in summer time, you may hear the song of the diligent, humming at their sweet work, like so many bees. The wife is then happy to rescue her husband’s Sunday coat from its weekly prison, and brush it for the morrow ; while the gilt buttons on the blue cloth shine to her eyes as brightly as stars in the blue vault of heaven. The mother then scrubs the cheeks of her cub-like cherubs, till they shine like the mahogany cherubs that ornament the organ in the parish church.

‘ My friend was generally in the habit of looking round the village on Saturday evening, and he would occasionally walk into one or other of the cottages, and would ask questions which, from any one else, would seem impertinent ; but he had such a pleasant manner of asking them, and such a kind motive in asking, that they were always readily and thankfully answered. He would sometimes ask the goodwoman of the house what she had prepared for the Sunday dinner ; and if, on her reply, it did not appear that the dignity of the day or the number of the family, or the sickness of some member of it, or the youth or advanced age of another had been properly consulted, he would presently make a reference to his own kitchen or larder to supply the defect.

“The sun is not quite down,” said he, “and so we will look at the church, if you please, first of all: there is some beautiful painted glass that will shew to great advantage at this time of the evening.”

The church stood alone, at a little distance from the body of the village, and we approached it through an avenue of trees which had been planted long before my friend obtained the estate; but though he had not planted the trees, he took especial care of them, and they became, as it were, his children by adoption, seeing that they were not his by birth. The church also had been built before he came into the parish, many and many years ago; but he had covered the outside with Roman cement; he had replaced the old crazy, cracked, battered windows, with stained glass, some portion of which was ancient, and some part modern, but all prettily and harmoniously blended together, so as to form to the eye of an ordinary observer, one tolerably consistent whole. He had also caused a handsome organ to be built; he had furnished the pulpit and reading-desk with crimson velvet, and with bibles and prayer-books, splendidly bound in Russia leather. At his expense the communion-plate, which had been worn and battered to the thinness of an old sixpence, was replaced with massive modern plate. The churchyard which had once been rude as a common, and neglected as a wilderness, he had enclosed with an impenetrable fence, cleared of its rank weeds, and beautified into the semblance of a pleasant garden. I cannot convey to the reader by any description, or by any metaphor, the delightful sensations which I experienced when the harmonious fragrance of many flowers saluted me, as I walked up to the church porch.....’

\* \* \* \* \*

‘It has been said that my friend does all this to please himself: certainly he does; and no one can please himself heartily, without at the same time, pleasing others.’

The story of ‘the Lad of Genius’ is a very common one;—Crabbe, if we recollect right, has a tragi-comic tale founded on similar circumstances;—but the naiveté with which Ferdinand Harwood’s adventures are narrated, is very happy. We must pass over his earlier history, the patronage he obtained in his native village from the parish clerk, the curate, and at length the baronet at the Hall, and introduce him to our readers as just arrived, with his poems, in London.

‘When he had presented all his letters of introduction, he found that all to whom he had been introduced were unanimous in the opinion that the present was the worst possible time for a young man to come to London on a literary speculation. But there was another point on which they were all unanimous, and that was a very important one. They were all quite willing, and would be most happy, to do any thing to serve him. With this consoling thought, he betook himself to lodgings, and set about writing an epic poem. What a very great genius, or what a very small stomach, a man must have who can

write an epic poem in less time than he can spend five guineas in victuals and drink and lodging!—especially when one pound sixteen shillings and six-pence have been deducted from that sum for travelling expenses. But with genius so great, or with stomach so small, Ferdinand Harwood was not gifted; therefore, his money was all gone before his epic poem was finished. That was a pity. Still, there was no need to be cast down, for he could but call upon those friends who would be most happy to do any thing to serve him. He called accordingly; but that very thing which would have been of the greatest immediate service to him, viz. a dinner, none of them would give him: he did not ask them, to be sure, but it was their business to ask him; it was not, however, their pleasure. Generous people, I have frequently had occasion to observe, like to do good in their own way:—they object to all kinds of dictation. So it was with Ferdinand Harwood's friends. They did not give him a dinner, which, at best, could have served him but a single day. They gave him good advice enough to last him for many months; they recommended him to finish his poem as soon as he could; and, in the mean time, perhaps, his friends, they said, would afford him some temporary assistance. "Alack! alack!" said Ferdinand to himself, "I wish my friends would tell me who my friends are."

'It happened, in the course of his multifarious reading, that Ferdinand had somewhere seen it set down in print, that booksellers are the best patrons of genius; so he went to a very respectable bookseller, and, after waiting two hours and three quarters, was admitted to an audience. Ferdinand thought he had never seen such a nice man in his life—so pleasant, so polite, such a pray-take-a-chair-ative style of address, that, by a hop, skip, and jump effort of imagination, Ferdinand, with his mind's eye, saw his poem already printed, and felt his mind's fingers paddling among the sovereigns he was to receive for the copyright. At the mention of an epic poem, the bookseller looked serious; of course it was all right that he should look so,—as an epic poem is a serious matter.

' "What is the subject—sacred or profane?"

' "Sacred, by all means," replied Ferdinand, "I would not for the world write anything profane."

' "Certainly not," said the bookseller, "I have a great abhorrence of profanity. What is the title of your poem?"

' "The Leviticud: I am doing the whole book of Leviticus into blank verse. It appears to me to be a work that is very much wanted, it being almost the only part of the sacred Scriptures that has not been versified."

'The bookseller looked more serious, and said, "I am afraid, sir, that I cannot flatter you with any great hopes of success, for poetry is not in much request, and especially sacred poetry—and, more especially still, epic poetry."

' "Now that is passing strange!" said Ferdinand. "Poetry not in request! Pardon me, sir; you ought, of course, to know your own business; but I can assure you that poetry is very much in request. Is not Milton's *Paradise Lost* in every library? and have not I, at

this very moment, the tenth edition of Young's Night Thoughts, in my pocket?"

"All that may be true," replied the bookseller, relaxing from his seriousness into an involuntary smile, "but modern poetry, unless of very decided excellence, meets with no encouragement."

On hearing this, Ferdinand's hopes were raised to the acme of full assurance, for he was satisfied that his poetry was decidedly excellent. Exultingly, therefore, he replied, saying, "Well, sir, if that be all, I can soon satisfy you, for I wrote some verses on the River Dee, which runs by the village where I was born, and I showed them to Sir Arthur Bradley, who said he had never read any thing so fine in his life, and that they were equal to any thing in Thomson's Seasons. Have you read Thomson's Seasons, sir?"

Then drawing his MS. from his pocket, he presented it to the bookseller, saying, "Just have the goodness to read two or three hundred lines of this poem, and I will venture to say that you will pronounce them to be equal to any thing in Thomson's Seasons. I am in no hurry,—I can stay while you read them, or, if you prefer it, I will read them to you."

The bookseller chose neither, but speedily, though not discourteously, dismissed the genius from the audience, hopeless of all negotiation. "Bless me," said Ferdinand to himself, as soon as he was alone, "what a strange place this world is! I never saw any thing like it in the whole course of my life! The man would not even read my poetry, and I was not going to make him any charge for reading it."

The sequel is far happier than the ordinary issue of such adventures. Young Harwood accepts 'a seat in a counting-house,' and turns his writing to a better account than he could ever have done as the author of a successful epic.

As to the poetry in this volume, we have already given the best specimen we could find. The Editor is himself a poet: how is it that his volume is so poor in verse? His own contributions excepted, we find nothing worth extracting. The plates do not please us: if they please the public, the end is answered; but, except Jackson's fine portrait, 'Donna Francesca,' they neither invite nor merit critical notice.

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We are tempted to begin our notice of "The Souvenir" by praising the embellishments;—but not the frontispiece. 'Austrian Pilgrims,' engraved by J. B. Allen from a drawing by G. R. Lewis, is a gay and sunny landscape. Fisher Children is a lovely groupe, excellently engraved from a beautiful painting by Collins, in the collection of the late Lord Dover. St. Michael's Mount, from Bentley, is a rich little plate. The Oriental Love Letter, from Destouches, is happily characteristic, and the plate derives interest from having been under the graver of Mr. Ensom in his last illness. The Departure for Waterloo, from a

painting by Edmonstone, is a well-told tale of parting, and a beautiful plate. The others will please; and upon the whole, Mr. Watts has been very fortunate this year with his artists.

A large proportion of the contributions are strictly anonymous. Among those which have best pleased us, we must mention, 'a tale of the third Crusade', 'Allan M'Tavish's Fishing,' and 'the Raven's Nest;' all by writers with whom we have not the honour of being acquainted. From the poetry we select a sonnet, by Sir Aubrey de Vere.

‘ ON A VISIT TO WORDSWORTH, AFTER A MOUNTAIN  
EXCURSION.

‘ What we beheld I scarce can now recal  
In one connected series ;—images,  
Crowding in such redundant loveliness  
O'er the mind's mirror, that the several  
Seems lost and blended in the mighty all !  
Lone lakes ; rills, gushing through rock-rooted trees,—  
Peaked mountains, shadowing vales of peacefulness,—  
Glens echoing to the flashing waterfall !—  
Then that sweet twilight lake—by friends delayed  
Within a ferny nook, 'neath oaks and yews :  
The moon between two mountain peaks embayed ;  
Heaven and the waters stained with sunset hues ;  
And he, the Poet of the age and land,  
In frank communion wandering hand in hand.’

Mr. Watts announces that the next volume is intended to commence an entirely new series, with such improvements in its plan and arrangement as past experience has suggested. What will he give us for our advice?

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Mr. Shoberl, the Editor of “ The Forget-me-not,” has this year to make his grateful acknowledgements to several new contributors,—‘ Mrs. Gore, the elegant authoress of Hungarian Tales ; T. K. Hervey, whose poetical reputation could not be heightened by any eulogium from us ; Mr. Madden, the eastern traveller ; S. Ferguson ; and the Author of Chartley :’ it being their first appearance between his silken boards. Allan Cunningham has contributed an historical sketch ; and the ‘ usual assistance ’ has been received from Miss Lawrance, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Howitt, Mrs. Abdy ; the Old Sailor, the Ettrick Shepherd, H. F. Chorley, Colonel Stone, John Bird, H. D. Inglis, N. Michell, and, ‘ last, though not least, the valued contributor of “ Count Vladimir ” and “ Chains of the Heart.” ’ This is a brilliant display of names ; and upon the whole, the promise is kept. Count Vladimir is from the hand of a master, and is one of the richest pieces of poetry in this year's growth of



Annuals. 'Chains of the Heart' is a clever, satirical tale. As a powerfully conceived and vigorously executed descriptive sketch, one of the finest things in the volume is 'the Bridge of Tennashelle.' The whole interest arises from the distinctness with which the scene is brought before the imagination: it could hardly be more vividly delineated by the pencil. We must extract a part of it.

\* \* \* \* \*

'The Lady raised her head from his shoulder, and cast a glance along the road they had traversed. "I see them plying whip and spur," she said, "but they are not gaining on us—Red Raymond rides foremost, and Owen and the three rangers; I know them all: but oh, Mary mother, shield me! I see my father and Sir Robert Verdun: oh, speed thee, good horse, speed!" And she hid her face again upon his breast; and they descended the hill which overhung the Barrow.

'The old channel of the river was no longer visible; the flood had overspread its banks, and far across the flat holms on the opposite side swept along, in a brown, rapid, and eddying deluge. The bridge of Tenachelle spanned from the nearer baulk to a raised causeway beyond, the solid masonry of which, resisting the overland inundations, sent the flood with double impetuosity through the three choked arches over its usual bed; for there, the main current and the back water rushing together, heaved straggling round the abutments, till the watery war swelled and surged over the range-wall, and fell upon the road-wall of the bridge itself with solid shocks, like seas upon a ship's deck. Eager for passage as a man might be whose life and the life of his dearer self were at stake, yet, for an instant, the Earl checked his horse, as the long line of peninsulated road lay before him—a high tumultuous sea on one side; a roaring gulf of whirlpools, foam, and gushing cataracts, on the other. The lady gave one look at the scene, and sank her head to the place whence she had raised it. As he felt her clasp him more closely, and draw herself up for the effort, his heart shamed him to think that he had blenched from a danger which a devoted girl was willing to dare: he drove his spurs into his horse's flanks, and Memnon sprang forward on the bridge. The road-way returned no hollow reverberation now, for every arch was gorged to the key stone by a compact mass of water; and, in truth, there was a gurgling and hissing as the river was sucked in, and a rushing roar where it spouted out in level waterfalls, that would have drowned the trampling of a hundred hoofs. Twice did the waves sweep past them, rolling at each stroke the ruins of a breach in the upper range-wall over the road, till the stones dashed against the opposite masonry; and twice were both covered with the spray flung from the abutments: but Memnon bore them on through stream and ruin, and they gained the causeway safe.

'The Earl's heart lightened as he found himself again on solid ground, though still plunging girth-deep at times through the flooded hollows; but they passed the embankment also in safety, and were

straining up the hill beyond, when the cries of the pursuers, which had been heard over all the storm of waters, ever since their entrance on the bridges, suddenly ceased. There was the loud report of an arquebuss, and Memnon leaped off his feet, plunged forward, reeled, and dropped dead. Red Raymond's arquebuss was still smoking as he sprang foremost of his troop upon the bridge. Behind him came Lord Darcy, furious with rage and exultation. "Secure him first," he cried, "secure him, before he gets from under the fallen horse:—bind him hand and foot! Ah, villain! he shall hang from the highest oak in Clau Malir! and for *her*, Sir Robert, she shall be thy wife:—I swear it by the bones of my father, before that risen sun hath set! Come on!" And he gave his horse head. But suddenly his reins were seized on right and left by his attendants. "Villains! let go my reins!" he cried; "would ye aid the traitor in his escape?" And striking the rowels deep into his steed, he made him burst from their grasp; but almost at the same instant, he pulled up with a violence that threw him on his haunches, for a dozen voices shouted, "Back, Raymond! back!" and a cry arose that the bridge was breaking, and the long line of road-way did suddenly seem to heave and undulate with the undulating current. It was well for Lord Darcy that he did so; for, the next instant, and before his horse's fore feet had ceased to paw the air, down went the whole three arches with a crash, swallowed up and obliterated the irresistible waters. Among the sheets of spray and flashing water thrown up by the falling ruin, and the whirlpools of loamy froth from the disjointed masonry, and the tumult of driving timbers, and the general disruption of road and river, the musqueteer and his horse were seen sweeping for one moment down the middle of the stream; then rolled over and beaten under water, and tumbled in the universal vortex out of sight for ever.'

The usual contributors are rather too usual, reminding us of the correctness of Mr. Shoberl's announcement of this as the twelfth volume. The worthy editor is, we take it, a plain, matter of fact personage, or it would have occurred to him that contributors to a twelfth annual volume might not like the public to be reminded that they are twelve years older than when they first came forth in the freshness of virgin genius. Miss Mitford, however, will be Miss Mitford, and her Village will furnish an unexhausted population, should she live as we hope she will, to write for twice twelve years more. We have already spoken of the plates, but ought to have mentioned the Hong Merchant's Garden, a beautiful landscape, from W. Westall.

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The Amulet excels in the variety of its contents and in the intrinsic value of some of the graver contributions. The account of the Earthquake at Zante, by Dr. Walsh, for instance, is valuable for its topographical description as well as extremely interesting as an historical narrative of the catastrophe. 'The Pass of Abdomim,' from the Journal of Wm. Holt Yates,

M.D., describes in a very pleasing manner the scenery in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Mr. Duval's account of the Mines of Brazil is another paper of more than fugitive interest. And there is a very entertaining account of a visit to the island of Joanna, in the Indian Ocean, by the Hon. Mrs. Erskine Norton. English Prejudices, by Mrs. Fry, is another excellent contribution. We notice with great satisfaction this judicious intermixture of the solid and useful with the imaginative and amusing. Among the latter, we may mention an Oriental apologue by the Author of "Pelham"; an Irish tale by Mrs. S. C. Hall; and the Twin Novices, by the Author of "Selwyn"; all admirable of their kind.

The poetry is superior to any that we find in the volumes already noticed. Among the poetical contributors are Professor Wilson, John Clare, Mrs. Howitt, Mr. Fletcher, Miss Pardoe, the Author of Corn Law Rhymes, Allan Cunningham, Mr. W. H. Harrison, Richard Howitt, and Charles Swain. Altogether, the volume is above par, and we must honestly give it the preference in point of sterling value. 'The Poor Man's Life,' by Mary Howitt, is too long to be extracted entire; but we must give part of it.

### ' A POOR MAN'S LIFE,

' A VILLAGE STORY, BY MARY HOWITT.

\* \* \* \* \*

' Poor though he was, his soul was proud ;  
For it had ever been allowed  
That you throughout might look,  
But ne'er his Father's name should spell  
Within that shameful chronicle—  
The crowded parish book.

' But now upon his tortured sense,  
Rushed with a fiery violence  
The knowledge of his shame,  
The boast of his laborious sires—  
Marks of the honest poor's desires,  
Had perished from his name.

' A fever kindled in his brain ;  
Through it there ran a ceaseless train  
Of anguish and of fear :  
They wore his weakened frame away ;  
Lower it sank from day to day ;  
His end was drawing near.

\* \* \* \* \*

' The dying man raised up his head,  
And with a hollow voice he said :

“ Oh, sir, disgraced are we ! ”  
 Our honest name is sore disgraced ;  
 My humble pride is sore abased  
 Beyond our poverty.

“ And, what is frenzy at the last,  
 My wretched children will be cast  
 Upon the parish aid—  
 Will be by parish bounty fed,  
 Nor earn, like free born men, their bread,  
 At some old English trade.

“ I tell you, Sir, that they will be  
 Sent to the crowded factory—  
 My helpless children small !  
 When all is still I hear their cries—  
 I see them when I shut my eyes—  
 They have no friend at all ! ”

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ I saw to earth his coffin given ;  
 I saw those weeping children seven  
 In their poor mourning dressed.  
 Alas ! the dying man said true—  
 The parish had the orphan crew,  
 To make of them the best.

‘ They never knew what ’twas to play,  
 Without control, the long, long day,  
 In wood and field, at will ;  
 They knew no bird, no tree, no bud ;  
 They got no strawberries in the wood—  
 No wild thyme from the hill.

‘ They played not on a mother’s floor ;  
 They toiled amid the hum and roar  
 Of bobbins and of wheels ;  
 The air they drew was not the mild  
 Bounty of Nature, but defiled—  
 And scanty were their meals.

‘ Their lives can know no passing joy ;  
 Dwindled and dwarfed are girl and boy,  
 And even in childhood old ;  
 With hollow eye and anxious air,  
 As if a heavy, grasping care,  
 Their spirits did enfold.

‘ Their limbs are swoll’n—their bodies bent ;  
 And, worse, no noble sentiment  
 Their darkened minds pervade :  
 Feeble and blemished by disease,  
 Nothing their morbid hearts can please,  
 But doings that degrade.

‘ Oh, hapless heirs of want and woe !  
 What hope of comfort can they know,  
 That man and law condemn ?  
 They have no guides to lead them right ;  
 Darkness they have not known from light :  
 Heaven be a friend to them !

‘ Woe is it that an English pen  
 Thus, thus must write of Englishmen,—  
 The great, the brave, the free !  
 Yet such was my poor comrade’s fate ;  
 And miseries, such as his, await  
 On thousands such as he.’

We can make room for only one more extract ; and we shall take it from Dr. Walsh’s narrative.

‘ EARTHQUAKE AT ZANTE.

‘ BY THE REV. ROBERT WALSH, L.L.D.

‘ The Island of Zante is by far the most beautiful and fertile of the Ionian Islands. It retains to this day the epithet of “woody,” bestowed upon it by the ancients from the earliest time, presenting to the approaching stranger a rich scenery of leafy verdure, very different from the bleak and rugged sterility which marks all the other islands, both in the Ionian and Egean seas ; and hence it is justly called by the Italians,

*Zante verdeggiante  
 Fiore di Levante.*

‘ Its climate is exceedingly mild and balmy ; flowers are in bloom all the year, and trees twice bear ripe fruit,—in April and November. . . . In a valley near the sea, is a vast depression, shallow and circular, resembling the crater of an extinct volcano. Scattered through this are various wells, from the bottoms of which there is a continued ebullition of petraleum—a substance exactly resembling vegetable pitch, and used for all the same purposes. So early as the time of Herodotus this was employed and sought after, as at the present day. “ I saw,” says he, “ with my own eyes, pitch emerge from a lake of water in Zacynthus, of which there are many in the island. They collect the pitch by means of a branch of myrtle tied to the end of a lance. It forms a fragrant bitumen, more precious than Persian pitch. Tradition says that the site occupied by these wells had been a volcano, but the sea, having burst through one of the sides, had extinguished the fire.....

I landed in Zante, in the suite of Lord Strangford, on the 26th of December, 1820 ; and my first object of curiosity was to visit the wells. I set out the next day on horseback with some friends, and we proceeded across the promontory of Scapo along the sea-shore at the other side. The aspect of the country was very beautiful. Olive groves and currant vineyards clothed the smiling valleys. White asphodel now in full flower, though the depth of winter covered all the hills. .... Every stranger who comes to Zante, expects to feel the shock of an

earthquake, of some degree, before he leaves it, particularly if it be near the periodic time, and he consults frequently these wells, to ascertain the approach of it. The ebullition now was very considerable, but we departed with a feeling that we should not experience any thing of the kind during our sojourn.

On our return we dined at the hospitable mansion of the Governor, Sir Patrick Ross. As the palace was very small, the gentlemen of the suite of the embassy, were lodged in different houses, and I and another, were located in the Palazzo di Forcardi, belonging to a Zantiote nobleman, who was attending his duty at Corfu, as a member of the legislative body of the Ionian Republic, leaving his large house vacant for our reception. The whole was on a grand scale; the walls of great thickness, and the lofts ceiled and stuccoed with deep mouldings and ponderous cornices, and a variety of large grotesque stucco figures in alto-relievo, suspended as it were, by their backs, from the ceiling. We dressed and went to dinner; and in the evening found a large party assembled in the saloon to meet the ambassador. He amused us with observations on the wells, and laughed at various speculations they afforded of an approaching earthquake; and having thus enjoyed a most festive and delightful evening, we parted at midnight, and returned to our quarters. It was a bright, star-light night of uncommon brilliancy—the air calm, the atmosphere clear, the sky serene; every thing harmonized with the festivity we had just left; our minds were in unison with the feeling; the very heavens seemed to smile on our gaiety; and we laughed, as we had often done in the course of the evening, at the thoughts of an earthquake.

When the servant led me to my room, he left a large brass lamp, lighted, on a ponderous carved table on the opposite side to that on which I slept. My bed, as is usual in this island, was without a canopy, and open above. . . . As soon as I got into it, I lay for some time gazing on the ceiling, with many pleasing ideas of persons and things floating on my mind; even the grotesque figures above were a source of amusement to me: and I remember falling into a delightful sleep while I was yet making out fancied resemblances to many persons I was acquainted with. The next sensation I recollect, was one indescribably tremendous. The lamp was still burning, but the whole room was in motion. The figures on the ceiling seemed to be animated, and were changing places: presently they were detached from above, and, with large fragments of the cornice, fell upon me, and about the room. An indefinable, melancholy, humming sound seemed to issue from the earth, and run along the outside of the house, with a sense of vibration that communicated an intolerable nervous feeling; and I experienced a fluctuating motion, which threw me from side to side, as if I were still on board the frigate, and overtaken by a storm. The house now seemed rent asunder with a violent crash. A large portion of the wall fell in, split into splinters the oak table, extinguished the lamp, and left me in total darkness; while, at the same instant, the thick walls opened about me, and the blue sky, with a bright star, became, for a moment, visible, through one of the chasms. I now threw off the bed clothes, and attempted to escape from the tottering house; but the ruins of the wall and ceiling had so choked



up the passage, that I could not open the door; and I again ran back to my bed, and instinctively pulled over my face the thick coverlid, to protect it from the falling fragments.

‘Up to this moment, I had not the most distant conception of the cause of this commotion. The whole had passed in a few seconds, yet such was the effect of each circumstance, that they left on my mind as distinct an impression as if the succession of my ideas had been slow and regular. Still I could assign no reason for it, but that the house was going to fall, till an incident occurred which caused the truth at once to flash upon my mind. There stood, in the square opposite the Palazzo, a tall slender steeple of a Greek church, containing a ring of bells, which I had remarked in the day; these now began to jangle with a wild, unearthly sound, as if some powerful hand had seized the edifice below, and was swinging the bells by shaking the steeple. Then it was that I had the first distinct conception of my situation. I found that the earthquake we had talked so lightly of, was actually come; I felt that I was in the midst of one of those awful visitations which destroy thousands in a moment—where the superintending hand of God seems for a season to withdraw itself, and the frame of the earth is suffered to tumble into ruins by its own convulsions. O God! I cannot describe my sensations when I thus saw and felt around me the wreck of nature, and that with a deep and firm conviction on my mind that to me that moment was the end of the world. I had before looked death in the face in many ways, and had reason more than once to familiarize me to his appearance; but this was nothing like the ordinary thoughts or apprehensions of dying in the common way: the sensations were as different as an earthquake and a fever.’

The embellishments consist of a portrait of Donna Maria, exquisitely engraved by Graves from a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the King’s Collection;—The Duenna, from a painting by Newton in the King’s Collection, finely engraved by Rolls;—Sir Roger de Coverley, from Leslie’s painting in the Marquis of Lansdowne’s collection by the same engraver—a delightful little plate;—the Forgotten Word,—a peasant girl at a cottage door, from Mulready;—‘Too Hot, a groupe of dogs from Landseer’s fine painting in the collection of the late Lord Dover;—the Wandering Thought, very beautifully engraved by Rolls, from a painting by M’Clise;—Feeding the Robin, a landscape from Collins;—a Sea-Shore scene from a lovely painting by Bonnington; and three others. The volume does great credit to both the Editor and the Publishers; for no ordinary pains and outlay must have been bestowed upon it.

## ART. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the course of December will be published, Bibliographical Catalogue of Works Privately Printed; including such as have emanated from the Roxburghe, Bannatyne, and Maitland Clubs, and the private Presses at Strawberry Hill, Auchinleck, Darlington, Lee Priory, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Broadway. By John Martin, F.L.S.

The Annual Biography and Obituary for 1834, will contain Memoirs of Lord Exmouth, Sir George Dallas, Bart., Sir John Malcolm, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Dover, Sir Henry Blackwood, William Wilberforce, Esq., Sir E. J. Colpoys, Capt. Lyon, R. N., Rajah Ram-mohun Roy, Admiral Boys, John Heriot, Esq., Mrs. Hannah More, Sir Christopher Robinson, Rev. Rowland Hill, Edmund Kean, Esq., Sir Thomas Foley, Sir John A. Stevenson, Lord Gambier, Sir Baniastre Tarleton, &c. &c.

A highly interesting Work will appear in the course of the month, entitled "The Baboo, or Life in India," conveying a more accurate insight into the Manners and Modes of Life among the Higher and Middle Ranks of Society in the East, than has yet been given to the English public.

Mrs. J. K. Stanford has a Work nearly ready for Publication, entitled "The Stoic; or Memoirs of Eurysthenes the Athenian."

The second No. of Social Evils and their Remedy, by the Rev. Charles B. Tayler, will appear on the 30th inst. under the quaint title of "The Lady and the Lady's Maid;" and if the current report of its merits be true, the subject will attract deserved attention and do much good in every domestic circle.

The same talented writer has a little volume in the Press, for the young, called "The Child of the Church of England," which will be neatly illustrated, and ready for publication by Christmas, forming an excellent holiday present.

## ART. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

Men and Manners in America. By the Author of "Cyril Thornton," &c. 2 vols. 11. 1s.

A General View of the United States of America. With an Appendix containing the Constitution—The Tariff of Duties—The Laws of Patents and Copyrights, &c. Foolscep 8vo., 6s. in cloth, with a Map.

### POETRY.

Poems, chiefly religious. By the Rev. H. F. Lyte, (Suitable for a Christmas Present). 4s.

The Spirit of the Psalms, (for Congregational Singing). By the same Author. 2s.

The Sacred Offering: a poetical Annual for 1834. 4s. 6d. in silk.

### THEOLOGY.

An Address delivered on laying the first stone of the New King's Weigh-House; a place of Worship intended for the use of a Congregational Church. By T. Binney. 4to., 1s. 6d.

### TRAVELS.

A Journey to Switzerland, and Pedestrian Tours in that Country; including a Sketch of its History, and of the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants. By L'Agassiz, Esq. late of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines. 8vo., 12s. cloth extra.

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## ERRATA.

At page 31, line 4 from bottom, *for nearly, read more than.*

34, — 15 ——— *for 9s. 4d., read nine and a quarter.*

191, — 26, *for breadth, read depth.*

362, — 10 from bottom, *for 3d. per pound weight, read 3d. a book.*

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